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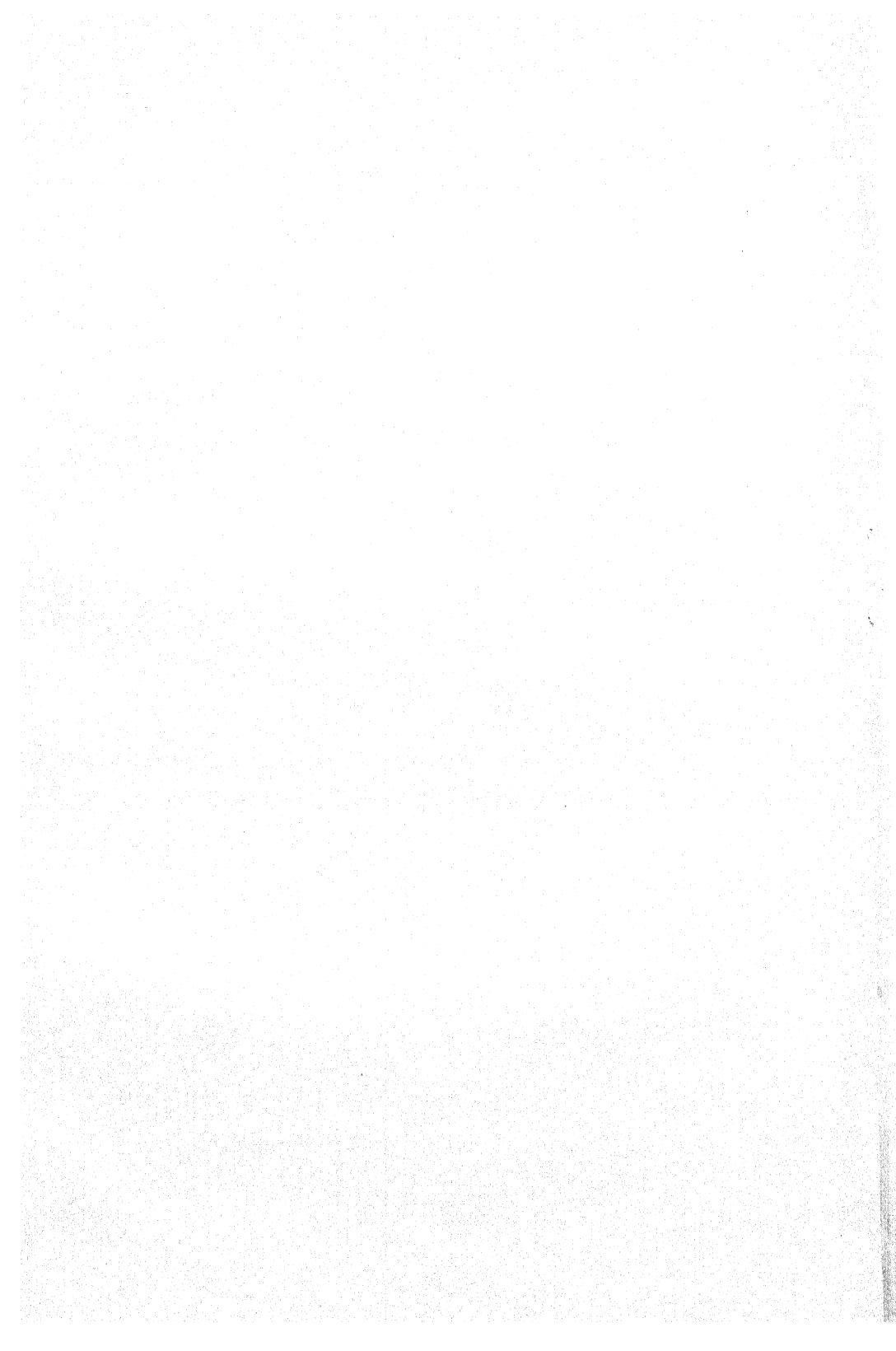
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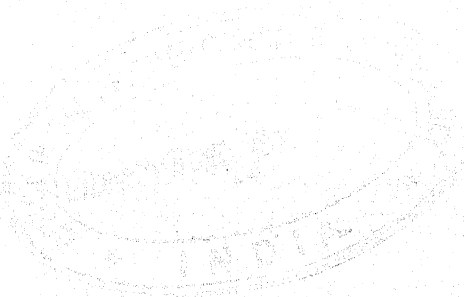
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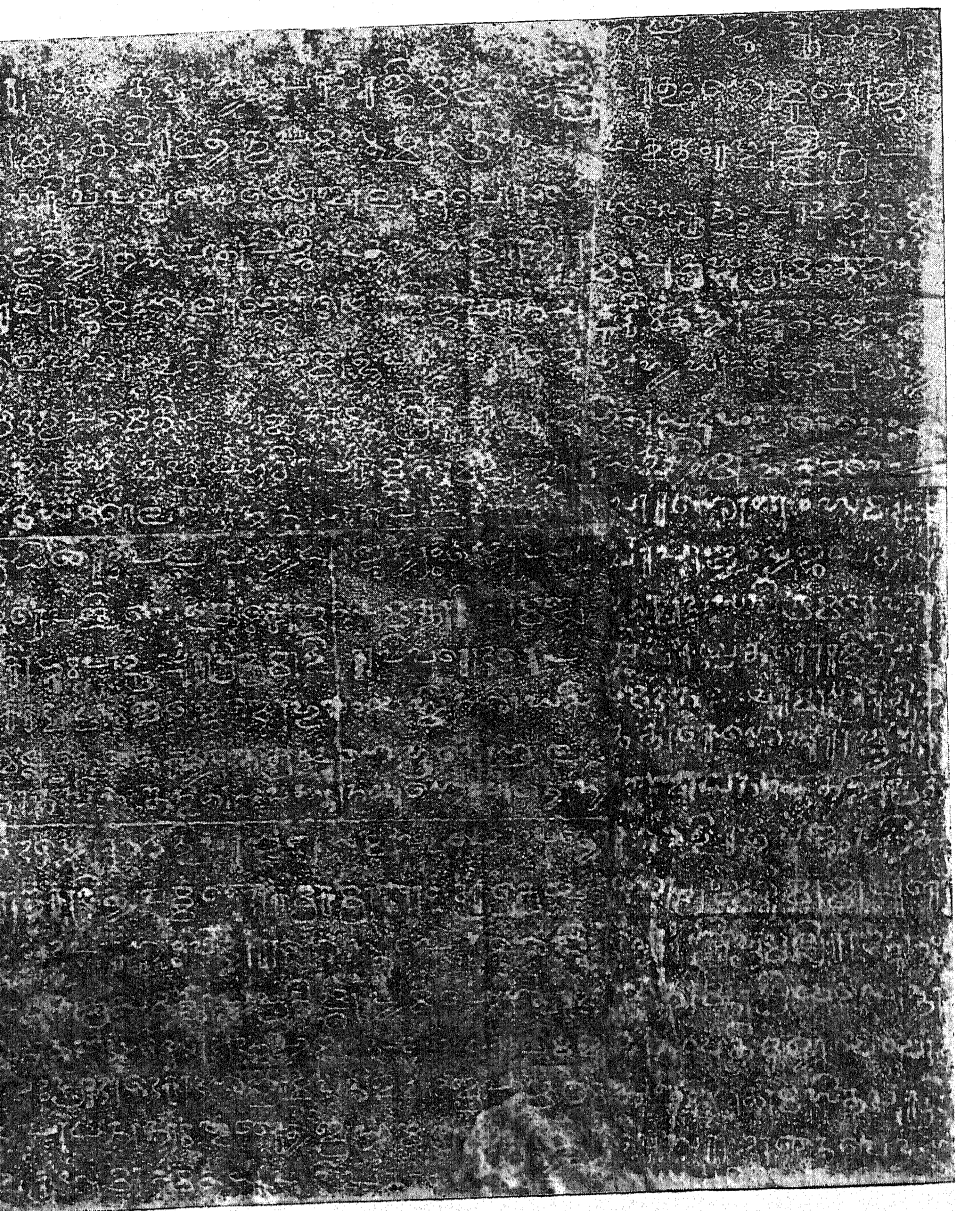
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The Koḍumbālūr Inscription of Vikramakēśari.

## THE KOḌUMBĀLŪR INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA-KĒSARĪ.

BY

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI,

*University of Madras.*

Koḍumbālūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai state is a place of ancient renown. It is said in the *Śilappadikāram* to have been situated on the high-road then in use between Uṟaiyūr, the Cōḷa capital, and Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.<sup>1</sup> The *Periyapurāṇam* calls it the chief city of Kōṇāḍu, *Kōṇāṭṭuk-koḍi-nagaram*, which was the centre of the Vēḷir power represented for a time by Iḍaṅgaḷināyaṇār, in whose noble family was born Āditya who covered with gold from the Koṅgu country the roof of the Poṇṇambalam (golden hall).<sup>2</sup> The king Āditya thus mentioned by Śēkkiḷār following Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi was most probably Āditya I Cōḷa, the father of Parāntaka I and conqueror of Koṅgu.

The Mūvar-Kōvil, the 'temple of the three', is an ancient structure of which only two temples survive, though the basement of the third is intact.<sup>3</sup> On the south wall of the central one of the three temples, all of them facing west, is engraved an interesting grantha inscription which I edit below from an impression supplied by Miss C. Minakshi, M.A., Research Student in the Department of Indian History of the University of Madras. The inscription has been noticed before by Mr. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1908, and the text has been printed as No. 14 in the *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkōṭṭai State* (1929).

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1. Canto XI, 1. 71.

2. There seems to be no evidence for the date of Iḍaṅgaḷi, who is placed by Venkayya in the 9th century A.D. A.R.E. 1908. II 84.

3. Venkayya says no traces of it exist. A.R.E. 1908, II 87.

The inscription is mutilated both at the beginning and the end. The extant portion consists of twenty-four lines comprising eleven full stanzas in Sanskrit in various metres, and fragments of two others, one at the opening and the other at the end. The inscription occupies a wall space 4' 10" in height, and a pilaster on the wall which, though it must have been part of the original structure, bears no letters, divides each line into two parts of the length of 2' 8" to the left of it and about 1' 5" to the right.<sup>1</sup> The size of the letters is well over an inch, the ligatures sometimes even reaching two inches.

The alphabet exhibits all the peculiarities enumerated by Bühler as characterising the third or transitional variety of Grantha, which grew up in 9th and 10th centuries A.D.<sup>2</sup> The *virāma* is expressed by > placed to the right of the *mātrkā* sometimes below the level of the top-line as in *t* in ll. 2 and 3 and sometimes above the line as in ll. 5, 7 and 12. The letter *ga* shows a projection to its left and perceptibly differs in appearance from its more modern representative. Medial *r* is marked by a slanting stroke on the top of the letter, and the consonants following are invariably doubled—*rgga*, *rdda* (l. 4), *rppu* (l. 13). The length of medial *ū* is expressed by a curve in addition to the *u* sign—see Koḍumbāḷūr in l. 13. The *anusvāra* and *m* are used indifferently and in *taikṣṇyam* (l. 15) the *anusvāra* dwindles into a slight stroke. Besides the doubling of consonants following a medial *r*, the only peculiarities of orthography are the use of *tbha* for *dbha* in l. 7. and the omission of *Sandhi* in *yasmin śāsati* in l. 14. Examples of peculiarities of vocabulary are furnished by *sāmaja* (elephant) in l. 12, and *mālikā* (place) in l. 13.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the three temples (*vimānatrayam*), now known as Mūvar-kōvil, by Vikrama-kēsari, and the presentation to the Kālāmukha ascetic Mallikārjuna of a big *maṭha* attached to the temple with eleven villages set apart for the maintenance of the *maṭha* (monastery). The opening verses give the following genealogy of Vikrama-kēsari's dynasty, the *yadu-varṇśa*:—

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1. The temple has been recently restored by the State authorities, but we are assured that the original plan has been strictly maintained. In the plate the two parts of each line are shown pieced together.

2. See Indian Palaeography edn. Fleet pp. 72—3,

A king (name lost) who captured the elephants of a  
lord of some place (name lost).<sup>1</sup>

In his family was born

Paravīrajit

Viratuṅga, conqueror of the Maḷava

Ativīra Anupama

Saṅghakṛt

Nṛpakēsarī

Paradurgamardana, conqueror of Vātāpi

Samarābhirāma: killed the Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirāja-  
maṅgala; married Anupamā, a Cōḷa princess

Bhūti Vikramakēsarī;<sup>2</sup> conquered the Pallava forces on the  
banks of the Kāvērī; defeated Vira-Pāṇḍya and  
killed Vañcivēḷ; had a place at Koḍumbālūr  
and two wives Karraḷi and Varaguṇā.

By Karraḷi

Parāntaka

Ādityavarman

With characteristic insight, Venkayya suggested that Vira-Pāṇḍya, who was defeated by Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, was the same as the Pāṇḍya with whom Āditya II Karikāla fought in his youth, and this suggestion gains in force from many other considerations besides the palaeography<sup>3</sup> of the inscription and the identity of the

1. Venkayya's impression perhaps contained the additional word *Pāṇḍya* at the beginning, of which the present impression shows no trace. He calls the first king; "vanquisher of the Pāṇḍya elephants." (A.R.E. 1903, II 85)

2. *Minnāmalā* seems to be another title applied to him in v. 4,

3. Krishna Sastri thinks that palaeographically the inscription is earlier than the time of Āditya II. But as he seems to concede that Vikramakēsarī may have been contemporary with Gaṇḍarāditya (S. I. I. iii, p. 249) and as there can be no decisiveness in palaeographical arguments when the interval is so short, I see no reason to depart from Venkayya's position.

name of the Pāṇḍyan opponent of Vikramakēśarī and Āditya. Āditya's father was Parāntaka; and Vikramakēśarī's children are named Parāntaka and Āditya; this may well be a token of Vikramakēśarī's political relation to the Cōḷa power. An inscription from Tillaisthānam,<sup>1</sup> dated in the thirteenth year of a Rājakēśarī, mentions a gift of a lamp by Varaguṇa-perumāṇār, the *dēviyār* of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār. Another inscription also of the 13th year of Rājakēśarī from Lālguḍi records a gift from Naṅgai-varaguṇa-perumāṇār, the sister of the Cōḷa king.<sup>2</sup> Yet another Rājakēśarī inscription, from which the regnal year has been lost, mentions Karṇaḷippirāṭṭi, the wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷ *alias* Maṇavaṇ Pūdiyār.<sup>3</sup> The presumption arises that Varaguṇā, the sister of the Cōḷa king Rājakēśarī and wife of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, and Karṇaḷi, the wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, mentioned in these inscriptions may be identical with the two queens of Vikramakēśarī mentioned in the Koḍumbālūr inscription. The three Rājakēśarī inscriptions cited above doubtless belong to about the same period as that of Āditya II to which Venkayya assigned the Koḍumbālūr inscription of Vikramakēśarī. If what has been urged so far is correct, Vikramakēśarī must have had also the surnames Parāntakaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, and Maṇavaṇ Pūdiyār. Pūdi recalls the name Bhūti which occurs in our Grantha inscription. A certain Vira-cōḷa Iḷaṅgōvēḷār is known to have been ruling at Koḍumbālūr in the reign of Parāntaka I Viracōḷa.<sup>4</sup> It seems quite possible that Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār was the title of Vikramakēśarī, the contemporary of Parāntaka II.

The contemporaneity of Vikramakēśarī and Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa is borne out in fact by much stronger evidence than the similarity of names or vague palaeographical inferences. There is at Koḍumbālūr an undated fragmentary inscription<sup>5</sup> of Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. It is well-known that Sundara-cōḷa fought against the Pāṇḍya and "drove him into the forest," and that in this war he was assisted by Parāntakaṇ

1. 287 of 1911 (S.I.I. iii, 113).

2. E. I. xx, p. 53.

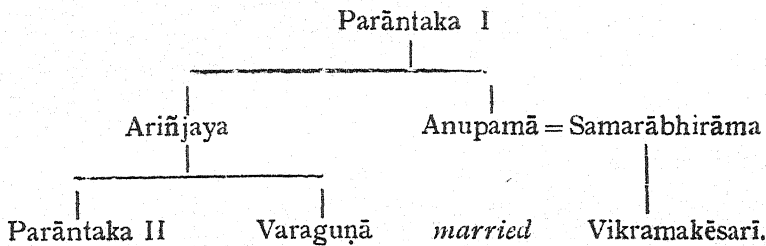
3. 273 of 1903.

4. 470 of 1908 (S. I. I. iii, 98).

5. 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Śiriya-vēlār of Koḍumbālūr who served as a general of the king's army.<sup>1</sup> It is also clear that Parāntaka II was a Rājakēsarī.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the mention of Vikramakēsarī's queens in Rājakēsarī inscriptions and the facts that Sundara Cōḷa is a Rājakēsarī, that an inscription of his is found in Koḍumbālūr, and that a general from Koḍumbālūr fought in Sundara Cōḷa's army in the Pāṇḍya country,—doubtless in the same war with Vīra-Pāṇḍya in which Āditya II, the son of Sundara Cōḷa, distinguished himself—furnish conclusive proof of the political subordination of Vikramakēsarī to Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II. Varaguṇā was then the sister of Sundara Cōḷa, and daughter of Ariṇḍjaya. The period of Sundara Cōḷa's rule may be fixed roughly in the years A. D. 956-70. This must also be the period of Vikramakēsarī's rule. His mother Anupamā, called also a Cōḷa princess, was perhaps an otherwise unknown daughter of Parāntaka I. The relations thus established are seen in the following table :—



It has been said : “ Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ, a contemporary of Vikramkēsarī of Koḍumbālūr, published his Malaiyaḍip-paṭṭi inscription in the 16th year of Dantivarman Pallava, and his Śendalai inscription in the 10th year of Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ. The 16th year of Dantivarman Pallava would fall according to our arrangement in 805 A. D. Therefore Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ and his contemporary Vikramakēsarī of Koḍumbālūr should have lived in 800 A. D.”<sup>3</sup> The Śendalai inscription mentioned is apparently No. 10 of 1899, and the Malaiyaḍip-paṭṭi record is No. 18 of the Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions (Texts). But no attempt is made to establish the identity of Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Kuvāvaṇ Śāttan of the Malaiyaḍip-paṭṭi inscription with the Muttaraiyaṇ.

1. E. I, xii pp. 121-6.

2. S. I. I, iii, 119.

3. A Rangaswami Sarasvati in *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag.* July 1923, pp. 207-8.

raiyaṇ of the Śendalai record which cites the tenth year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ ; and what is more important, no evidence is cited in proof of the assumption that this Muttaraiyaṇ was a contemporary of Vikramakēsarī of the Koḍumbālūr inscription. Viḍēlviḍugu is a title, and Muttaraiya, a dynastic name, and no chronological deductions can be safely based on their recurrence either separately or together in different inscriptions. We have therefore no reason to accept a date about 800 A. D. for Vikramakēsarī in preference to one, say between 950 and 970 A. D. suggested by the considerations urged in the preceding paragraph.

It may also be observed that a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi Perumāṇār, daughter of a Muttaraiyar and queen of a Śembiya Irukkuvēlār, is mentioned in an inscription from Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pd. 45) of the sixth regnal year of a Parakēsarī ; this lady is obviously different from her namesake, the Cōḷa princess of the Rājakēsarī inscriptions noticed above. Likewise, Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēl *alias* Ādittāṇ (Āccaṇ) Vikramakēsarī mentioned in two Parakēsarī records of the twenty-first year from Kuḍumiyāmalai<sup>1</sup> must have been different from our Vikramakēsarī, and perhaps a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarī. There is a mutilated record from Kīlūr<sup>2</sup> of the eleventh year of Vijaya-Nandivikrama-varmaṇ which records a gift of gold by a daughter of Vikrama-pūdi, the *dēvi* (queen) of a Śāttāṇ Maṇavaṇ. The name Viḍēlviḍugu Ilaṅgō Adiyaraiyaṇ is mentioned in this record perhaps as an *alias* of Vikramapūdi. The identity of this chieftain must also remain doubtful at present. These examples make it clear that the contents of the Koḍumbālūr inscription of Vikramakēsarī should not be taken to be a complete account of the history of the Vēḷs as has sometimes been done.

Much of the history recorded in this inscription is still very obscure. Besides defeating Vīra-Pāṇḍya, Vikramakēsarī claims to have won a victory against Pallava forces on the banks of the Kāvērī and to have put an end to the line of Vañcivēḷs. If the chronology suggested above is correct and Vikramakēsarī lived in the middle of the tenth century, the Pallava forces mentioned could not have been those of the rulers of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line which had been practically wiped out of existence by the Cōḷas before the beginning of the tenth century A. D. It seems likely

1. Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Madras) and Pd. 63 and 65.

2. 295 of 1902.



therefore that the wars against the Pallavas and Vañcivēls were of the nature of local conflicts in which the Koḍumbālūr chieftain gained the upper hand as against other local feudatories less enterprising than himself. Late local traditions<sup>1</sup> centering round a certain Śivandelūnda Pallavarāyar and his descendants seem to lend support to this view. One wonders, however, if by the expression *pallavasya dhvajinyāḥ*, the composer of the inscription meant *Vallabhasya dhvajinyāḥ* which would be an allusion to the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III which occurred towards the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and is said to have reached as far as Rāmēśvaram. Samarābhirāma, the father of Vikramakēśari, killed a Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam. Caḷukki need not necessarily be a reference to the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi though the conquest of Vātāpi (Badami) by Paradurgamardana seems to render this probable. The ancient Tamils applied the name *śaḷukki* to local chieftains, *kurunila manṇar*. If we accept this meaning and treat the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam as another incident in local quarrels, the reference to the conquest of Vātāpi becomes difficult to explain. At the same time, there seems to be no indication in any other records of the early tenth century of a conflict of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi with the Tamils to which the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala may be referred. Though we have as yet no confirmation of the facts from other records, it is not unlikely that the Cāḷukyas<sup>2</sup> survived at Bādāmi with diminished power after the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and took part in the invasion of the Cōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa III; possibly a fight took place at Adhirājamaṅgalam (Tiruvadigai)<sup>3</sup> and a Cāḷukya prince lost his life in it. In any event, the 'conquest of Vātāpi' by Paradurgamardana has nothing to do with the two invasions of Vātāpi in the seventh century, in the reigns of the Pallava kings Narasiṁhavarmaṇ I and Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I.<sup>4</sup> The Maḷava conquered by Viratuṅga, the second name in the genealogy, must have been a local ruler of the tract called Maḷanāḍu between the modern Trichino-

1. Miss Minakshi first drew my attention to these legends, and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar D. Litt kindly lent me two mss. of an *ulā* and a *Pillittamil* on Śivandelūnda Pallavarāyaṇ.

2. Bom. Gaz. I ii, pp. 378-9.

3. 360 of 1921.

4. *Contra* A. R. Sarasvati *Vizianagaram Coll. Mag. ibid.*

poly and Tanjore Districts. A Maḷavēndra gave his daughter in marriage to the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha I (c. A. D. 740-65).<sup>1</sup>

The father of Vikramakēsarī is called *Yaduvamśakētu*, the banner of the race of Yadu (v. 3) and Vikaramakēsarī is himself called *yādava* (v. 11). This recalls the legend preserved in an early Śaṅgam poem preserved in the anthology of the *Puraṇānūru* (No. 201) addressed to an Iruṅgōvēḷ by the celebrated Kapilar. The poet says that the *Vēḷir* arose from the fire-pit of a northern sage, and counted forty-nine generations ruling at Tuvarai (Dvārakā).

vaḍapāṇ = muṇivaṇ = raḍaviṇuṭ = ṭōṇric-  
cermbu puṇain-diyarriya śēṇeḍuṇ = purisai-  
yuvarā = vīgait = tuvarai = yāṇḍu  
nārpat-tonḇadu vaḷi-murai vanda  
vēḷiruḷ vēḷē.

The late annotator Naccinārkkiniyar adds that eighteen families of these Vēḷir chieftains followed Agastya to the south and were established by him in the different parts of the Tamil country. This legend explains to some extent the connections between several local dynasties of South India attested by epigraphy.<sup>2</sup>

The Kālāmukhas (*asita-vaktras*), to whom Vikramakēsarī gave a big *maṭha* with eleven villages attached to it, were a set of Pāśupata ascetics addicted to many gruesome practices<sup>3</sup> and apparently very influential in South India between say the ninth and twelfth centuries, when they are mentioned in several inscriptions of the Tamil country. Vidyārāśī, the spiritual *guru* of Mallikārjuna is mentioned in an early inscription from Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri) engraved on a slab together with a representation of the teacher himself worshipping a liṅga. The slab is in the Madras Museum.<sup>4</sup>

#### KODUMBĀLŪR—TEXT.

1. नाथगजयूथहरः
2. (आ) सीत् ॥ तद्वश्यः परवीरजिन्माळवजिच्छ्रीवीरतुंगोमुतो जा-
3. (तो)स्मादतिवीर इत्यनुपमस्तस्मादभूत्संघकृत् । अस्माच्छ्रीनृप-
4. केसरी विवद्वधे यो बाल एवोरगैस्तत्सुनुः परदुर्गमर्ह-

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1. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 57—8.
  2. A. R. E. 1927 II 73.
  3. Bhandarkar—*Vaiṣṇavism*, etc. pp. 127—8.
  4. E. I. x. p. 64 and n. 5,7.

5. न इति ख्यातस्स वातापिजित्<sup>1</sup> ॥ तस्य समराभिरामः पुत्रः सुत्रामतेजसः ।  
 6. अधिराजमंगलाजौ यो निजघ्नान च(लु)क्किम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ तस्याच्युतस्य कम-  
 7. लेव सरस्वतीव पद्मोत्भवस्य गिरिजे(व)हरस्य साक्षात् । प्रेयस्य-  
 8. भूदनुपमेति यथार्थनाम्न<sup>3</sup> श्रीचोळराज(दु)हिता यदुवंशकेतोः<sup>4</sup> ॥  
 9. तस्यामस्य बभूव भूतिरपरामिन्नामळाख्यान्दधन् श्रीमान्विक्रमेकेस-  
 10. (री)ति समरे लब्धान्यनामा नृपः<sup>5</sup> ॥ कावेरीवारि शोणं समकृ(त)  
 11. रुधिरैः पल्लवस्य ध्वजिन्याः यो वीरौ वीरपाण्ड्यं व्यजयत स-  
 12. मरे वञ्चिवेळन्तकोभूत्<sup>6</sup> ॥ मत्तारिसामजान्हत्वा वसन्विक्रमेकेसरी ।  
 13. कोटुम्पाळूर्पुंराद्रीन्द्रमाळिकाविवरोदरे<sup>7</sup> ॥ विद्वत्कल्पतरौ क्षितीश्व-  
 14. रकरद्वन्द्वाम्बुजेन्दौ भुवं यस्मिन्शासति मेदिनीजयरमाश्रीकीर्त्तिवा-  
 15. ग्वल्लभे । तैक्ष्ण्यं नेत्रयुगे भ्रुवोश्चलनता केशेषु काष्ण्यं(न्त)-  
 16. नौ तन्वीनान्तनुताभवत्स्तनयुगे चान्योन्यसंपीडनम्<sup>8</sup> ॥ तस्याभूता-  
 17. न्देव्यौ क<sup>१०</sup>ळि वरगुणसमाह्वये सत्यौ । क<sup>१०</sup>ळिरभवज्जननी प-  
 18. रान्तकादित्यवर्मणो कम्पकम्प्राणाम्<sup>9</sup> ॥ आत्रेयगोत्रजश्श्रीमान्माथुरो  
 19. वेदपारगः । विद्याराशेस्तपोराशेदिश्व्यो[श्री]भून्मल्लिकाज्जुनः ॥ 10  
 20. विमानत्रयमुत्थाप्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य महेश्वरम् । स्वनाम्ना प्रिययोर्त्रा-  
 21. म्ना तस्मै सोदाद्बृहन्मठम्<sup>11</sup> ॥ तस्मै कालमुखादानयतिमुखयाय याद-  
 22. वः । प्रादादेकादशग्रामविनिबद्धं बृहन्मठम्<sup>12</sup> ॥ पञ्चाशतामसितवक्रत-  
 23. पोधनानाम् भुक्त्यै बृहन्मठ...वे स राजा । नैवेद्यग-  
 24. न्धकुसुमाक्षतधूपदीपताम्बू (ल)

*Translation.*

There was ..... the capturer of the herd of elephants of the lord. . . .

(1) Of his family was Pravīrajit; the glorious Viratunga, the vanquisher of the Maṭava was born of him; from him came Ativīra Anupama who gave birth to Saṅghakṛt; from him (came) the glorious Nṛpakēśari (Lion of kings) who as child grew up with the serpents; his son was the celebrated Paradurga-mardana (the destroyer of enemy forts), the conqueror of Vātāpi.

(2) Of him who had a divine splendour, Samarābhirāma (Delightful in battle) was the son who attacked (or killed?) the Caḷukki in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala.

- |                                   |                      |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. The metre is Śārdūlavikrīḍita. | 7. Anuṣṭubh.         |
| 2. Anuṣṭubh.                      | 8. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. |
| 3. Read नाम्नी.                   | 9. Āryā.             |
| 4. Vasantatilakā.                 | 10. Anuṣṭubh.        |
| 5. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. (half verse) | 11. Anuṣṭubh.        |
| 6. Sragdharā. (half verse)        | 12. Anuṣṭubh.        |

(3) Of him, who was the banner of the Yaduvarṇśa, Anupamā (peerless) rightly so called, the daughter of the Cōḷa king, was the beloved (wife), who resembled Lakṣmī (the wife) of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī of the Lotus-born (Brahmā), and Girijā (Mountain-born) of Hara himself.

(4) Of her was born to him the glorious king Bhūti, who bore the alternative name *minnāmalā*<sup>1</sup> (?) and who earned in war the title of Vikramakēśari (the lion of valour).

(5) The water of the Kāvēri was turned red with blood of the Pallava's forces; and this warrior defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya in battle, and became Death to Vañcivēḷ.

(6) After fighting the rutting elephants, *viz.*, his foes, Vikramakēśari was living in the palace on the hill in the city of Koḍumbāḷūr.

(7) While the earth was ruled by him, the Kalpataru to the learned, the moon to the lotuses, *viz.*, the two hands of the (subordinate) kings<sup>2</sup> and the beloved of the Goddesses of Earth, Victory, Prosperity, Fame and Speech, sharpness was found (only) in the pair of eyes, instability in the two eyelashes and darkness in the hair (of women); weakness in their bodies; and jostling in the pair of (their) breasts.

(8) He had two good wives called Karṇaḷi and Varaguṇā; (and) Karṇaḷi became the mother of two very beautiful (sons), Parāntaka and Ādityavarman.

(9) There was the glorious Mallikārjuna, born of the Ātrēyagōtra, resident of Mathurā, the master of the Vēda and the pupil of Vidyārāśi, the abode of austerity.

(10) Having raised three *vimānas* in his name and in the name of his two wives and having enshrined Mahēśvara, he (Vikramakēśari) gave to him (Mallikārjuna) a big *maṭha*.

(11) The Yādava gave to that ascetic chief of the *Kālamukha* persuasion a big *maṭha* together with eleven villages attached to it.

(12) For the enjoyment of fifty Asita-vaktra (Kālamukha) ascetics the big *maṭha*. . . that king . . . offerings, sandal flowers, *akṣata*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *tām* (*būla*) . . . . .

1. Is this a Tamil name—*minṇāmalai* (the shining mountain) ?

2. *i. e.* they closed their palms together in salutation. The moon is in Indian poetry, the foe of the lotus whose petals close in her presence.

# SOME MINOR WORKS OF ŚRĪ CITSUKHĀCĀRYA

## II

### ADHIKARAṆASAṄGATI.

BY

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The Adhikaraṇamañjarī of Citsukha was published in Part IV of Volume V of the Journal of the Oriental Research with a few introductory remarks regarding Citsukha and those immediately associated with him. A few more particulars regarding them are furnished in this paper, and the Adhikaraṇasaṅgati, an edition of which was promised in that part, is issued herewith.

The teacher of Citsukha was stated to be Jñānottama, author of a Vedāntic work known as Nyāyasudhā. Appayya Dīkṣita in his Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha<sup>1</sup> refers to this Nyāyasudhā in the following words :—

न्यायसुधाकृतस्त्वाहुः—घटादेरैन्द्रियकत्वेऽपि 'सन् घटः' इत्यादिरधिष्ठान-  
सत्तानुबोध इति न विरोधः । एवं 'नीलो घटः' इत्यादिः अधिष्ठाननैल्यानुबोधः  
किं न स्यात् इति चेत् न । श्रुत्या सद्रूपस्य वस्तुनो जगदुपादानत्वमुक्त-  
मविरोधात् सर्वसंमतमिति तदनुबोधेनैव 'सन् घटः' इत्यादिप्रतिभासोपपत्तौ  
घटादावपि सत्ताकल्पने गौरवम् । तस्य रूपादिहीनत्वात् नैल्यादिकं घटादावेव  
कल्पनीयं वैषम्यात् इति ।

It is clear that this Nyāyasudhā is an Advaitic work and is therefore in all likelihood identical with the one attributed to Jñānottama. Of the Jñānasiddhi not a single reference has come to light till now. Among the works of Citsukha now available, the commentary on the Khaṇḍanakhādyā of Śrī Harṣa is very important. Extracts from this commentary have already been published in the edition of the Khaṇḍana in the Chowkhamba

Press. Śrī Harṣa is generally supposed to have lived in the latter half of the 12th century and very probably in the early half of the 13th century also.

One or two facts have to be considered in this connection. The date of Ānandagiri has been fixed by Mr. Tripathi as 1260-1320. He was the pupil of Sukhaprakāśa, who was in turn a pupil of Citsukha. Now calculating back from this date of Ānandagiri, that of Citsukha will fall between 1180 and 1240. This date for Citsukha will make him a contemporary of Śrī Harṣa of Khaṇḍana. Again, Mr. M. R. Telang, in his preface to the Mahā-vidyāviḍambana, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series remarks that Amalānanda the author of the Kalapataru was a pupil of Sukhaprakāśa, pupil of Citsukha. Amalānanda had two teachers, Anubhavānanda and Sukhaprakāśa. The later was his Vidyāguru. Amalānanda lived in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Rāja of Devagiri, who ruled between 1247 and 1260. The date of Sukhaprakāśa will therefore have to be fixed between 1200 and 1250 and Citsukha will be much older. It is not likely that Citsukha a saṁnyāsin as he was, would have cared to comment upon the work of a contemporary, especially when he was not a saṁnyāsin. In these circumstances, there is yet a tangle in the date of Citsukha and Śrī Harṣa that is to be unravelled.

It was said that Sukhaprakāśa was the pupil of Citsukha and the extant works of Sukhaprakāśa were referred to in the paper referred to above. To that list must be added a commentary on Citsukha's Nyāyamakaranda, known as Vivecanī. Copies of this commentary are preserved in the Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore.<sup>1</sup>

A few remarks are necessary regarding the division of Adhikaraṇas in the Mañjarī and in the Saṅgati. It is known that Citsukha has commented upon the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara and he seems to have intended these two pamphlets, which are supplemental to each other, as appendixes to his commentary on the bhāṣya. One important point that has to be noticed in this connection is the constitution of twelve adhikaraṇas in the first pāda of the first adhyāya, and fourteen in the third pāda of the first adhyāya, whereas all the editions of the bhāṣya now available give us eleven and thirteen respectively in the pādas referred to. The *jyotiś-caraṇādhikaraṇa* is made up of the following four sūtras, in the available editions:—

1. See Burnell Nos. 9780, 9781, 9782 and 9788.

ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात् । १. १. २४.

छन्दोऽभिधानान्नेति चेत् न तथा चेतोऽर्पणनिगदात् तथा हि दर्शनम् । १. १. २५.

भूतादिपादव्यपदेशोपपत्तेश्चैवम् । १. १. २६.

उपदेशभेदान्नेति चेत् नोभयस्मिन्नप्यविरोधात् । १. १. २७.

In the opinion of Citsukha these four do not form a single *adhikaraṇa* but two. The *sūtra* ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात् is an *adhikaraṇa* by itself; the three succeeding *sūtras* form a different *adhikaraṇa* introduced to remove an *adhikāśaṅkā*. Both in the *Adhikaraṇamañjarī* and *Adhikaraṇasaṅgati* they are dealt with as such.

Similarly the *Daharādhikaraṇa* in the third *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* consists of the following *sūtras*

दहर उत्तेरभ्यः १. ३. १४.

गतिशब्दाभ्यां तथा हि दृष्टं लिङ्गं च १. ३. १५.

धृतेश्च महिम्नोऽस्यास्मिन्नुपलब्धेः १. ३. १६.

प्रसिद्धेश्च १. ३. १७.

इतरपरामर्शात् स इति चेन्नासंभवात् १. ३. १७.

उत्तराच्चेदाविर्भूतस्वरूपस्तु १. ३. १९.

अन्यार्थश्च परामर्शः १. ३. २०.

अल्पश्रुतेरिति चेत्तदुक्तम् १. ३. २१.

according to the various editions of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* now available. But Citsukha regards these *sūtras* as constituting two *adhikaraṇas*, one ending with the *sūtra* इतरपरामर्शात् and the other beginning with *sūtra* उत्तराच्चेत् etc.

॥ श्रीः ॥

## श्रीचित्सुखाचार्यविरचिता

ब्रह्मसूत्राधिकरणसङ्गतिः

प्रथमोऽध्यायः

प्रथमः पादः

“स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः” इति नित्याध्ययनविधिना अधीतवेदान्तवाक्येष्वपा-  
पातदर्शनेनेदमवगच्छति—“न वा अरे पत्युः कामाय” इत्युपक्रम्य “आत्मनस्तु  
कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवति” इत्युपसंहारात् सर्वतो विरक्तस्यात्मप्रेप्सोः “एतावत्  
अरे खल्वमृतत्वम्” इति वचनात् अमृतत्वसाधनमात्मदर्शनम् “द्रष्टव्यः”  
इत्यनूद्य “श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः” इति मनननिदिध्यासनाभ्यां  
फलोपकार्यङ्गाभ्यां सह श्रवणं नामाङ्गि विधीयत इति ॥

स च कियद्विशेषणविशिष्टोऽधिकारी को वासौ श्रवणविधिविषयः किं  
वा तदमृतत्वमिति जिज्ञासते । तदिदं जिज्ञासितम् अनुबन्धत्रयं श्रौतमपि  
न्यायेन निर्णेतुं सूत्रयामास परमकारुणिको भगवान् बादरायणः—“अथातो  
ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा” (१. १. १.) ॥

ननु सिद्धेऽर्थे भवतु शास्त्रं प्रमाणम्, तथापि किलक्षणं पुनस्तद्ब्रह्मेत्यत  
आह—“जन्माद्यस्य यतः” (१. १. २.) इति ॥

किं तत्र प्रमाणमिति तत्राह—“शास्त्रयोनित्वात्” (१. १. ३.) इति ॥

ननु शास्त्रस्य कथं सिद्धेऽर्थे प्रामाण्यमिति तत्राह—“तत्तु समन्व-  
यात्” (१. १. ४.) इति ॥

ननु सिद्धेऽर्थे भवतु शास्त्रं प्रमाणं तथापि न ब्रह्मणि, प्रधानादिपरत्वा-  
दिति तत्राह—“ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दम्” (१. १. ५.) इति ॥

भवतु तर्हि वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मणि प्रामाण्यं तथापि कुत्र तन्निर्गुणं प्रतिपाद्यं  
कुत्र वा सगुणमिति कथं निर्णय इति । तत्र तावन्निर्गुणमित्याह—“आनन्द-  
मयोऽभ्यासात्” (१. १. १२.) इति ॥

कुत्र तर्हि विवक्षितोपाधित्वेन सगुणमुपास्यमिति तदाह—“अन्त-  
स्तद्धर्मोपदेशात्” (१. १. २०.) इति ॥



पूर्वाधिकरणे विवक्षितोपाधित्वरूपेणोपास्यमित्युक्तम् । कुत्र तर्हि विवक्षितोपाधेः अन्यत्र संपाद्योपासनमिति पूर्वाधिकरणोदाहृतवाक्यानन्तरवाक्य इत्याह—“आकाशस्तलिङ्गात्” (१. १. २२.) इति ॥

इमं न्यायं समनन्तरवाक्येऽप्यतिदिशति—“अत एव प्राणः” (१. १. २३.) इति ॥

आकाशवायुविकारवाचकयोर्ब्रह्मपरत्वप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेन तेजोवाचकस्यापि ब्रह्मपरत्वमाह—“ज्योतिश्चरणाभिधानात्” (१. १. २४.) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणेऽन्यत्र संपाद्योपासनाकथनप्रसङ्गेन कौक्षेये ज्योतिषि संपाद्योपास्यं परं ज्योतिर्ब्रह्मेति निरूपयति—“ज्योतिः” इति ॥

चरणाभिधानं गायत्रीविषयमित्याक्षिप्य समाधत्ते—“च्छन्दोऽभिधाना-  
न्नेति चेन्न तथा चेतोऽर्पणनिगदात्तथा हि दर्शयति” (१. १. २५.) ॥

ननु भवत्वेवं अन्यथासिद्धतात्पर्यवद्ब्रह्मलिङ्गवशाद्ब्रह्मपरत्वमुदाहृतवाक्या-  
नाम् । यत्र पुनरनेकेषां लिङ्गदर्शनं तत्र कस्यानुसारेण किं निर्णेतव्यमिति तत्राह—“प्राणस्तथानुगमात्” (१. १. २८.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

ननु भवतु स्पष्टलिङ्गवशात् उदाहृतवाक्यानां ब्रह्मपरत्वम् ; अस्पष्टलिङ्गेषु तु कथं निर्णय इत्याकाङ्क्षायां पूर्वाधिकरणवज्जीवलिङ्गवाधेन “मनोमयः प्राणशरीरः” इत्यत्र ब्रह्मैवोच्यत इत्याह—“सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धोपदेशात्” (१. २. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे वैशिष्ट्यादिति भोक्तृत्वं ब्रह्मणो निरस्तम् । अत एवौदनोपसूचितो भोक्ता न ब्रह्मेत्याशङ्क्याह—अत्ता चराचरग्रहणात्” (१. २. ९.) इति ॥

अतृत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यार्थनिर्णयानन्तरं पातृत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यार्थनिर्णया-  
याह—“गुहां प्रविष्टावात्मनौ हि तद्दर्शनात्” (१. २. ११.) इति ॥

ननु “ऋतं पिबन्तौ” इति द्वित्वसंख्याश्रवणाच्चेतनतया समानस्वभावयोः जीवपरयोः प्रथममवगमात् तदनुसारेण चरमश्रुतगुहाप्रवेशादयो व्याख्याता-  
श्चेदिहापि दृश्यत इति प्रत्यक्षत्वाभिधानात् प्रथमावगतच्छायापुरुषानुरोधेना-  
मृतत्वादयः स्तुत्याः कथञ्चिद्व्याख्याया इत्याशङ्क्यामाह—“अन्तर उपपत्तेः” (१. २. २३.) इति ॥

स्थानादिव्यपदेशादिति ब्रह्मणः पृथिव्यादीनि स्थानानि “यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन्” इत्यादिना निर्दिष्टानीति सूचितं पूर्वाधिकरणे । इदानीं तु “यः पृथिव्याम्” इत्यादिनापि परमात्मनः स्थानानि व्यपदिश्यन्त इत्याशङ्क्याह—  
“अन्तर्याम्यधिदैवादिषु तद्धर्मव्यपदेशात्” (१. २. २८.) इति ॥

ननु तर्हि भूतयोनिवाक्ये निर्दिश्यमानानाम् अदृश्यत्वादिधर्माणां प्रधाने संभवात् विरुद्धं द्रष्टृत्वादीनां च धर्माणां पूर्वाधिकरणवाक्य इवानिर्देशात् भूतयोन्यक्षरं प्रधानम् इत्याशङ्क्याह—“अदृश्यत्वादिगुणको धर्मोक्तेः” (१. २. २२.) इति ॥

रूपोपन्यासप्रसङ्गेन त्रैलोक्यशरीरो वैश्वानरः परमात्मेत्याह—“वैश्वानरः” इति ॥ “अग्निर्मूर्धा” इत्यादिरूपोपन्यासं विहाय “पुरुष एवेदं विश्वम्” इति रूपमुपन्यस्यते इत्युक्तम् । तर्हि तेनैव न्यायेन मूर्धाद्यवयवी न परमेश्वर इत्याशङ्क्याह—“वैश्वानरः” इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणे वाक्योपक्रमगतं साधारणलिङ्गमप्रमाणं विवक्षितलिङ्गवशादन्यपरं निर्णीतम् ; तत्प्रसङ्गेन वाक्योपक्रमगतं साधारणश्रुतिप्रमाणमसाधारणलिङ्गवशादन्यपरतया निर्णीयते—  
“वैश्वानरः साधारणशब्दविशेषात्” (१. २. २४.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

उपक्रमगतश्रुतिप्रमाणस्य वाक्यशेषगतलिङ्गेनान्यथा निर्णयप्रसङ्गेन जगदायतनत्वस्य प्रधानब्रह्मादिसाधारणलिङ्गस्य वाक्यशेषगतात्मश्रुत्या ब्रह्मपरता निर्णेतव्येत्याह—“द्युम्वाद्यायतनम्” इति ॥ अथवा त्रैलोक्यात्मा वैश्वानरः परमात्मा चेत्तर्हि त्रैलोक्यायतनत्वेन निर्दिश्यमानमर्थान्तरं न परमात्मेति शङ्कायामाह—“द्युम्वाद्यायतनं स्वशब्दात्” (१. ३. १.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे वाक्यशेषगतात्मवाक्योपक्रमगतायतनार्थो निर्णीतः ; तत्प्रसङ्गादिदानीं वाक्योपक्रमगतात्मसत्यश्रुतिभ्यां वाक्यशेषगतभूमशब्दार्थो निर्णीयते—“भूमा” इति ॥ अथवा त्रैलोक्यायतनत्वकथनेनार्थप्राप्तं श्रुतिमुखे-  
नोपपादयितुमाह—“भूमा संप्रसादादध्युपदेशात्” (१. ३. ८.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणयोः श्रुतिवशान्निर्णय उक्तः । तत्प्रसङ्गादिदानीं विधरणारूप-  
लिङ्गेनाम्बरान्तविधारकमक्षरं ब्रह्मेत्याह—“अक्षरम्” इति ॥ अथवा अती-

तानन्तरसूत्रे “सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेः” इति दर्शनाद्यभावाः ब्रह्मधर्मत्वेन निर्दिष्टाः । तत्प्रसङ्गेन स्थूलाद्यभावानां ब्रह्मधर्मत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यमनुस्मृत्य तद्वाक्यगताक्षर-  
शब्दस्यार्थमाह—अक्षरमिति ॥ अथवा सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेः ब्रह्माभिधानाद्यस्मि-  
न्नक्षरे स्थूलादयः सर्वे धर्माः प्रतिषिध्यन्ते तस्याब्रह्मत्वाशङ्कायामाह—  
“अक्षरमम्बरान्तधृतेः” (१. ३. १०.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे अक्षरमोङ्कार इति पूर्वपक्षत्वात् तत्प्रसङ्गादोङ्काराक्षरेणाभि-  
ध्यातव्यः पुरुषोऽत्र निर्णयते परमात्मेति—“ईक्षतिकर्मव्यपदेशात् सः”  
(१. ३. १३.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे “परात्परं पुरुषमीक्षते” इत्येतद्वाक्यवशादभिध्यातव्यपुरुष-  
निर्णयमकरोत्, अत्र परमेश्वरस्य पुरि शयनमिति पूरसंबन्धाधिगमादयमपि  
पूरसंबन्धी दहराकाशो ब्रह्मेति प्रतिपादयति—“दहर उत्तरेभ्यः”  
(१. ३. १४.) इति ॥

अपहतपाप्मत्वादीनां जीवेऽसंभवान्न दहराकाशो जीव इत्युक्तम् ।  
इदानीम् असंभवोऽसिद्ध इत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—“उत्तराच्चेदाविर्भूतस्वरूपस्तु”  
(१. ३. १९.) इति ॥

“परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते” इति वाक्यार्थविचार-  
प्रसङ्गेन “तच्छुक्रं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिः” इति वाक्येन निर्दिष्टपरंज्योतिष्ट्वप्रति-  
पादनपरम् “न तत्र सूर्यो भाति” इति वाक्यं विमृशति—“अनुकृतेस्तस्य  
च” (१. ३. २२.) इति ॥

ननु पूर्वाधिकरणे परमात्मनो ज्योतिष्ट्वप्रतिपादनाज्ज्योतिरिवेति ज्योतिषोप-  
मीयमानः पुरुषो न परमात्मेति शङ्कायामाह—“शब्दादेव प्रमितः”  
(१. ३. २४.) इति ॥

मनुष्याधिकारत्वादिति मनुष्याणामधिकारकथनादमनुष्याणां देवाना-  
मधिकारमांशङ्क्याह—“तदुपर्यपि बादरायणः संभवात्” (१. ३. २६.)  
इति ॥ मन्त्रार्थवादादिवाक्यानां देवताविग्रहादौ समन्वयस्य प्रतिपाद्यमानत्वादस्त्येव  
समन्वयाध्यायेनापि सङ्गतिः ।

ननु यथा मनुष्याधिकारनियमापवादेन देवादीनामधिकारः तथा द्विजात्यधिकारनियमापवादेन शूद्रस्याप्यधिकारोऽस्तु, संवर्गविद्यायाम् “अह हारे त्वा शूद्र” इति विद्याधिकारिणः शूद्रशब्देन परामर्शादित्याशङ्क्य शूद्रस्याधिकारं निराकरोति—“शुगस्य तदनादरश्रवणात्तदाद्रवणात् सूच्यते हि” (१. ३. ३४.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे बहुलिङ्गविरोधाच्छूद्रशब्दस्यैकस्य बाधो दर्शितः । इदानीं तत्प्रसङ्गादेकस्याः प्राणशब्दश्रुतेः सवायुकजगत्कम्पनाश्रयामृतत्वसाधनलिङ्गैः बहुभिः विरोधान्मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“कम्पनात्” (१. ३. ३९.) इति ॥

बहुलिङ्गविरोधात् श्रुतिबाधो दर्शितः । संप्रति तु तत्प्रसङ्गात् प्रकरणानुगृहीतोत्तमपुरुषश्रुत्या ज्योतिःश्रुतेः मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“ज्योतिर्दर्शनात्” (१. ३. ४०.) इति ॥

“अथ य एष संप्रसादः” इत्यस्यार्थनिर्णयमकरोत् पूर्वाधिकारणे । तत्प्रसङ्गात् अनन्तरपठितवाक्यस्यार्थनिर्णयमाह — “आकाशोऽर्थान्तरत्वादिव्यपदेशात्” (१. ३. ४१.) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकारणे प्रकरणानुगृहीतोत्तमपुरुषश्रुत्या पूर्वपठितज्योतिःश्रुतेः बाधो दर्शितः । संप्रति तु लिङ्गानुगृहीतश्रुतिप्रमाणाद्वाक्योपक्रमपठिताकाशश्रुतेः मुख्यार्थबाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“आकाशः” इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकारणे लिङ्गवशात् श्रुत्या सहितात् श्रुतेः बाधो दर्शितः ; इह तु लिङ्गवशात् लिङ्गस्यैव बाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“सुषुप्त्युत्क्रान्त्योः भेदेन” (१. ३. ४२.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मण्यवगतिसामान्यं प्रधानस्याशब्दत्वं च सूचितम् । तत्रावगतिसामान्यं प्रपञ्चितं गतेन ग्रन्थेन । संप्रति प्रधानस्याशब्दत्वं प्रपञ्च्यते चतुर्थपादेन । पूर्वाधिकारणे प्रसिद्धगोचरलिङ्गप्रमाणस्य बलवत्त्वमुक्तम् । इदानीं तु प्रकरणानुगृहीतस्थानप्रमाणात् तत्सजातीयस्यैव स्थानप्रमाणस्य बाधः प्रदर्श्यते—“आनुमानिकमप्येकेषाम् इति चेन्न शरीररूपकविन्यस्तगृहीतेः दर्शयति च” (१. ४. १.) ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे कारणवाचिना अव्यक्तपदेन कार्यं शरीरं लक्ष्यत इत्युक्तम् । इदानीं धर्मवाचकरोहितादिवर्णैः तेजोऽवन्नानि लक्ष्यन्त इत्यङ्गीकृत्य मानान्तरस्यापि प्रधानविषयत्वं निराचष्टे—“चमसवदविशेषात्” (१. ४. ८.) इति ॥

अथवा रथादिरूपकल्पनोपदेशप्रसङ्गेनाजारूपकल्पनोपदेशवाक्यस्य प्रधानविषयत्वं निराचष्टे—“चमसवत्” इति ॥ पूर्वाधिकरणेऽजाशब्दस्य योगवृत्तिं निराकृत्य रूढिपरिग्रहेण प्रधानविषयत्वमजामन्त्रस्य निराकृतम् । इदानीं तु पञ्चजनशब्दस्य योगवृत्तिं निराकृत्य रूढिपरिग्रहेण प्रधानादितत्त्वविषयत्वं मन्त्रान्तरस्य निराकरोति—“न संख्योपसङ्गहादपि नानाभावादतिरेकाच्च” (१. ४. ११.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणेषु वेदान्तवाक्यानां केषांचित् प्रधानादिपरत्वमाशङ्क्य निराकृतम् । इदानीं तु सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां कारणविषयाणां परस्परव्याहतानां स्वतो-निश्चायकत्वासंभवात् प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धप्रधानकारणपरत्वमाशङ्क्य निराकरोति—“कारणत्वेन चाकाशादिषु यथाव्यपदिष्टोक्तेः” (१. ४. १४.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे बहूनां परस्परविरुद्धानां अविरोधेनैककारणविषयत्वं दर्शितम् । इदानीमेकस्य शब्दस्यानेकार्थविषयस्यार्थविशेषविषयत्वेन कारणविषयत्वं वाक्यस्य निर्णयते—“जगद्वाचित्वात्” (१. ४. १६.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे जीवव्यतिरिक्तपरमात्मविषयत्वं प्रश्नव्याख्यानसामर्थ्याद्वाक्यस्य दर्शितम् । अतो जीवपरमात्मनोः भेदोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः इत्याशङ्क्य मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणे आत्मशब्दोपक्रमात् तस्य जीवस्य ब्रह्मधर्मविशिष्टतया प्रतिपादनादौपाधिको भेदः न वास्तव इति प्रतिपादयति—“वाक्यान्वयात्” (१. ४. २९.) इति ॥

अतीतग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण ब्रह्मणो जगत्कारणत्वमतिव्यापकं न भवति प्रधानादीनां जगदुपादानत्वप्रतिपादकशब्दाभावादित्युक्तम् । इदानीं ब्रह्मणोऽपि जगदुपादानत्वप्रतिपादकशब्दाभावः समानः कारणत्वप्रतिपादकवाक्यानां निमित्तकारणत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादित्याशङ्क्योपादानकारणत्वं ब्रह्मणः श्रुतिप्रमितमिति साधयति—“प्रकृतिश्च प्रतिज्ञादृष्टान्तानुपरोधात्” (१. ४. २३.) इति ॥ अथवा यत्प्रतिज्ञाबलात्पूर्वाधिकरणे मैत्रेयीब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मपरत्वं निर्णीतम् इदानीं तत्प्रतिज्ञाबलादेव ब्रह्मण उपादानत्वं साधयति—“प्रकृतिश्च” इति ॥

पूर्वोक्तन्यायेन प्रधानकारणवादस्याशब्दत्वेऽपि परमाण्वादिकारणवादानाम्  
“अणुः पन्थाः” “अणोरणीयान्” “असदेवेदमग्र आसीत्” इत्यादिशब्दवद्ब्रह्मणो  
जगत्प्रकृतित्वलक्षणमतिव्यापकमित्याशङ्क्यतिदेशेन निराचष्टे—“एतेन सर्वे  
व्याख्याता व्याख्याताः” (१. ४. २८.) इति ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

प्रथमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः

॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

प्रथमः पादः

ननु वैदिकशब्दाभावेऽपि स्मृतिलक्षणशब्दवत्त्वमस्तीति प्रधानवादिनः  
शङ्कामुपन्यस्य निराकरोति—“स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्न अन्य-  
स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गात्” (२. १. १.) इति ॥

सांख्यस्मृतेः मन्वादिस्मृतिविरोधेऽपि योगस्मृतेः स नास्ति, मन्वादि-  
स्मृतिष्वपि योगस्य प्रतिपादनादित्याशङ्क्य तथापि प्रधानविषये योगस्मृतिः न  
प्रमाणमित्याह—“एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः” (२. १. ३.) इति ॥

पराभिमतशब्दानामाभासतां प्रसाध्य तदभिमतन्यायानां स्वपक्षविरोधि-  
नाम् आभासतां दर्शयति—“न विलक्षणत्वादस्य तथात्वं च शब्दात्”  
(२. १. ४.) इति ॥

यद्यपि सांख्ययोगन्यायविरोधः समन्वयस्य निराकृतः तथापि समन्वयो  
न सिध्यति’ अण्वादिकारणवादिभिः उद्भाषितन्यायविरोधात्, तेषां च तार्किकत्वेन  
प्रसिद्धत्वात् तदीयन्यायानामबाध्यत्वादित्याशङ्क्य तन्निराकरणयोक्तन्यायमतिदि-  
शति—“एतेन शिष्टापरिग्रहा अपि व्याख्याताः” (२. १. १२.) इति ॥

एवं तर्कविरोधं परिहृत्य समन्वयस्य प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणविरोधमाशङ्क्य  
परिहरति—“भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत् स्याल्लोकवत्” (२. १. १३.) इति ॥

भेदाभेदमवलम्ब्य मानान्तरविरोधः परिहृतः ; संप्रति स्वसिद्धान्तेन  
पारहरात्—“तदनन्यत्वमारम्भणशब्दादिभ्यः” (२. १. १४.) इति ॥

एकविज्ञानेन सर्वविज्ञानप्रतिज्ञासिद्धये कारणानन्यत्वं कार्यस्य प्रति-  
पादितम् । तेनैव न्यायेन जीवस्यापि कारणानन्यत्वात् जीवधर्मोहिताकरणा-  
दयो ब्रह्मणि प्रसज्यन्त इत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—“इतरव्यपदेशाद्विताकरणादि-  
दोषप्रसक्तिः” (२. १. २१.) इति ॥

सजातीयात् चेतनादभिन्नत्वावलम्बनेन ब्रह्मणः कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य पूर्वाधि-  
करणेन परिहृतम् । इदानीं विजातीयभेदावष्टम्भेन कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य परिहरति—  
“उपसंहारदर्शनाच्चेति चेत् न क्षीरवद्धि” (२. १. २४ इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे क्षीरादिपरिणामिद्रव्याणां दृष्टान्तत्वेनाभिधानाद्ब्रह्म परिणामीति  
शङ्का स्यात् ; तन्निराकरणेन विवर्तस्यैव श्रुत्यर्थातां दर्शयितुमाह—“कृत्स्न-  
प्रसक्तिर्निरवयवत्वशब्दकोपो वा” (२. १. २६.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे अवयवाभावात् कारणत्वाक्षेपे सति सर्वशक्तियुक्तत्वात् कारण-  
त्वमुपपन्नमित्युक्तम् । इदानीं सर्वशक्तित्वे प्रमाणाभावात् करणाभावाच्च कारण-  
त्वमाक्षिप्य परिहरति—“सर्वोपेता च तद्दर्शनात्” (२. १. ३०.) इति ॥

शक्तिमतोऽपि प्रयोजनाभावे प्रेक्षावत्प्रवृत्त्यदर्शनात् ब्रह्मणः प्रयोजन-  
शून्यजगद्विरचनमनुपपन्नमिति पुनः कारणत्वमाक्षिप्य समाधत्ते—“न प्रयोजन-  
वत्त्वात्” (२. १. ३२.) इति ॥

संप्रति जगद्विलयसर्गे प्रयोजनाभावे तद्विषयरागद्वेषाभावात् परमेश्वरस्य  
विषमजगद्धेतुत्वमनुपपन्नमित्याशङ्क्य समाधत्ते—“वैषम्यनैर्घृण्ये न सापेक्ष-  
त्वात् तथा हि दर्शयति” (२. १. ३४.) इति ॥

पूर्वं ब्रह्मणः कारणत्वविघातिनः परैः उद्भावितान् दोषान् परिहृत्य  
संप्रति निर्विशेषत्वेऽपि मायाविशिष्टे कारणत्वानुगुणानां सर्वगुणानामपि संभवा-  
दुपपन्नं कारणत्वमित्युपसंहरति—“सर्वधर्मोपपत्तेश्च” (२. १. ३७.) इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे ब्रह्मणि कारणत्वानुगुणा गुणाः संभवन्तीत्यभिधाय संप्रति  
प्रधाने तदसंभवमाह—“रचनानुपपत्तेश्च नानुमानम्” (२. २. १.) इति ॥

ननु ब्रह्मणोऽपि कारणातुगुणा गुणा न संभवन्ति तद्विशिष्टगुण-  
चैतन्यस्य तत्कार्ये जगति समानजातीयगुणानामारम्भकत्वादिति वैशेषिक-  
मतमाशङ्क्य तत्प्रक्रियैव व्यभिचारयति—“महर्द्दीर्घवद्वा ह्रस्वपरिमण्डला-  
भ्याम्” (२. २. ११.) इति ॥

इदानीं स्वपक्षे तदुक्तं दूषणं परिहृत्य तदभिप्रेतपरमाणूनां कारणत्वं  
निराचष्टे—“उभयथापि न कर्मातस्तदभावः” (२. २. १२.) इति ॥

एवमर्धवैनाशिकमतनिराकरणानन्तरं सर्ववैनाशिकस्य बौद्धस्य बुद्धिस्थ-  
त्वात्तन्मतं निराकरोति—“समुदाय उभयहेतुकेऽपि तदप्राप्तिः”  
(२. २. १८.) इति ॥

एवं विज्ञानस्य सालम्बनवादं निराकृत्य निरालम्बनवादनिराकरणायाह—  
“नाभाव उपलब्धेः” (२. २. २८.) इति ॥

एवं मुक्तकच्छमतनिराकरणानन्तरं मुक्ताम्बरस्य धीस्थत्वात्तन्मतं दूषयति  
—“नैकस्मिन्नसंभवात्” (२. २. ३३.) इति ॥

एवं लुञ्चनकेशमतं निराकृत्य जटाधारिमाहेश्वरमतं निराकरोति—  
“पत्युरसामञ्जस्यात्” (२. २. ३७.) इति ॥ अथवा सप्तपदार्थवादिनि  
निरस्ते पञ्चपदार्थवादिमतप्राप्तावाह—“पत्युः” इति ॥

माहेश्वरमतनिराकरणानन्तरं वैष्णवमतं निराकरोति—“उत्पत्त्यसंभवात्”  
(२. २. ४२.) इति ॥ अथवा पञ्चपदार्थवादिमते अपास्ते चतुर्व्यूहपदार्थ-  
पक्षमपाकरोति—“उत्पत्त्यसंभवात्” इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

परपक्षाणां परस्परविप्रतिषेधादनपेक्षत्वे प्रदर्शिते श्रुतीनामपि परस्पर-  
विप्रतिषेधादुपेक्ष्यतामाशङ्क्य परिहरति—“न वियदश्रुतेः” (२. ३. १.) इति ॥

वियदुत्पत्तिं प्रसाध्य पवनोत्पत्तिं प्रसाधयति—“एतेन मातरिश्वा  
व्याख्यातः” (२. ३. ८.) इति ॥

असंभाव्यमानजन्मनोः वियत्पवनयोः उत्पत्तिमाकर्ण्य कारणत्वाद्ब्रह्मणोऽ-  
प्युत्पत्तिः स्यादिति संभावनायामाह—“असंभवस्तु सतोऽनुपपत्तेः”  
(२. ३. ९.) इति ॥



पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रसङ्गात् कार्यत्वं सतो निराकृतम् । संप्रति तस्यैव सतः “तत्तेजोऽसृजत” इति तेजःकारणतावगमात् “वायोरग्निः” इति विप्रतिषेधमाशङ्क्याह—“तेजोऽतस्तथा ह्याह” (२. ३. १०.) इति ॥

संप्रत्यनन्तरनिर्दिष्टतेजःसंभवमम्भसामाह—“आपः” (२. ३. ११.) इति ॥

इदानीं तु “ता अन्नमसृजन्त” इत्यप्यकार्यत्वेनावगम्यमानान्नस्य पृथिवीत्वं साधयति—“पृथिव्यधिकाररूपशब्दान्तरेभ्यः” (२. ३. १२.) इति ॥

एवं पूर्वपूर्वकार्यत्वश्रवणादुत्तरोत्तरभूतानां न ब्रह्मकारणत्वमित्याशङ्क्यामाह—“तदभिध्यानादेव तु तल्लिङ्गात् सः” (२. ३. १३.) इति ॥

एवं सृष्टिक्रममभिधाय लयक्रममाह—“विपर्ययेण तु क्रमोऽत उपपद्यते च” (२. ३. १४.) इति ॥

इदानीमभिहितभूतोद्भवप्रलयक्रमस्य करणसृष्ट्या बाधमाशङ्क्य परिहरति—“अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी क्रमेण तल्लिङ्गादिति चेन्नाविशेषात्” (२. ३. १५.) इति ॥

इत्थं भोग्यवर्गस्योद्भवमभिधाय संप्रति भोक्तुः संभवसंभावनायामाह—“चराचरव्यपाश्रयस्तु स्यात्तद्व्यपदेशो भाक्तः तद्भावभावित्वात्” (२. ३. १६.) इति ॥

देहोत्पत्तौ जीवोत्पत्तिं निराकृत्य महासर्गेऽपि तस्योत्पत्तिं निराचष्टे—“नात्माश्रुतेः नित्यत्वाच्च ताभ्यः” (२. ३. १७.) इति ॥

एवमात्मनो नित्यत्वमभिधाय चैतन्यस्यापि तत्स्वरूपतया नित्यतामाह—“ज्ञोऽत एव” (२. ३. १८.) इति ॥

एवं कालतः परिच्छेदं निराकृत्याधुना देशतः परिच्छेदं निराचष्टे—“उत्क्रान्तिगत्यागतीनाम्” (२. ३. १९.) ॥

एवं नित्यत्वज्ञत्वादिजीवचिन्ताप्रसङ्गेन तस्यैव धर्मान्तरं चिन्तयति—“कर्ता शास्त्रार्थवत्त्वात्” (२. ३. ३३.) इति ॥

उक्तस्य कर्तृत्वस्य स्वाभाविकत्वमाशङ्क्याह—“यथा च तक्षोभयथा” (२. ३. ४०.) इति ॥

औपाधिकमपि पूर्वोक्तं कर्तृत्वम् ईश्वरायत्तमेवेत्याह—“परास्तु तच्छ्रुतेः” (२. ३. ४१.) इति ॥

एवं जीवेश्वरयोः कर्तृप्रयोजककर्तृत्वभावेनाभिहितयोः संबन्धाकाङ्क्षायाम्  
अंशांशिभावलक्षणं संबन्धं दर्शयति—“अंशो नानाव्यपदेशादन्यथा चापि  
दाशकितवादित्वमधीयत एके” (२. ३. ४३.) इति ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

एवं कर्तृस्वरूपनिरूपणानन्तरं करणादिधर्मनिरूपणाय पादमारभमाणः  
करणानामुत्पत्तिं तावदाह—“तथा प्राणाः” (२. ४. १.) इति ॥

करणानामेव संख्यानिर्णयार्थमाह—“सप्त गतेः विशेषितत्वाच्च”  
(२. ४. ५.) इति ॥

एवं कालतः परिच्छेदमभिधाय अधुना तेषामेव देशपरिच्छेदमणुतां चाह  
—“अणवश्च” (२. ४. ७.) इति ॥

एवम् इतरप्राणनिरूपणानन्तरं मुख्यप्राणस्योत्पत्तिम् आह—“श्रेष्ठश्च”  
(२. ४. ८.) इति ॥

इदानीं तस्यैव स्वभावविशेषमाह—“न वायुक्रिये पृथगुपदेशात्”  
(२. ४. ९.) इति ॥

तस्यापि करणानामिवाणुतां दर्शयति—“अणुश्च” (२. ४. १३.)  
इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्राणस्याध्यात्माधिदैवाविभागेनाणुत्वविभुत्वे निर्णीते । तत्प्रसङ्गे-  
नाध्यात्मिकानां प्राणानामधिदेवापेक्षां चेष्टामाचष्टे—“ज्योतिराद्यधिष्ठानं तु  
तदामननात्” (२. ४. १४.) इति ॥

तेषामेव मुख्यप्राणातिरिक्तत्वमाह—“त इन्द्रियाणि तद्व्यपदेशादन्यत्र  
श्रेष्ठात्” (२. ४. १७.) इति ॥

एवं भूतभौतिककारणनिरूपणानन्तरं तन्नामरूपव्याकरणस्य परमेश्वर-  
कर्तृकतामाह—“संज्ञामूर्तिक्लृप्तिस्तु” (२. ४. २०.) इति ॥ अथवा अन-  
न्तराधिकरणे नामरूपभेदात्करणानां प्राणभेदप्रस्तावनाप्रसङ्गेन नामरूपव्याकरणं  
किं कर्तृकमिति निरूपयति—“संज्ञामूर्तिक्लृप्तिः”

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

## RĀJAŚEKHARA THE DRAMATIST.

BY

SIR C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRIAR.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the July-October Number of the Journal deals with the question of the identity of Mahīpāla the patron of Kṣemeśvara with the Gurjara ruler of Kanoj and inclines strongly against the view that the Mahīpāla referred to by Kṣemeśvara in the prelude to the *Caṇḍakauśikam* (*Dor-darpādhyah sa punar abhavat Śrī Mahīpāladevaḥ*) was Mahīpāla I of Bengal who reigned between 794-1026. A. D.

As Kṣemeśvara and Rājaśekhara were contemporaries and as Rājaśekhara in his plays refers with pride to his having been the Guru of Mahendrapāla and his having been patronised by his son Mahīpāla, I think the date of Rājaśekhara, and the identity of the two kings referred to by him, will not only be interesting, but will throw light on the controversy dealt with, by Professor Sastri. On the questions with which I propose to deal in this article, eminent scholars are in disagreement, and if I enter the lists, it is not in the role of a vanquisher of heroes but in the more humble role of a supplier of ammunition.

Rājaśekhara gives more information of himself than most other authors. There can be little doubt from what he states, that he was the Guru of King Mahendrapāla and was patronised by his son Mahīpāla. In the *Bāla Rāmāyaṇam* he describes his grandfather Akālajalada as Mahārāṣṭra Cūḍāmaṇi. He says his father was a minister of Nirbhaya who has been identified with Mahendrapāla. In his plays he uses the Maharāṣṭric Prākṛt and in the *Karpūramañjarī* he speaks of "the campak blossoms blooming in spring like a Maharāṣṭra girl's cheeks rubbed with saffron paste". Both the *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bāla Bhārata* were acted according to him at Mahodaya which is another name for Kanoj. Though a Brahmin, he married Avantī Sundarī described by him in the *Karpūramañjarī* as 'crest garland of the Chauhan family', and the *Karpūramañjarī* was he says, acted at her request. He described himself as "having risen to lofty dignity by the successive steps of poet, chief poet, and teacher of king Nirbhaya". It is unfortunate that, amidst all his prolixity

and self adulation he gives no indication as to the date when he lived or wrote his works.

As to the period when he flourished the opinions of eminent scholars are divided and range from the 8th to as late as the 14th centuries. Doctor Peterson in his introduction to the *Subhāṣitāvali* observes—"The Dramatist has been supposed to date from as late as the 14th century but his real date is the middle of the 8th Century. This is established by the fact that Kṣīrasvāmin who wrote a commentary on the *Amarakośa*, and who was the teacher of Jaysinha (correctly Jayāpīḍa) of Kashmir 750 A. D. quotes from a verse in the *Viddhasāla-bhañjikā* in his note on *Amara* 1. 8. 4., and that King Mahendrapāla whom Rājaśekhara himself refers to as a pupil was reigning in 761 A.D." If Kṣīrasvāmin, the commentator of *Amarakośa* can be identified with the teacher of Jayāpīḍa, this would clearly fix Rājaśekhara's date. We find, from the 4th book of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa that between 700 and 750 A. D., the following kings of the Kārkoṭa Dynasty reigned in Kashmir—Muktāpīḍa; Lalitāiditya, the conqueror of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja; Kuvalayāpīḍa; Vajrāditya; Prthivyāpīḍa; Saṅgrāmāpīḍa; and Jayāpīḍa; who is said to have reigned for 31 years from 3828 to 3859 Laukika or Saptarṣi era which began in 3076 B. C. (755 to 786 A. D.). Verse 489 of the 4th *Taraṅgiṇī* is as follows 'Receiving instruction from a master of grammatical science called Kṣīra the learned Jayāpīḍa gained distinction with the wise.' With reference to the śloka Stein in his note observes "Kṣīra, Jayāpīḍa's teacher in grammar, is identified by the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandits with Kṣīrasvāmin, son of Īśvara Svāmin, the author of a well known commentary on the *Amarakośa* and several other grammatical treatises still extant." Professor Max Muller in his notes and illustrations to "India, what it can teach us" (p. 334) observes that Kṣīra, the commentator of *Amara* quotes from Kālidāsa. Professor Aufrecht, however, places the commentator Kṣīra between the 11th and the 12th centuries chiefly because he quotes from the *Śabdānuśāsana* ascribed to Bhoja. Professor Buhler mentions a Kṣīra as the author of *Avyayavṛtti* and *Dhātutaraṅgiṇī* and he calls him Jayāpīḍa's teacher.

Professor Buhler<sup>1</sup> referring to Peterson's view above quoted observes "I think it hazardous to maintain that the

identity of Kṣīrasvāmin the commentator of Amarakośa with Kṣīra the teacher of Jayāpīḍa (not Jayasimha as the editor says) is established. If the second argument that King Mahendrapāla who was reigning in 761 was Rājaśekhara's pupil is based on the Dighwa Dabuli plate published by Mr. Fleet<sup>1</sup> I think it requires further consideration. A Mahendrapāla may have reigned in Kanoj in 761 A. D. but it has not been shown that this king was Rājaśekhara's Nirbhaya Mahendrapāla, the father of Mahīpāla. According to this inscription the sons of Mahendrapāla were Bhoja II and Vinayapāla. Professor Aufrecht thinks that Kṣīrasvāmin must be placed in the 11th Century as he quotes the Śabdārṇava of Bhoja, but it is not at all clear that King Bhoja was the author of this book.

The Dighwa Dubuli grant dated Harṣa Saṁvat 155 (A. D. 761-762) is found copied on page 105 of the Indian Antiquary (Vol. XV) and is translated by Mr. Fleet. It purports to be issued from the camp (Skandhāvāra) at Mahodaya. Dr. Fleet thinks it establishes the fact that Bhoja I was the father of Mahendrapāla who reigned in 761-2 and that by his first wife he had a son Bhoja II and by his second wife a son Vinayapāla who reigned in 794-795. He deals with the age of Rājaśekhara in Vol. XVI of the Indian Antiquary and refers to the Asni inscription dated Vikrama Saṁvat 774 (A. D. 917-18) found in the village of Asni about 90 miles from Konouj which is a grant by Mahīpāla who is said to be the successor of Mahendrapāla. He places Rājaśekhara in the first quarter of the 10th century.

The Sayadoni Inscription which is set out and dealt with by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*<sup>2</sup> is an important piece of evidence. It records several donations made by different persons to the worship of Viṣṇu in the village of Sayadoni. The learned Professor observes—"The names of the four sovereigns of Mahodaya or Kānyakubja presented to us in the inscription with their known dates would be as follows :—Bhoja 862-876-882; Mahendrapāla or Nirbhaya Narendra or Mahīpāla 903-907 pupil of Rājaśekhara; his son Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla or Herambapāla 917 patron of Rājaśekhara; his son Devapāla 948".

The Bilhari Chedi Inscription<sup>3</sup> which Hall, with some hesitation, ascribes to the 12th century and which

1. I. A. Vol. 15, p. 107.

2. Vol. I, p. 162.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 268.

Kielhorn says should be fixed at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century refers, in verse 85 to Rājaśekhara as follows "May this composition the several parts of which are well joined and which would deserve praise even from the wonderstruck poet Rājaśekhara, endure to the end of the world." Speaking of the verse, Hall observes<sup>1</sup>—"The first three kings of our inscription are panegyrised in it, we are told, by Śrīnivāsa son of Sthirananda and, in the remaining three by Sajjana son of Sthira. The compiler and supplementor of their labour seems to have been Rājaśekhara." If this were the dramatist, a matter of some curiosity from a literary point of view now approaches solution." He follows the matter up in Vol. XXXI, p. 13 and observes—"One poet now remains, whose connection with Kanoj may be counted a certainty, I mean, Rājaśekhara the author of Viddhaśālabhañjikā, the Pracanda Pāṇḍava or Bāla Bhārata, the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa and of the Karpūramañjarī. In all these works, he speaks of his patron as being Mahendrapāla of the city of Mahodaya. Mahendrapāla is also called Mahīpāla and his father Nirbhaya Narendra. To the first the poet was preceptor. If Nirbhaya Narendra was the title of Bhoja I of the Kanoj copper plate, whose son was Mahendrapāla it cannot be that this Rājaśekhara compiled and supplemented the Bilhari inscription which I have ascribed with much hesitation, to the early part of the 12th century." Hall is entirely mistaken when he says that Bhoja was called Nirbhaya Narendra and there is nothing in the Cedi inscription which can be taken to mean that Rājaśekhara "compiled and supplemented" the inscription. All that verse 85 says is that it would excite the admiration of Rājaśekhara.

H. H. Wilson thinks that Rājaśekhara's date is the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. Professor Tauney thinks he flourished under Mahendrapāla of Kanoj 903-907 and Mahīpāla 917 A. D. Professor Peterson places him in the first quarter of the 10th Century on the strength of the Asni Inscription. Professor Bhandarkar in his report of the Sanskrit Manuscripts 1882-3 thinks he should be placed about the 10th century. V. S. Apte is more guarded and thinks that he should be placed between the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th, and the middle of the 10th century. Professor Sten Konow in his essay on Rājaśekhara prefixed to the drama Karpūramañjarī

translated by Lanman places him about 900 A. D. Professor Max Muller who places him as late as the 14th century seems to comfound the poet Rājaśekhara with the Rājaśekhara who wrote the Prabandhakośa about 1347 A. D. Professor Keith places him about A. D. 900 and at page 232, Sanskrit Drama, he observes that Karpūramañjarī was his first drama, and that Nirbhaya whose teacher he says he was is "clearly the Pratihāra king of Mahodaya or Kānya Kubja of whom we have records in A. D. 893 and 907." He thinks that the Viddhasālabhāñjikā was produced for the Kalacuri King Yuvarāya Keyūravarṣa of Tripuri and that Rājaśekhara must have visited his Court and observes. "But as the unfinished Bāla Bhārata was written for Mahipāla the successor of Mahendrapāla whose records begin in 914 we may assume he returned to the Court of the Pratihāras and died there".

Rājaśekhara refers to the Dramatist Bhavabhūti and the poet Meṇṭha in scene I verse 16 of the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa in which he says "of yore there was the poet sprung from an anthill, then he became Bharatṛmeṇṭha; again he existed as Bhavabhūti. He now is "Rājaśekhara." Of Bhavabhūti it may be safely asserted that he lived in the closing years of the 7th century. Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī refers to Vākpati and Bhavabhūti as the court poets of Yaśovarman who, according to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī was conquered by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the limits of whose reign appear to be 649 to 775 A. D. Vākpati himself in the Gauḍavadha refers to Bhavabhūti and speaks of his own work "flashing with excellence like drops of the nectar of poetry from the ocean of Bhavabhūti". The date of Meṇṭha or Bhartṛmeṇṭha, the author of Hayagrīvavadha, cannot be fixed with certainty. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī III verses 260, 261 and 262 he is said to have been patronised by Mātṛgupta who was succeeded by Pravara-sena. Professor Max Muller places Mātṛgupta who he says was the patron of Bhartṛmeṇṭha as reigning from 544 to 550 A. D. Professor Keith places Meṇṭha in the latter part of the 6th century.

Mañkha, the author of Śrī Kaṇṭha Caritra who lived in the reign of Jayasinha (1129—1150) also refers to Rājaśekhara thus :—The verse runs as follows :—

प्रक्रमैः हठवक्रिणो मुगरिमनु धावतः ।

श्रीराजशेखरगिरे नीवी यस्योक्तिसंपदाम् ॥ <sup>1</sup>

Rājaśekhara is quoted by Somadeva in the third Aśvāsa of Yaśastilakacampū written about 954-960. Dhanika in his commentary of the Daśarūpa quotes from Rājaśekhara's Karpūramañjarī and Viddhasālabbhañjikā. Both Dhanañjaya the author of Daśarūpa and Dhanika the commentator lived in the reign of Vākpatirāja II also known as Muñja (the predecessor of the celebrated Bhoja) who reigned from 974 to 995 and who is referred to in Padmāguptas Navasāhasānka Caritra. The Cālukya King Tailapa who conquered and put to death Muñja reigned from 930 to 997 A. D. In the concluding śloka of the Daśarūpa, Dhanañjaya says that "the work was given to this world by Dhanañjaya son of Viṣṇu whose learning was derived from Muñja Mahārāja." The Sarasvatikanthābharāṇa attributed to Bhoja the successor of Muñja, and Kṣemendra who lived between 1037 and 1066, also quotes from Rājaśekhara's Dramas.

The Jain Merutuṅga in his Prabandhacintāmaṇi which was composed about the year 1360 of the Vikrama Era says that Rājaśekhara was at the Court of king Bhoja. The story he relates is as follows:—When Bhoja was going on an elephant through the city he found a beggar picking up grains and when questioned he said—"I am Rājaśekhara who, having been prevented by the chief men of the city from obtaining in any other way an entrance into your court of various learned men have striven by this trick to enjoy an interview with you. The king after knowing his ability showered gifts on him and Rājaśekhara well pleased thanked the king in his śloka "Bhekaiḥ Koṭaraśāyibhiḥ" & etc., which śloka was known as the "Akāla-jalada" (cloud out of season). Curiously enough this very śloka is also to be found in the Bhojaprabandha of Ballāladeva (śloka 199) but in connection with the story of a poor brahmin to whom a thief presented a bracelet given to him by king Bhoja and who on being arrested and brought before the king explained his possession in this śloka. The Śaṅkara Digvijaya also refers to Rājaśekhara as having met the great Śaṅkarācārya, but the work has little historical value. Some confusion has been caused by identifying Rājaśekhara with the author of Prabandhakośa



written about 1348 who amongst other things gives the life of Śrī Harṣa, the author of Naiṣadha.

The grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda IV dated Śaka Samvat 852 found in Cambay transcribed and translated with an introduction by Professor Bhandarkar in Vol. VII of the *Ephigraphia Indica* pages 26 to 46 is valuable and instructive when read with the inscriptions already referred to by me. In verse 19 of the inscription, king Indra is said to have "completely devastated that hostile city of Mahodaya which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kuśasthala." The Professor is of opinion that the complete destruction of Mahodaya is an exaggeration as the Gwalior Pehora and Sayadonī inscriptions show that Bhoja, Mahendrapāla Kṣitipāla, or Mahipāla and Devapāla reigned in Kanoj between 862 and 948. He observes at page 30 "Now as for Indra III we have dates 915 to 917 and these can hardly be any doubt that they were contemporaries. And it is almost certain that this is the Kṣitipāla whom Indra III conquered". He refers to a Kharuraho inscription set out in Vol. I *Epigraphia Indica* p. 121 as showing that King Kṣitipāla was replaced on his throne by the Caṇḍella King Harṣadēva who flourished in the beginning of the 10th century. He refers to the Bhalagpur grant of Nārāyaṇa set out in the *Indian Antiquary*<sup>1</sup> which shows that Dharmapāla the second Prince of the Pāla Dynasty in turn conquered. Indra III, acquired the sovereignty of Mahodhya, and bestowed it on Cakrayuddha. This event is also referred to in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla<sup>2</sup>. The conclusion the learned Doctor draws from the various grants are that Indra III conquered Kanoj and ousted Kṣitipāla also called Mahipāla, that Indra was defeated by Harṣadeva who restored Kṣitipāla to his lost dominion of Kanoj. He thinks that Kṣitipāla bore the epithet Cakrayuddha.<sup>3</sup>

There can, therefore, be little doubt that Mahipāla succeeded Mahendrapāla after probably a short reign by Bhoja II.

As Rājasekhara refers to Bhavabhūti he cannot be earlier than the eighth Century A. D. and as he is quoted by Dhanika

1. Vol. xv, p. 304 and Vol. xx, p. 187.

2. Vol. IV of the *E. Indica* p. 243.

3. See also V. Smith *Oxford History of India*, p. 189.

who flourished in the reign of Muñja (974-995) he cannot be later and it must have taken some years for his fame to have spread. Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla referred to by Rājaśekhara as the Rulers in whose Courts he flourished have been shown by the inscriptions referred to above to have reigned between 903 to 917. Rājaśekhara whose unfinished drama Bāla Bhārata was according to him written for Mahipāla must have died during his reign. Putting together all these and other facts referred by me I think it can safely be asserted that Rājaśekhara's period can be put between 850 and 920 A. D. As Mahipāla I of Bengal reigned between 974-1026, it is impossible that Rājaśekhara can have been his contemporary and if Kṣemeśvara was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara as is the generally accepted opinion, his reference to Mahipāla in the Caṇḍakauśika must refer to the Mahipāla of Kanoj.

## THE VṚTTIS.

BY

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(Continued from page 370 of Volume VI.)

Coming to the three other Vṛttis, Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī and Sāttvatī, these are first distinguished from Bhāratī as Artha-Vṛttis, Vṛttis explaining action as contrasted with speech. There is great confusion on the correct meaning of these names. Abhinava thus defines the Vṛttis in the Vṛttyadhyāya :—

‘पाठ्यप्रधाना भारती, अभिनयप्रधाना सात्त्वती, अनुभावाद्यावेशसमय-  
रसप्रधाना आरभटी, तवाद्यो (ततवाद्यो) परञ्जकप्रधाना कैशिकीति ।’

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. Ms. Vol. III, p. 5.

He gives a fuller exposition of the four in chapter one.

‘धर्मादिपुरुषार्थचतुष्टये साध्ये वागङ्गसत्त्वचेष्टासामान्यम् । तच्च संक्षिप्तेन  
अवान्तरभेदेन चतुर्धा । यद्यत् किल कर्मरभ्यते, तत्र वाङ्मनःकायव्यापार-  
स्तावदस्ति । तत्र कस्यचित् लालित्यवैचित्र्यक्रमस्यानुप्रवेशः, यत उत्तम-  
प्रकृतीनां सौष्ठवमय एव सर्वो व्यापारः, तदेव तद्वृत्तिचतुष्टयम् । भारती  
वाग्वृत्तिः । मनोव्यापाररूपा सात्त्विकी सात्त्वती । सदिति प्रख्यारूपं संवेदनं  
तद्यत्रास्ति तत्सत्त्वं मनः, तस्येयमिति । ‘इयर्ति’ इत्यरा भटाः सोत्साहा अनलसाः,  
तेषामारभटी, कायवृत्तिः<sup>1</sup> । केशाः किञ्चिदप्यर्थक्रियाजातम् अकुर्वन्तो देह-  
शोभोपयोगिनः, तद्वत् सौन्दर्योपयोगिव्यापारः कैशिकीवृत्तिरिति तावन्मुख्यः  
क्रमः । \* \* \* एवं यत्किञ्चित् लालित्यं तत्सर्वं कैशिकीविजृम्भितम् ।

pp. 20-21 Gaek. edn.

Thus according to Abhinava speech is Bhāratī, mental mood is Sāttvatī, both of these respectively referring to or comprehend-

1. Bhoja also says similarly that the four Vṛttis are the activities of mind, body and speech.

‘मनोवाक्कायकर्मनिबन्धनाः पञ्च वृत्तयो भवन्ति ।’

ing realms of Vācīkābhīnaya and Sāttvikābhīnaya, physical action or movements of the body are Ārabhaṭī and whatever action is beautiful is called Kaiśikī. We can at once see in this explanation how Kaiśikī stands apart from the rest as the name of a manner of doing or acting (*i.e.*) the beautiful and graceful way of doing or as the name of those situations that are characterised mainly by such beauty and grace. The other three Vṛttis are names of the things themselves (*i.e.*) speech or action, which is either mental or physical. To make the point clear, even speech and action, Bhāratī, Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī can be again qualified by Kaiśikī when they are graceful. Thus we can have graceful speech and graceful action. In the history of the Vṛttis, just as no writer has missed the essential idea of Bhāratī as speech, so also no writer has missed the essential idea that Kaiśikī is the name of the atmosphere of Śṛṅgāra, of graceful pleasantries, of scenes with many women, of music and dance. The idea in the legend of the Vedic origin of the Vṛttis that Kaiśikī was derived from the Sāmaveda is very significant. For from Sāmaveda was music derived. It is not denied that music can also be wild and helpful to Raudra even as it cannot be denied that women also get into furious moods. Though essentially Kaiśikī is the name of grace and delicacy wherever they are, it is pre-eminently present in the Śṛṅgāra Rasa, in songs of love and dances<sup>1</sup>. Thus speech or Bhāratī also may be graceful or terrible and there can be a कैशिकी-भारती in the exchange of sweet words between the lover and his beloved. The Sāttvatī, mental action, can be such emotions as are graceful in nature whereby we can have a कैशिकी-सात्त्वती. So also, taking for the present that Ārabhaṭī as Abhinava says is Kāya-Vṛtti (*i. e.*) physical action, it can be divided into the graceful and the terrible and the former can be called the कैशिकी-आरभटी. For as Abhinava says, wherever there is grace, wherever we have ललित्य and सौकुमार्य, we have the Kaiśikī.

We remarked in the beginning section of the paper that some held Pārvatī as the exponent of this Vṛtti. Bharata says

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1. The Śabdakalpadrūma says that, according to Śabdaratnāvali and Jaṭādhara, Kaiśika (mas. gen.) means Śṛṅgāra Rasa. The case is similar to that of the words 'Ujjvala' and 'Śuci' which are given by Bharata as descriptive of Śṛṅgāra but which in later times, in the Kośas, have become synonyms of Śṛṅgāra. (Amara. I. vii. 17).

that originally there were only three Vṛttis, there being only male-actors (N. S. I. 41-56). The Kaiśikī could not be done by males. When there was a demand for it, the Apsaras-actresses were created as the exponents of it. Kaiśikī cannot be presented successfully by men alone. अशक्या पुरुषैः साधु प्रयोक्तुं स्त्रीजनादते । Woman is all grace and through her beauty revealed itself. All her movements are by nature characteristically graceful. Man is characterised by vigour and force, and neither in his actions of male-parts nor of female-parts can Kaiśikī be enjoyed. So some interpreters of the legend of Brahmā having seen the Kaiśikī during Śiva's dance say that the real person who presented the Kaiśikī was Pārvatī and not Śiva. Between Śiva and Pārvatī, dance distinguishes itself into Tāṇḍava and Lāsya, the violent and the graceful types. Lāsya is Kaiśikī. But this does not mean that males could not present Kaiśikī at all. Abhinava refutes such an extreme position. He holds that Śiva himself presented the graceful Kaiśikī also<sup>1</sup>. It is in accordance with this, *viz.*, the possibility of perfect masters of the art being capable of the fine rendering of Kaiśikī also, that in the Vṛtti chapter Bharata makes Viṣṇu himself the author of the Kaiśikī also. And it is a well-known fact that our male Bharatācāryas, like the Chinese male-actors, are exquisite actors of feminine moods also. When this exception is granted we can safely emphasise that Kaiśikī is essentially the Vṛtti of women. Therefore it is that Bharata says in defining it—

या श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्यविशेषचित्रा स्त्रीसंयुता या बहुवृत्तगीता ।

कामोपभोगप्रभवोपचारा तां कैशिकीं वृत्तिमुदाहरन्ति ॥ XXII. 47.

Now how did the graceful aspect come to be called Kaiśikī ? The explanation given by Bharata as an organic part of his legend is that the word Kaiśikī must be derived from Keśa or hair. How does that derivation explain the concept ? The story says

1. Rājaśekhara's opinion agrees with Abhinava's. In the Prastāvanā to the Garbhanāṭaka called Sītāsvayamvara in Act III of the Bālarāmāyaṇa, Kohala is made to say that Śiva himself depicted both Tāṇḍava and Lāsya to please Rāvaṇa at whose valour Śiva was pleased.

“——स्वपौरुषपरितोषितखण्डपरशुदर्शितलास्यताण्डवप्रपञ्चचतुरेण——”

But generally the view is as expressed by Kālidāsa,

‘रुद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा’,

that Śiva dances the Tāṇḍava while Pārvatī presents the Lāsya,

that the Kaiśikī was born when with graceful movements of his hands Viṣṇu either tied his loosened locks or caught the demons by their hair. The former seems better. Abhinava, in the passage quoted above, adds that hair, though not doing any useful activity in man or woman, is yet necessary as that which gives beauty; and Kaiśikī is called so by adopting the name of hair-Keśa—as the Vṛtti of grace and beauty. Rāmacandra's ingenuity goes further. He says that those that have an abundance of hair are called Kaiśikas (*i.e.*) the women and the Vṛtti that has women prominently is called the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti.

‘अतिशायिनः केशाः सन्त्यास्विति कैशिकाः स्त्रियः । स्तनकेशवतीत्वं हि स्त्रीणां लक्षणम् । तत्प्रधानत्वात् तासामियं कैशिकी । N. D. p. 157.

Kallinātha adds that the tresses are soft and are made more beautiful by flowers that deck them. So the Vṛtti that is soft and beautiful, मृदु and विचित्र, is called as Kaiśikī after the the tresses—कैशिकम् ।

‘यद्वा केशानां समूहः कैशिकम् । कैशिकवन्मृदुत्वात् सुमनोमिः विचित्रत्वाच्च कैशिकीयोगोऽपि द्रष्टव्यः ।’ S. R. Vyā. VI.

But it is plain that to derive Kaiśikī from Keśa is as trifling and funny as deriving Bhāratī from Bhāra, both adopting the pinciple of अक्षरवर्णसाम्य.<sup>1</sup> The fact shows that Bharata himself did not know what that name meant or how the graceful situations came to be called by that name. Words like Kaiśikī became Rūḍhis and even while Bharata wrote many things were forgotten. Kallinātha quietly accepts Kaiśikī, at first, as a Rūḍhi, considering its derivations as not being good. ‘अत्र कैशिकीशब्दो रूढो द्रष्टव्यः ।’ I think some other derivation can be suggested for Kaiśikī. Bharata while speaking of the Dākṣiṇātya Pravṛtti, in the section on Pravṛtti in chapter XIV, says that the Dākṣiṇātyas are characterised in their habits by the Kaiśikī, being given to dance and music very much.

1. The word occurs in music also. We have the Kaiśikī Niṣāda but here also the word is explained by Keśa or hair.

साधारणे कैशिकी ते केशाग्रवद् अणुत्वतः । S. R. I. p. 65.

There is also a Rāga called Kaiśika which Kālidāsa mentions in K. S. VIII, 85 and the Padmaprābhṛtaka Bhāṇa on p. 20,

‘तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुवृत्तगीतवाद्याः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुर-  
ललिताङ्गाभिनयाश्च ।’ p. 165. Kāśī. edn.

The chief people referred to as Dākṣiṇātyas are the Vaidarbhas. We know that in Dramaturgy and Poetics, the Vidarbha country was held to be the home of Mādhurya, Saukumārya etc.<sup>1</sup> We hear of a place called Krathakaiśika or a race of kings so called in the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvamśa and the Mālavikāgnimitra. Krathakaiśika is the ancient capital of the Vidarbha country which is the home of grace and beauty. So I think the name of the graceful Vṛtti Kaiśikī is derived from Kaiśika or Krathakaiśika in Vidarbha.

What is Ārabhaṭī? Ārabhaṭa is ‘an enterprising and courageous’ man, a dare-devil. Accordingly Abhinava suggests that the Ārabhaṭī is the Vṛtti of such men and their action. So far he is correct. Bharata defines it thus—

अत ऊर्ध्वमुद्धतरसामारभटीं संप्रवक्ष्यामि ।

आरभटप्रायगुणा तथैव बहुवचनकपटा च ॥

दम्भानृतवचनवती त्वारभटी नाम विज्ञेया ।

प्रस्तावपातप्लुतलङ्घितानि चान्यानि मायाकृतमिन्द्रजालम् ।

चित्राणि युद्धानि च यत्र नित्यं तां तादृशीमारभटीं वदन्ति ॥

XXII. 55-57.

From this description of the Arabhaṭī as also of its Aṅgas,<sup>2</sup> we clearly see that it is the Vṛtti of force and violence, of the scenes of anger, fight etc., and of persons who belong to the type called Dhīroddhata. So it is that Bharata laterly also says that it is the Vṛtti of the Raudra, the Bībhatsa and the Bhayānaka Rasas.

भयानके च बीभत्से रौद्रे चारभटी भवेत् ।

It is also the Vṛtti of such characters as Hanumān and of their actions like the jumping over the sea. It is the Vṛtti pre-eminently of the Rākṣasas and Asuras who are by nature Uddhata, violent, haughty and wild. They indulge in cunning and deceitful warfare creating Māyā. Though Bharata mentions

1. cf. Daṇḍin's Vaidarbhī-Rīti and the Dākṣiṇātyas. *Vide* Rājaśekhara, K. M. I. 3, p. 10.

2. *Vide* N. S. XXII. 59-63.

Adbhuta as a Bhārati-Rasa, his mention of Māyā and Indrajāla here point out that such scenes as in the end of the Ratnāvalī having Indrajāla are really Ārabhaṭi.

From the foregoing, we clearly see how Ārabhaṭi is exactly the opposite of Kaiśikī. The essential characteristic of Ārabhaṭi in all the given instances of it seems to be औद्धत्य whereas that of Kaiśikī, as pointed out previously, is ललित्य. We already saw how Kaiśikī is the name of a manner and not of a thing. Bhārati is the name of a thing. In a classification only one principle can operate at a time. Thus the realm of Nāṭya has first to be distinguished into the two things called speech and action. Both of them have again to be classified from another point of view. If they are graceful, they belong to the Kaiśikī class and if they are forceful, wonderful, awful or terrible they are called Ārabhaṭi. Therefore Ārabhaṭi must be placed on a par with Kaiśikī as a manner of either speaking or acting. Therefore to call it as कायवृत्ति is not to explain it correctly. By calling it as कायवृत्ति or physical action Abhinava forgets that within a classification no two different principles can operate, that the essential nature of Ārabhaṭi is Auddhatya and that it is not exactly all physical action, but only all cases of Auddhatya applicable to Kāya or Manas or Vāk. If this is fully grasped as the exact nature of Ārabhaṭi one can lay the emphasis on those cases of violent action as are clearly perceptible, viz., the bodily actions कायचेष्टा—only. Thus Ārabhaṭi is the Vṛtti of Śiva or Rudra and his Tāṇḍava as distinguished from the Lāsyā of Pārvatī, the exponent of Kaiśikī.

उद्धतैः करणैरङ्गहारैर्निर्वर्तितं यदा ।

वृत्तिरारभटी गीतकाले तत्ताण्डवं त्रिधा ॥

ललितैरङ्गहारैश्च निर्वर्त्य ललितैर्लयैः ।

वृत्तिः स्यात् कैशिकी गीते यत्र तल्लास्यमुच्यते ॥

Śāradātanaya, Bhā. Pra. II, pp. 45 and 46.

It is also significant in this connection to derive, as the legend does, the Ārabhaṭi from the Atharva-Veda which contains Magic, Ābhicāra etc.

The nature of Sāttvatī is not very clear. Sattva means Manas and has been so interpreted in explaining the name Sāttvikābhi-



naya also. To this word Sattva meaning Manas or mind is the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti related by Abhinava.

‘मनोव्यापाररूपा सात्त्विकी सात्त्वती ।’

That it is intelligible to some extent to call all situations having subtle emotional acting as Sāttvatī-Vṛtti was already shown by me. In that case there will be little meaning in mentioning as its Rasas only the Vīra, the Raudra and the Adbhuta.

सात्त्वती नाम सा ज्ञेया वीररौद्राद्भुताश्रया । XXII. 65.

What are the ideas about this Vṛtti which we gather from the description of it as given by Bharata ?

या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च ।

हर्षोत्कटा संहृतशोकभावा सा सात्त्वती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥

वागङ्गाभिनयवती सत्त्वोत्थानवचनप्रकरणेषु ।

सत्त्वाधिकारयुक्तो (क्ता) विज्ञेया सात्त्वती वृत्तिः ॥

वीराद्भुतरौद्ररसा विज्ञेया ह्यल्पकरुणशृङ्गारा ।

उद्धतपुरुषप्राया परस्परार्धवर्णकृता च ॥ XXII. 38-40.

It has been already shown that drama falls into speech and action and that the former is Bhāratī. It has also been pointed out that, from another point of view drama falls into the graceful and the forceful, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. The scope of Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī exactly correspond to that of the two Guṇas, Mādhurya and Ojas respectively. The realm of action must then be taken as the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti. This will agree with the legendary origin of the Sāttvatī from the Yajur-Veda from which is derived all action, Abhinaya. In such a case Sattva which means exactly only the Sāttvikābhinaya must be taken as Upalakṣaṇa or indication for all action in general, including the Āṅgika. This is the simple and scientific reconstruction of the significance of the Sāttvatī. But Bharata's description of it presents problems. Its description gives us the idea that it is also a Vṛtti of fight and forceful action. Bharata actually says that it is उद्धतपुरुषप्राया and gives Vīra, Raudra and Adbhuta as its Rasas. Further he says that it comprises of not only physical action but also speech—वागङ्गाभिनयवती. Then wherein does its difference from Ārabhaṭī lie? Perhaps in the bit—न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च । Sāttvatī refers only to the lawful fight done on straightforward lines whereas Ārabhaṭī is

the same fight done deceitfully—अन्यायवृत्तेन.<sup>1</sup> For in the definition of the Ārabhaṭī we find the mention of कपट, दम्भ, अनृतवचन, माया and such methods of wrong warfare. This idea of Nyāya or righteousness characterising the activities coming under Sāttvatī perhaps suggested another derivation for that name to Bharata, and led him to describe the Sāttvatī further thus: हर्षोत्कटा संहृतशोकभावा, 'full of bliss and devoid of all sorrow.' This idea of Sāttvatī as being the Vṛtti of bliss and absence of sorrow is due to the word Sattva, originally taken as Manas, being again taken to mean the concept of Sattva-guṇa in philosophy. Therefore it is that Abhinava finds it possible to say that Sāttvatī is the Vṛtti of the first type of hero called Dhīrodātta, whose heroism is righteous (i.e.) who is a धर्मयुद्धवीर or a सत्यपराक्रम like Rāma. (*Vide* Locana. p. 138.) So it is again that Abhinava finds it easy to say that the Vṛtti of the Śānta-Rasa is Sāttvatī. 'शान्ते तु सात्त्वत्येव वृत्तिरिति \* \* ।' Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. edn. p. 343.

Thus as indicating either Sāttvikābhinaya or sorrowless states of joy, Sāttvatī must be derived from the word Sattva meaning Manas or mind or the Sattva-guṇa. In both cases what we must have is not Sāttvatī but Sāttvikī, which form later writers like Bhoja in his Śṛ. Pra. conveniently adopt. Both derivations seem far-fetched. An examination of Sāttvatī and its varieties as shown by Bharata leads us to the conclusion that it is also a Vṛtti of fight. It is said to have many forms, उत्थापकः, परिवर्तकः, सँह्लापकः, and सङ्घातः. All these four are names of the actions in a pugilistic duel, a Mallayuddha. Utthāpaka<sup>2</sup> is the words of one Malla to another 'I will rise up; you also rise up again and we shall again fight' or 'I am ready; rise and show your strength.' Parivartaka is not clearly defined by Bharata. Perhaps it is the two fighters coming round and round or moving about in their fight. Salla-pāka is said to be the mutual exchange of taunting words. The last which is not also clear in Bharata's definition is perhaps the fall of one fighter and the blow the other gives him. These show clearly that to begin with Sāttvatī was the Vṛtti in a Malla-

1. Perhaps it is from here, from this bit in Bharata—न्यायेन वृत्तेन etc. that Udbhaṭa takes the suggestion and develops the idea of two main classes of Vṛtti as Nyāya and Anyāya referring to success and failure in the hero and villain respectively. This shall be further dealt with ahead.

2. *Vide* N. S. XXII, 41-45.

yuddha. Or it may have been a duel with some weapon. For we are led to infer so from the word Nyāya, which must not in this connection be taken as righteousness but as the technical Paribhāṣā of the dramatic world meaning the 'wielding of arms', शस्त्रमोक्षः. There are many points of evidence helping us in an enquiry in this direction. Drama must have risen originally as part of festivals. We are told by Bharata that the first drama, Asuravijaya, was staged during the festival of Indra's flag, the Indradhvaja.<sup>1</sup> The drama, a Samavakāra, was full of fight: संपेदविद्रवकृता छेद्यमेद्याहवात्मिका. It was thus both in the Sāttvatī and the Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis. In chapters one to five we find that the Indradhvaja called Jarjara and its worship form part of the Pūrvaraṅga to be done before the beginning of all dramas. This shows that originally drama started as an item in the flag-festival of Indra and when it outgrew it, the flag-festival itself stuck to drama as necessary for warding off obstacles etc. The festival of Indra's flag<sup>2</sup> was perhaps simply an installation of the beautiful

1. N. S. I, 54-59.

2. The Indradhvaja is heard of in the Rāmāyaṇa often. It appears in Aśvaghōṣa's B. C. and occurs once in Kālidāsa, R. V. IV. The Indradhvaja or Jarjara seems to live in ancient Tamil dance. Is it that which is associated there with Indra's son Jayanta and is called Talaikkōl (தலைக்கோல்)? Indra's festival also is seen in Tamil. Vide Śilappadikāram, V. Some interesting item in the festival is mentioned in the Mṛcchakaṭika, V, p. 20. 'अरे, त्वमपि इदानीम् इन्द्रमहकामुक इव सुष्ठु काकायसे 'काका' इति ।'

Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, Chap. 64 gives the story of how this Śakra-maha or Indra-festival originated. King Uparicara is given by Indra a Vaijayanti Mālā and a Yaṣṭi, pole, which pole represented Indra. The pole of Indra is planted and worshipped in the Mārgaśīrṣa month. Its height is given as 32 Kīṣkus or Hastas, that is, 48 ft. (द्वात्रिंशत्किष्कुसंमिति) but to suit the stage perhaps Bharata makes its height into 103 inches or 9 ft. (प्रमाणतोऽङ्गुलानां तु शतमष्टोत्तरं भवेत् । N. S. XXIII, 167.) Among many things enjoyed during this festival, the M. Bhā. mentions recitals, songs and performances by Naṣas and Nartakas.

इतिभिः सजलैः सर्वे क्रीडित्वा नृपशासनात् ।

सभाजयित्वा राजानं कृत्वा नर्माश्रयाः कथाः ॥

रमन्ते नागराः सर्वे तदा जानपदैः सह ।

सूताश्च मागधाश्चैव रमन्ते नटनर्तकाः ॥

× × × × एवं जानपदाः सर्वे चकुरिन्द्रमहं तथा ॥

flag of Indra, its propitiation, feast and rejoicings, and a large programme of pugilistic and other shows of fight perhaps terminating in a simple acting of the fight between Indra and his followers with the Asuras. The whole of this Indradhvaja festival laterly became attached to drama as its Pūrvaraṅga, not only the Indradhvaja and its worship but also fight. Says Bharata in chapter three that the Pūrvaraṅga consists of fights also.

क्ष्वेडितैः स्फोटितैश्चैव बलितैश्च प्रधावितैः ।  
 रङ्गमध्ये तु तां दीप्तां सशब्दां संप्रयोजयेत् ॥  
 शङ्खदुन्दुभिनिर्घोषैः मृदङ्गपणवैस्तथा ।  
 सर्वातोबैः प्रणदितैः रङ्गयुद्धानि कारयेत् ॥  
 तत्र च्छिन्नं च भिन्नं च दारितं च सशोणितम् ।  
 क्षतं प्रदीतमायस्तं निमित्तं सिद्धिलक्षणम् ॥ III. 93-95.

The Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī arose here. The latter is the name of the actions of the dare-devil fighters—Ārabhaṭas and the former the name of a race of fighters called the Sāttvatas. Additional support for such a conjecture comes from the legend in chapter XXII, which derives all the four Vṛttis from a fight. There we are told that Brahmā said on seeing Viṣṇu's vanquishing of the demons, that such fight as Viṣṇu did should hence forward be known as Nyāya. It was to refer not only to ordinary fight but more especially to fight with arms also.

उक्तवांस्तु तदा ब्रह्मा नारायणमरिन्दमम् ॥  
 अहो विचित्रैर्विशदैः स्फुटैः सुललितैरपि ।  
 अङ्गहारैः कृतं देव त्वया दानवनाशनम् ॥  
 तस्मादयं सर्वलोके नियुद्धसमयक्रमः ।  
 सर्वशस्त्रविमोक्षेषु न्यायसंज्ञो भविष्यति ॥  
 न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैः न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ।  
 यस्माद्युद्धं कृतं ह्येतत् तस्मान्न्यायः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ XXII. 16-19.

Thus fight with and without arms but more especially with arms was being called Nyāya. This Nyāya was perhaps an entertainment in the ancient festival of Indra's flag. From it, as depicting the fight between Devas and Asuras, Drama might

have grown<sup>1</sup>. It is to this Nyāya that Bharata refers to in his definition of the Sāttvatī-Vṛtti: न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च. In this Nyāya or fight-shows of the ancient Indian Indradhvaja festival many people from many parts of the country took part, many people such as the Bhāratas, the Kaiśikas and the Sāttvatas and also another class of very brave fighters called the Ārabhaṭas. Evidence for this conclusion is available in Bharata's text itself. We suggested before that Bharatas may refer to the Vedic tribe of that name and Kaiśikī to the inhabitants of Krathakaiśika. The name Sāttvata also similarly refers to a race of people whom we know. It is Śrī Kṛṣṇa's race. In chapter eleven called Cārividhāna Bharata says that in respect of acting with or using arms by the actors on the stage, there are four methods. He says :—

नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षो हि कार्योऽनेन प्रयोक्तृभिः ।

न्यायाश्चैव हि विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारः शस्त्रमोक्षणे ॥

भारतः सात्त्वतश्चैव वार्षगण्योऽथ कैशिकः ।

भरते तु कटीच्छेदं पादच्छेदं तु सात्त्वते ॥

वक्षसो वार्षगण्ये तु शिरश्छेद्यं तु कैशिके ।

एभिः प्रयोक्तृभिर्न्यायैर्नाचारीममुत्थितैः ॥

प्रविचार्य प्रयोक्तव्यो नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षणे ।

न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैः न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ।

यस्माद्युद्धानि नीयन्ते तस्मिन्यायाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ XI. 70-74.

Here we are given four Nyāyas or methods of throwing or wielding weapons, the Bhārata, the Sāttvata, the Kaiśika and Vārṣaganya. The last perhaps corresponds to the Ārabhaṭas. The Bhāratas wielded their weapons in a certain method with a certain characteristic bodily movement and others in other methods. The Nyāya applicable narrowly or rather originally to methods of wielding weapon might have developed into the more comprehensive methods or manners or ways of acting called Vṛttis and the names Bhārata, Kaiśika and Sāttvata might have been taken from Nyāya to Vṛtti. It is the Sāttvata style that

1. The name of Stage, Raṅga points to the same conclusion. For Raṅga and Prekṣāgrha mean not only Stage and Theatre but also Arena and Amphitheatre where shows of fight etc., are shown. See M. Bhārata, A. p. Chap. 144, Śls. 8—12 for the construction of the Raṅgabhūmi and Prekṣāgrha.

is meant when Bharata says in his definition of the Sāttvati-Vṛtti, 'या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता'. The Kaiśika way of Nyāya was perhaps graceful and from such ideas the concept of Vṛtti might have developed.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Vṛttyāṅgas*

The Vṛttyāṅgas are not to be taken as Aṅgas but as Bhedas (*i.e.*) varieties of the Vṛttis. That is, by the Aṅgas of the Vṛttis given by him, Bharata means to show some instances of the Vṛttis through which the Vṛttis must exhibit or elaborate themselves. Therefore their number as given by Bharata is not final and is only indicative of similar possible varieties. In this respect

1. *a.* Arjunavarmadeva refers to these Nyāyas, numbered as five Kaiśika, etc., as treated of in the science of the bow, while commenting on Amaruśataka, Śl. 1—

“—कैशिकप्रमुखपञ्चन्यायेषु कश्चायं न्यायः इत्यादिशरासनशास्त्रचर्चा क्रियते।”

Hariharacaturaṅga, a treatise on the four units of an army, on missiles and war, written by Godāvara miśra, minister and court-poet of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa, describes five Nyāyas in the fifth chap. on Dhanus.

कैशिकः पार्श्वतश्चैव भरतश्छन्न एव च ।

सात्त्विकश्चेति निर्दिष्टाः पञ्च व्या(न्या)याः समासतः ॥

etc., pp. 213—214. Ms. of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library. This work calls the Sāttvata as Sāttvika, leaves out the Vārṣaganya mentioned by Bharata and has two new Nyāyas, Pārṣata and Channa. The descriptions of these also differ. They are said to be, in general, five different ways of drawing the bowstring and shooting an arrow. The Śivatattvaratnākara of Basavappa, perhaps indebted to the Hariharacaturaṅga also, gives the five Nyāyas as Kaiśika, Sāttvika, Bharata, Vatsakarṇa which is a corruption of Bharata's Vārṣaganya and Skandha which is perhaps the same as the Channa of H. H. C.

कैशिकः केशमूले च शिरः शृङ्गे च सात्त्विकः ।

श्रवणे वत्सकर्णश्च ग्रीवायां भरतो भवेत् ॥

अंश(स)के स्कन्धनामा च व्या(न्या)याः पञ्च प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ etc.

S. T. R. VIII, ii, 97—99.

*b.* Sāhitya Sāra of Sarveśvara (a MS in the Mad. oriental Mss. library) easily solves the problem of the names of the four Vṛttis by creating four sons of Brahmā named Bharata etc., after whom the 4 Vṛttis are named !

चत्वारो ब्रह्मणः पुत्राः नटास्तु भरतादयः ।

येषां नामभिरेवैताः चतस्रो वृत्तयः स्मृताः ॥ Śls. 22-23.

the Vṛtṭyaṅgas resemble the Sandhyaṅgas which indicate so many possible points in the unfoldment of a story or action. It is said that the Kaiśikī's Aṅgas are Narma, Narmasphiṇja, Narmasphoṭa and Narmagarbha. It is not that Kaiśikī is only of these four varieties. It is foolish to stick to either the Vṛtṭyaṅgas or Sandhyaṅgas as exactly given by Bharata, and try to illustrate them in a few cherished examples like the Mudrārākṣasa, etc. The subject of Sandhi-Sandhyaṅgas emphasises the need for a well-knit plot, in which each detail will be quite necessary for the development of the plot and Rasa and no wayward detail, futile for Rasa, will intrude. The essential and live principle of Aucitya underlying the analysis of Bharata of Sandhis and Vṛttis into Aṅgas must be grasped. Taking a Śṛṅgāra story one knows how it has some never-changing and fundamental aspects which must appear in whatever plot one invents. One cannot but avoid those points along which only the plot must develop. So also the Vṛtti which is the very temper of the Rasa or action cannot change. The atmosphere of love-drama has certain never changing features. A Śṛṅgāra story is always delicate and graceful and is always in the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. Certain kinds of delicate and graceful situations cannot be avoided and through them the story and its Vṛtti must unfold themselves. The Vṛtti cannot present itself except through the varieties of it called its Aṅgas. The Vṛtti is an embodiment of its Aṅgas. The essential nature of Śṛṅgāra is Narma and Bharata gives four examples of it. Similarly the Ārabhaṭī unfolds itself in the shape of a number of incidents like Saṅkṣiptaka, Avaghāta, Vastūttihāpana and Sampheṭa. So it is that Bharata says that the Aṅgas are the 'Bhedas' of the Vṛttis.

*The Vṛttis in relation to the Rasas and types of Drama.*

As we have seen to some extent above, Bharata distributes the eight Rasas among the four Vṛttis. He gives (XXII, 64-68) that Śṛṅgāra and Hāsyā are Kaiśikī, Vīra, Raudra and Adbhuta are Sāttvati, Bhayānaka, Bibhatsa and Raudra are Ārabhaṭī and Karuṇa and Adbhuta are Bhārati. In this distribution we have to bear in mind firstly that it is not proper to say that the poet should add a certain Vṛtti if the Rasa is such and such. It must be said that a certain Rasa is a certain Vṛtti or is in a certain Vṛtti or has that Vṛtti. That is, Śṛṅgāra is of a soft, delicate and graceful nature (*i.e.*) is Kaiśikī; Raudra is wild and ferocious (*i.e.*) is Ārabhaṭī. Another point to be noted is that the distribution of Rasas among the Vṛttis is not quite scientific as

given by Bharata. Everybody has recognised that Bhārati which is speech is present everywhere. So there is no meaning in mentioning it as the Vṛtti of Karuṇa and Adbhuta. It is the Vṛtti of all Rasas. Without it we have only a dumb show. Having thus separated Bhārati, action in all the Rasas must again be called by the common name of Sāttvatī. Sāttvatī is the Vṛtti of action of not only Sāttvika-Bhāvas but of all Bhāvas. Thus, as in the case of the Bhārati, there can be no drama without Sāttvatī. Without it we have only a reading or recital. Then the eight Rasas and action or speech in them must be classified into Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. The division will be like that of all dance into Lāsyā and Tāṇḍava and like that of Guṇa into Mādhurya and Ojas. The qualities of लालित्य, delicateness and grace and औद्धत्य force and violent nature separate the Rasas into two sets. At the extremities stand the Śṛṅgāra and the Raudra Rasas as the culmination of Lālitya or Mādhurya and Auddhatya or Ojas respectively. The other Rasas according to the circumstances will have, in a less marked degree, the preponderance of Kaiśikī or Ārabhaṭī. Thus, Vīra, Adbhuta, Bībhatsa and Bhayānaka may tend to class themselves with the Uddhata-Rasa called Raudra. Hāsyā may move towards Śṛṅgāra, the Lalita-Rasa. Karuṇa, as extremely delicate and approaching the nature of the Vipralambha-Śṛṅgāra will only be a Kaiśikī-Rasa. Just as dance on the same basis of Lālitya and Auddhatya gets differentiated into Lāsyā and Tāṇḍava, so also the Rūpakas numbering ten get distinguished into the Lalita and the Uddhata. Bharata, as we saw above, gave the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa as the perfect and full dramas which alone can have Kaiśikī as the predominant Vṛtti. That is, a full and sufficiently big love story can only be handled in the form of either a Nāṭaka or Prakaraṇa. This does not rule out, as Abhinava has said, the presence of the love-element in the other eight minor dramas. Even as the largest amount of Kaiśikī can be seen only in a Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa the largest amount of Ārabhaṭī can be seen only in the types, Ḍima, Vyāyoga and Samavakāra. Elsewhere Bharata gives a distinction of the Daśarūpa into two such classes on the basis of this Kaiśikī or Lālitya and Ārabhaṭī or Auddhatya. The two classes of dramas are called Sukumāra and Uddhata or Aviddha.

प्रयोगो द्विविधश्चैव विज्ञेयो नाटकाश्रयः ।

सुकुमारस्तथाविद्धो नाट्ययुक्तिसमाश्रयः ॥



यत्वाविद्वाङ्गहारं तत् छेद्यभेदाहवात्मकम् ।  
 मायेन्द्रजालबहुलं पुंसो (पुस्त) नेपथ्यसंयुतम् ॥  
 पुरुषैर्वहुभिर्युक्तम् अल्पस्त्रीकं<sup>1</sup> तथैव च ।  
 सात्त्वत्यारभटीयुक्तं नाट्यमाविद्धसंज्ञितम् ॥  
 डिमः समवकारश्च व्यायोगेहामृगौ तथा ।  
 एतान्याविद्धसंज्ञानि विज्ञेयानि प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥  
 उद्धता ये च पुरुषाः शौर्यवीर्यबलान्विताः ॥  
 नाटकं सप्रकरणं भाणो वीथ्यङ्कनाटिके(काः) ।  
 कुसुमारप्रयोगानि मानुषेष्वश्रितानि तु ॥ XIV. 57-62.

Thus the Kaiśikī and the Ārabhaṭī on the one hand and the Bhāratī and the Sāttvatī on the other, are two sets of two Vṛttis. The latter set need not be held. For without either speech or action there can be no drama. Rāmacandra realises this as regards at least the Bhāratī. He says of the Bhāratī that it is 'सर्वरूपकगामिनी'. N. D. II. 104. He adds:

'सर्वरूपकभावित्वात्, रसानां च वागजन्मत्वात् सर्वरसात्मकत्वम् ।

\* \* \* भारतीरूपत्वात् व्यापारस्य भारतीति ।'<sup>2</sup>

Similarly there can also be no drama without action or Sāttvatī. So we can leave these two apart which are involved in the very idea of drama. The other two are two essential manners of speaking or acting. There is always a possibility of dividing drama, both speech as well as action, as shown above, into two Vṛttis, the Sukumāra or Lalita or Kaiśikī and the Uddhata, Āviddha or Ārabhaṭī. When this is accepted, it will be seen

1. 'अल्पस्त्रीकम्' shows that these dramas of the Āviddha type have few women (*i.e.*) a minimum of Kaiśikī. Abhinava says while commenting upon a corresponding idea 'स्त्रीवर्जिता' in the definition of Bhāratī: 'स्त्रीवर्जितेति कैशिकीप्राधान्यं शमयति ।' Abhi. Bhā. Vol. III, p. 6.

2. No writer, in later times also, has missed the idea that Bhāratī is speech. So Rājaśekhara, is entirely wrong in associating it with dance and instrumental music: 'यदपरं नृत्तवाद्यादिकं सा चक्रे सा भारतीवृत्तिः' । K. M. p. 8. Rājaśekhara, as also all later writers, had no clear grasp of the Sāttvatī. Though we have no access to the section on Vṛtti in his work, he treats of it in I.3 to some extent, clubbing it together with प्रवृत्ति and रीति. From here we also see how the concept of Rīti must have had its origin in Pravṛtti.

that there is Kaiśikī in Bhāratī and Sāttvatī and that Ārabhaṭī also is in them. This is sufficiently realised by Kallinātha who says that Kaiśikī appears in all the Abhinayas, वाचिक, सात्त्विक and कायिक or आङ्गिक. Śārṅgadeva also realises this and says that Kaiśikī is the very essence of beauty and grace and as such appears in speech, in mind and in body. He adds also that it can be in the fourth, Ahārya Abhinaya also, viz., dress and ornament. For there is a delicate and beautiful dress as contrasted with the dress of warfare and fight. In the definition of the Kaiśikī, Bharata himself includes the dress: या श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्य etc. and कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या । Śārṅgadeva says :—

वागङ्गाभरणानां या सौकुमार्येण निर्मिता ।

उल्लसद्गीतवृत्ताढ्या शृङ्गारसनिर्भरा ॥

निःशङ्कः कैशिकीं ब्रूते तां सौन्दर्यैकजीविताम् ।

So it is perfectly logical for Kohala to say, as we have said above, that this Saukumārya of Kaiśikī exists in Karuṇa-Rasa also. Though Bharata did not say so, Kohala is scientific when he says so; but Abhinava says that he himself has to follow Bharata.

“यत्तु ‘शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैरिह(गेष्विह) कैशिकी स्यात् ।’ इति कोहलेनोक्तं तन्मुनिमतविरोधादुपेक्ष्यमेव । तस्य तु यत्र यत्र अनुल्बणा चित्त-वृत्तिः सा सा कैशिकी’ इत्यादयः ।” Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II, p. 481.

Therefore, really speaking, the Vṛttis are only two, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī. Perhaps some discerning writer held such a view of Vṛttis being only two in number. For Abhinava refutes a view holding only two Vṛttis, as will be seen in a further section of this paper.

Though Bharata ruled that certain Vṛttis are in certain Rasas and in certain dramas, he was aware of the fact that dramatic action was complex. Even as he could not prohibit any Rasa coming up in a subsidiary theme in a drama which he has given as one of Śrṅgāra or Vīra, so also he could not prohibit in a drama of Kaiśikī the appearance of all other Vṛttis also or in the dramas not having the Kaiśikī as their main Vṛtti, its appearance in a small measure. He says that he knows this and that if he lays down any rule it is on the basis of the law of prominence.

न होकरसजं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोगतः ।

भावो वापि रसो वापि प्रवृत्तिर्वृत्तिरेव वा ॥

सर्वेषां समवेतानां रूपं यस्य भवेद्बहु ।

स मन्तव्यो रसः स्थायी शेषाः सञ्चारिणो मताः ॥ XXII. 67-68.

Says Abhinava also—

‘अथासां परस्परं सङ्कीर्णतया लक्ष्ये वहन्तीनां यत्र यत् प्राधान्येन  
\* \* \* \* इत्यन्योऽयं संवलितवृत्तयः, केवलं क्वचित्  
किञ्चिदधिकम् इति प्राधान्येन व्यपदेशः ।’

Abhi. Bhā. Vol. III, pp. 5 and 6.

Therefore it is that to name the Vṛtti of the complex texture of the drama as a whole, Bhoja, as will be seen presently, creates in his Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa a fifth Vṛtti of the mixture of all the four called the Miśra-Vṛtti. And Śiṅgabhūpāla refutes this fifth Miśra-Vṛtti of Bhoja as unnecessary because, we can always find out the one predominant Vṛtti of a drama and name the drama after that Vṛtti even as we find out the dominant Rasa of the play in a world of Bhāvas and minor Rasas. Rāmacandra also realises like Abhinava that dramatic action as a whole is complex and is of the nature of all the Vṛttis.

“चतस्र इति चतुर्भेदत्वम् अन्यतमचेष्टांशप्राधान्यविवक्षया । अपरथा  
अनेकव्यापारसंवलितमेव वृत्तितत्त्वम् । न नाम प्रबन्धेषु व्यापारान्तरासंवलितः  
कोऽप्येकाकी कायिको वाचिको मानसो वा व्यापारो लक्ष्यते ॥ ”<sup>1</sup>

N. D. p. 152.

### *The Vṛttis and the Pravṛttis.*

Pravṛtti is the concept in Bharata standing for provincial manners, a study of which is necessary for the perfection of imitation which is Nāṭya. It is the habits, peculiar attributes, characteristic dress etc. of the people of various places.

अत्राह प्रवृत्तिरिति कस्मादिति ? उच्यते ; पृथिव्यां नानादेशवेषभाषा-  
चारवार्ताः ख्यापयतीति प्रवृत्तिः । N. S. XIV. Kāśī. edn. p. 165.

The concept of Vṛtti is closely allied with this Pravṛtti. For Vṛtti is a certain mode of behaviour, and it also varies with places. Thus the inhabitants of one place may be always given to

1. It is perhaps realising this complex nature of Dramatic texture and the possibility of any Bhāva coming up as accessory, that Śāṅga-deva says that what is called Kaiśikī, the Vṛtti of Saukumārya and Saundarya can also appear in Raudra: सौन्दर्यसौकुमार्याभ्यां रौद्रादावप्यसौ भवेत् । One however need not go so far as to confuse.

pleasure, to singing, dancing, gaiety etc., while those of an other place may always be, in whatever they do, violent and ferocious. The mountain tribes, the Rākṣasas etc. may belong to the latter class, to rabhaṭī. Bharata says that the southerners, the Dākṣiṇātyas, belong to the former class, to Kaiśikī.

‘तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुवृत्तगीतवाद्याः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुर-  
ललितामिनयाश्च ।’ N. S. XIV. p. 165.

The Pravṛtti of the southerners<sup>1</sup> is called Dākṣiṇātyā and it is distinguished by the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. The next Pravṛtti is Āvantī and the people of that Pravṛtti spread over a certain number of provinces have not the Kaiśikī as their prominent Vṛtti but have it along with Sāttvatī. The third Pravṛtti is Auḍhra Māgadhī and the fourth, the Pāñcālī. The Pāñcālī is characterised by Sāttvatī and Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis. The Vṛtti of the third is not given by Bharata. According to Bharata, the Dākṣiṇātyas comprise of almost all southern provinces, the Āvantī-people, of almost all western provinces, the Auḍhramāgadhī, of almost all eastern provinces and the Pāñcālī, of almost all northern provinces. Pravṛtti is mainly dress or the Āharyābhinaya and as pointed out earlier, Vṛtti itself comprehends dress, etc.

या श्लक्ष्णनैपथ्य etc., and कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या ।

The Viṣṇudharmottara puts it well when it says, (III Kha. 20):

वेषभाषानुकरणं तथाचारप्रवर्तनम् ।

प्रवृत्तिरिति विख्याता वृत्तीनामाश्रयास्तु ताः ॥

The principle of Aucitya underlying Pravṛtti is of great importance for Nāṭya. The details however, which might have had reality when Bharata wrote, do not exist to-day but one must accept that the dramatist and the actor must be conversant with the complete nature of the characters in their play. Says Bharata generally—

वर्षं च देशं चाप्यर्थयुक्तिं कालमवेक्ष्य च ॥

येषु देशेषु या पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिः परिकीर्तिता ।

तद्वृत्तिकानि रूपाणि तेषु तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥ XIV. 53-54.

Rājaśekhara restricts Pravṛtti to the manner involved in dress only. He unites the three concepts of Pravṛtti, Vṛtti and

1. Vide N. S. XIV. Śls. 37-49. for the several provinces distributed among these four Pravṛttis and Vṛttis.

Rīti and speaks of the provincial varieties of these three. Pravṛtti is the manner of dress, Vṛtti of behaviour or other details of habit etc., and Rīti is the manner of speech.

‘तत्र वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमः वृत्तिः, वचन-  
विन्यासक्रमः रीतिः ।’ K. M. I. 3.

*The Vṛttis and the nature of the character (i.e.) type of hero.*

In Bharata's definitions of the Kaiśikī, we found that it was given as the Vṛtti pre-eminently of women. It is not that there are not men of noble make whose actions are by nature graceful but it means that by nature all women are, as a rule, graceful in whatever they say or do. So their main Vṛtti is Kaiśikī. Therefore, even if they are angry, as in Raudra Rasa, their anger will be modified by Kaiśikī (i.e.) will not be so ferocious as that of men or of those who are by nature Uddhata or violent and forceful like the Rākṣasas. Similarly the Vṛtti of love, viz., the Kaiśikī, when it appears in such characters as Rākṣasas, will be modified by their main characteristic of Ārabhaṭī.<sup>1</sup> Thus between these two, Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī, characters can be separated. Women and Dhīrodātta Nāyakas like Rāma are characters of Kaiśikī. The Rākṣasa men and women and the Dhīroddhata Nāyakas like Bhīma are characters of Ārabhaṭī. The Dhīralalita hero who is a king leading a pleasant life with song, dance and his queens—कलावक्तस्सुखी मृदु, is essentially a character of the Kaiśikī-Vṛtti. The Dhīraśānta, who is a Brahmin generally, will mostly lean towards the Kaiśikī rather than to the other.

As regards the other two Vṛttis, Bhāratī and Sāttvatī, if we take them to mean speech and action, which alone they ought to mean, there can be no differentiation of characters on the basis of these two. Therefore, it is because Abhinava does not take these two scientifically as speech and action, that, in spite of what he has to say in future in his Abhinavabhāratī, says in his Locana that the four types of heroes belong respectively to the four Vṛttis.

“—इति चत्वारो नायकाः (धीरोदात्तधीरोद्धतधीरश्लितधीरशान्ताः)  
क्रमेण सात्वत्यारभटीकैशिकीभारतीलक्षणवृत्तिप्रधानाः ।” p. 138.

1. This subject in Bharata is called प्रकृति or प्रकृत्यौचित्यम्. cf. Ānandavardhana's Dhva. Ā. III. pp. 138 and 145-147.

Abhinava would not have made (and he does not make) this naive equation of the four types of heroes with the four Vṛttis in his commentary on the N. S. where his study of the Nāṭyaśāstra has become profound. In this above equation, that between Kaiśikī and Dhīralalita and the Ārabhaṭī and the Dhīroddhata is correct. We cannot understand how the Dhīraśānta is connected with the Bhāratī or the Dhīrodāṭṭa with the Sāttvatī. Perhaps, if we accept the traditional derivation of Sāttvatī from Sattva, we can accept to some extent the equation between Sāttvatī and Dhīrodāṭṭa. But then, the Dhīraśānta must also have only Sāttvatī and in the Abhinavabhāratī, as noticed above, Abhinava gives the Vṛtti of the Śānta Rasa as the Sāttvatī.

Bhoja, in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, in chs-13 and 18-21 gives the following scheme :

Puruṣārtha	Nāyaka	Nāyikā	Vṛtti	Pravṛtti	Rīti
धर्मः	धीरोदात्तः	स्वीया	भारती	पौरस्त्या	पाञ्चाली
अर्थः	धीरोद्धतः	सर्वा स्त्री	आरभटी	उद्गमागधी	गौडी
कामः	धीरललितः	सर्वा स्त्री	कैशिकी	दाक्षिणात्या	वैदर्भी
मोक्षः	धीरप्रशान्तः	स्वीया	सात्त्विकी	आवन्त्या	लाटीया

Much verbal ingenuity is of course employed by Bhoja in the explanation of this scheme.

## THE SOURCES OF TOLKĀPPIYAM.

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Though it is accepted by everybody that the Tolkāppiyam is the most ancient work now existing in Tamil, there are divergent opinions among scholars as to the grammarians who preceded Tolkāppiyanār. One view is that there was only one grammar before Tolkāppiyanār, viz., the Akattiyam and that Tolkāppiyanār was indebted to its author, the sage Agastya. This view is based upon the authority of the Pērācīriyam, a commentary on the Tolkāppiyam. The author of the Pērācīriyam himself cites in his favour the opinion of the Kaḷaviyalurai.<sup>1</sup> The Kaḷaviyalurai says that the grammar in the first Caṅkam was the Akattiyam and that in the second were the Akattiyam, the Tolkāppiyam, the Icaṇuṇukkam, the Māpurāṇam and the Pūtapurāṇam. The above mentioned school of thought takes the stand on this passage in the Kaḷaviyalurai and says that since, among the grammars of the second Caṅkam, the Akattiyam alone is mentioned before the Tolkāppiyam, it should have been the only work which preceded the Tolkāppiyam. But it must be pointed out that the Kaḷaviyalurai does not seem to contemplate in this enumeration any chronological order and that it might have mentioned the works in the order of prominence or merit. The Kaḷaviyalurai does not definitely say that the Akattiyam is the only source of the Tolkāppiyam. Pērācīriyar's view that the Akattiyam is the only predecessor and source of the Tolkāppiyam seems to be untenable, for there are evidences to show that many works, grammatical and otherwise, Tamil and Sanskrit,

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1. T.K. Bhavanandam Pillai pp. 591 3 I.A.P. Bhavanandam Pillai Edn. pp. 6 and 7, The Kaḷaviyal Sūtras are said to be written by Iṇaiyanār (Lord Śiva) and the commentary on them by Nakkīrar in the last Caṅkam. But there are reasons to doubt the authenticity of the authorship of these too. It seems that both the Sūtras and the commentary were written at a later date.

preceded Tolkāppiyāṇār, and to which the Tolkāppiyam is indebted.

In the preface (pāyiram) to the Tolkāppiyam by Paṇam-pāraṇār we find the following line :—

முந்து நூல் கண்டு முறைப்பட்ட எண்ணி

Ṭampūraṇar in his commentary which is the earliest we have explains the above line that Tolkāppiyāṇār studied the earlier grammars and summarised them in his work. He also refers to Nallācīriyar, *viz.*, Akattiyar and others who preceded Tolkāppiyar, but unfortunately he does not give the names of the grammarians.

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar commenting on the above line says<sup>1</sup> that the grammars that preceded the Tolkāppiyam were the Akattiyam, the Māpurāṇam, the Pūtapurāṇam and the Icaṇuṇukkam and the subjects dealt with in these pre-Tolkāppiya works were Eḷuttu (எழுத்த), Col (சொல்), Poruḷ (பொருள்), Yāppu (யாப்பு), Cantam (சந்தம்), Valakkiyal (வழக்கியல்), Araciyal (அரசியல்), Amaicciyal (அமைச்சியல்) Pāppaṇaviyal (பார்ப்பனவியல்), Cōtiṭam (சோதிடம்), Kāntaruvam (கந்தருவம்), Kūttu (கூத்து) etc., subjects which belong to grammar, Social, Political and Dharma Śāstras, Astrology, Music, Dance, and such varied branches of knowledge. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar also cites an instance in the Eḷuttatikāram where a Tolkāppiyasūtra is based on a sūtra in the Māpurāṇam.

நீட்டம் வேண்டி அவ்வளவு புடைய

கூட்டி யெழுந்த வென்மனார் புலவர். (Tol. eḷu. 6.)

செய்யுட்க னோசை சிதையுங்கா லீராளபு

மையப்பா டின்றி யணையுமா மைதீரோற்

றின்றியும் செய்யுட் கெடினெற்றை யுண்டாக்கு

குன்றுமேல் ஒற்றளபுந் கொள்.<sup>2</sup>

The Māpurāṇa sūtra allows the lengthening of sound for enphonic purposes to the extent of four mātras. Tolkāppiyam means the same by using the plural 'அவ்வளவுபுடைய.'

This evidence of Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar proves that the view of Pēṛācīriyar is untenable and that the list of the grammars of the

1. Ed. by Śaiva Siddhānta Works Publishing society p. 13 *vide* also Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on Poruḷatikāram poruḷiyal Sūtras 3 and 23 pp. 783 and 812. Bavanandam Pillai Edn.

2. See also Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar on Tol. Eḷu. 6. (p. 20, Madura Tamil Caṅkam Edn.).



second Caṅkam given in the Kaḷaviyalurai are not in chronological order. Further if the Akattiyam had been the only grammar before Tolkāppiyam, Paṇampāraṇār in his preface might have said 'முதநூல்கண்டு' (Mutanūlkaṇṭu) or அகத்தியம் கண்டு (Akattiyaṅkaṇṭu.)

Paṇampāraṇār again says—

'ஐந்திரம் நிறைந்த தொல்காப்பியன்'

From this it is clear that besides the works mentioned by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, the work known as Aintiram was also one of the grammars that preceded the Tolkāppiyam. It also seems that the Tolkāppiyam follows only the school of the Aindra grammar. The Aindra is accepted as a sanskrit grammar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar says (poruḷ-puraṭṭiṇai, 20) that as a contrast to the Nirukta which is a treatise on vedic grammar, the Aindra and works of its class are grammars for both Veda and Loka (*ṛaitikacol* and *ulakiyaṛcol*). Though most writers say that the Tolkāppiyam follows the Aintiram, we do not have a regular indication in the commentaries of the points on which the Tolkāppiyam follows the Aintiram. There is however one solitary instance pointed out by Cēṇāvaraiyar in his commentary on the Collatikāram. In his commentary on the section on the instrumental case (pp. 84-85 Ed. of the Śaiva Siddhanta Works Pub. Soc.) Cēṇāvaraiyar has an interesting discussion on the two suffixes of the instrumental case. Some argue that if there are two suffixes there must also be too corresponding cases. Cēṇāvaraiyar replies that this view is wrong, that however many the suffixes may be, the case is only one, if all the suffixes have the same meaning and that the same is the considered opinion of the sanskrit grammarians. The objector now says that Tolkāppiyam need not follow the sanskrit grammarians and as a matter of fact does not; for, while sanskrit grammar includes the vocative case in the nominative and recognises on the whole only seven cases, Tolkāppiyam counts the cases as eight, holding the vocative to be a separate case. Replying to this criticism Cēṇāvaraiyar points out that there is no denying the fact that Tolkāppiyam follows the sanskrit grammars, that all the schools of sanskrit grammar do not hold the cases as seven, and that even among them there was Indra who held the cases as eight in number, separately mentioning the vocative. He cites here a sūtra from the Akattiyam to show how Indra held the cases to be eight.

ஏழியன் முறையது எதிர்முக வேற்றுமை  
 வேறென விளம்பான் பெயரது விகாரமென்  
 ரேதிய புலவ னுமுளனெரு வகையான்  
 இந்நிரன் எட்டாம் வேற்றுமை என்னென்.

Explaining so the quotation from the Akattiyam, Cēṇāvaraiyar says that Tolkāppiyaṇār follows the Aindra with which the never disagrees. He adds that therefore the pāyiram says, 'Aintiram niraṇta Tolkāppiyar.'

Interpreting the above sūtra from the Akattiyam, the author of the Tamil Pirayōkavivēkam says that the Pulavaṇ referred to by Akattiyar as holding cases to be seven is Pāṇini. He also views that the Akattiyam follows the Pāṇiniyan School. Thus it is certain that the Tamil Grammars followed the Sanskrit Grammars and that according to the Pirayōkavivēka, not only was there before the Tolkāppiyaṇār, the Aindravyākaraṇa but also Pāṇinīya. In this connection, Civañāṇamuṇivar, though he accepts that both Akattiyar and Tolkāppiyar had read the Sanskrit Grammars, says that the Sanskrit Grammars cannot be held to be the source of Tamil Grammar. He points out that, as regards Sandhi Tiṇai, Kuṟiñci, Veṭci, etc., Tamil Grammar has rules which are all its own and cannot be derived from any sanskrit Grammar. But commentators have pointed out that Tiṇai etc. are Paribhāṣās invented by Akattiyar himself. The point must be further investigated. Though Tamil Grammar has certainly its own individuality and special features, it cannot be refuted that the Tamil Grammar was to some extent indebted to Sanskrit works, Grammatical and otherwise, as can also be seen further in the following paragraph.<sup>1</sup>

Coming to internal evidences in the Tolkāppiyam, the work refers in plural to earlier writers as புலவர் (6, 478, 483, 967). என்ப (643, 1010, 13, 84, 511) மொழிப (962, 1054) கிளவார் (523) அறிந்திசி னோரே (158) வரையார் (43, 45) உணர்ந்தோர் (7).

The plural numbers in the above words in the Tolkāppiyam point to the existence of many writers before that work. It may be argued that the work refers not to many writers but to one

1. Civañāṇamuṇivar requotes Pērācīriyam and following him holds the Akattiyam to be the only pre-Tolkāppiya Grammar. This cannot be accepted. Aracaṇ Ṣaṇmukaṇār in his Pāyiravirutti criticizes this view of Pērācīriyar and Civañāṇamuṇivar and agrees with our view which follows Naccinārkiṇiyar. *Vide* pp. 310 etc. of that work.

only, *viz.*, Akattiyar and that the plural is used out of respect to Akattiyar. There is however a rule laid down by Tolkāppiyar himself that the honorific plural referring to one person or one object is allowed only in speech and not in poetry.

ஒருவரைக்கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்  
ஒன்றனைக் கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்  
வழக்கி னுகிய உயர்சொற் கிளவி  
இலக்கண மருங்கிற் சொல்லா றல்ல.

Therefore Tolkāppiyar who would not have deviated from his own rule must mean by the above plurals a number of writers that preceded him. Aracan̄ Ṣaṇmukaṇār also expresses this opinion in his Pāyirā-virutti.

(ii) Again as regards the number of cases, Tolkāppiyaṇār has two sūtras giving the two opinions referred to already.

வேற்றுமை தாமே எழுனை மொழிப. (Tol. Col. 62.)

விளிகொள் வதன்கண் விளியோ டெட்டே. (Tol. Col. 63.)

Here it appears that Tolkāppiyaṇār first speaks of the theory of others and then gives his own, as has been pointed out by Cēṇāvaraiyar. Teyvaccilaiyār also, though he takes the two Sūtras as one, points out that there is reference here to two different views. We have noted above, from evidence of Cēṇāvaraiyar that the two views here referred to are those of Akattiyar following Pāṇini and of the Aintiram followed by the Tolkāppiyam.

(iii) Thirdly, Tolkāppiyar refers in his sūtras to the following works :—

1. அந்தணர் மறை. (Tol. Eḷu. 102.)

This is evidently the Sanskrit Vēdas.

2. நரம்பின் மறைய. (Tol. Eḷu. 33.)

This is perhaps the Sanskrit Gāndharva Vēda dealing with music.

3. அறுவகைப் பட்டப் பார்ப்பனப் பக்கம். (Tol. Poruḷ 57.)

This is a reference to Sanskrit Dharma Śāstras.

Fourthly the following sūtras from Tolkāppiyam, Piṟappiyal and Molimarapu, clearly indicate that Tolkāppiyar was a Sanskrit scholar and that he translated or summarised in his work some of the ideas in the ancient Sanskrit grammatical literature like the Prātiśākhya.<sup>1</sup>

1. The following quotations are reproduced from Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastriyar's preface to his Collatikāra-k-kuṟippu. Dr. P. S. S. Sastri has also pointed out that the Tolkāppiyam draws upon Yāska's Nirukta also.

சகார நகார முதனா வண்ணம்	(Tol. pira. 7.)
हनुमूले जिह्मामूलेन कवर्गे स्पर्शयति	(Tai. pra. 2, 35.)
சகார ஞகார மிடைநா வண்ணம்	(Tol. pira. 8.)
ताडु जिह्मामूलेन चवर्गे	(Tai. prā. 2, 36.)
அண்ண நண்ணிய பன்முதன் மருங்கி னுதுனி பார்து மெய்யுற வொற்றத் தாமினிது பிறக்குந் சகார நகாரம்	(Tol. pira. 11.)
जिह्वाग्रेण तवर्गे दन्तमूलेषु	(Tai. prā. 2, 38.)
दन्त्यानां जिह्वाग्रं प्रस्तीर्णम्	(Ātharvaṇa. prā. 1-24.)
இதழியைந்து பகாரமகாரம்	(Tol. pira. 15.)
ओष्ठान्ताभ्यां पवर्गे	(Tai. prā. 2, 39.)
பல்லித ழியைய வகாரம் பிறக்கும்	(Tol. pira. 61.)
ओष्ठान्ताभ्यां दन्तैर्वकारे	(Tai. prā. 2, 43.)
சார்ந்துவரி னல்லது	(Tol. pira. 19.)
२क२पौ चापि पराश्रितौ.	(pa. ci.)

In this connection attention may be drawn to a sūtra in the Tolkāppiyam which says that one of the ways of writing a derivative treatise (வழிநூல்) is to translate from a work of another language (Tol. Porul. Marapiyal, 167).

In conclusion, as Naccinārkkinīyar has pointed out, there existed before the Tolkāppikam, the Akattiyam, the Icaṇuṇukkam, the Māpurāṇam and the Pūtapurāṇam. From the Pāyiram and Cēṇāvaraiyar we learn that besides drawing from the above said predecessors, the Tolkāppiyam followed also the Sanskrit grammar of the school of Indra. If we are to accept the Pirayōkavivēkam, Pāṇini is also one of Tolkāppiyar's predecessors and sources. From the text of the Tolkāppiyam itself we know of the existence of many earlier works and definite references are given to the Sanskrit Vēdas, Gāndharva-Vēda and the Dharma Sāstra literature, upon which also Tolkāppiyam drew. In addition to these Tolkāppiyar embodied into his text translation of the ideas of the Sanskrit Prātiśākhyas and Nirukta. Therefore the contention that sage Agastya is the only predecessor and his work is the only source of the Tolkāppiyam cannot stand.

# PAINTING AND ALLIED ARTS AS REVEALED IN BĀṆA'S WORKS

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(Continued from page 414 of Vol. VI, pt. iv.)

Important amongst the various tints stated by Bāṇa are green, grey and brown. The varieties of each colour and their subtle differences are noteworthy. The peculiar Haritālaśaila white<sup>1</sup> is different from swan-white and lotus-white<sup>2</sup>. The colours of the Sinduvāra<sup>3</sup>, Karṇikāra<sup>4</sup> and Campaka<sup>5</sup> are different patterns of white. Ivory-white is another<sup>6</sup>. Foam-white is a colour different from all these in a subtle shade and is identical with milk-white and conch-white<sup>7</sup>. The yellowish-white of the petals of the full-blown Ketakī is another variety.<sup>8</sup>

Red is of many types. Red like the Bandhūka flower,<sup>9</sup> the Kuṅkumapiñjara type of red<sup>10</sup>, Kusumbharāgapāṭala,<sup>11</sup> blood-red like a bunch of Ghātakī flowers,<sup>12</sup> Sindūra (red) colour of the

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1. हरितालशैलावदातदेहः H. C. p. 188.
  2. हंसधवला धरण्यामपतज्ज्योत्स्ना Kā.p. 96.  
हिमकरसरसि विकचपुण्डरीकसिते Kā. p. 96
  3. अभिनवसितसिन्दुवारकुसुमपाण्डरैः Kā. p. 96.
  4. कर्णिकारगौरेण व्यायामव्यायतवपुषा H. C. p. 69.  
कर्णिकारगौरेण वीघ्रकञ्चुकच्छन्नवपुषा H. C. p. 61.
  5. वकुलसुरभिनिःश्वसितया चम्पकावदातया H. C. 33.
  6. दन्तपाण्डरपादे शशिमय इव H. C. p. 70.
  7. पीयूषफेनपटलपाण्डरम् H. C. p. 10.  
शङ्खक्षीरफेनपाण्डरेण क्षीरोदेनेव H. C. p. 21.
  8. विकचकेतकीगर्भपत्रपाण्डरं रजःसङ्घातम् H. C. p. 20.
  9. तस्य चाधरमणेदीधितयो विकसितबन्धूकवनराजयः H. C. p. 29.
  10. कुङ्कुमपिञ्जरितपृष्ठस्य चरणयुगलस्य H. C. p. 31.
  11. कुसुम्भरागपाटलं पुलकबन्धचित्रम् H. C. p. 32.
  12. रुधिरकुतूहलिकेसरिकिशोरकलिह्यमानकटोरघातकीस्तवके H. C. p. 47.

Mandāra flowers,<sup>1</sup> Māñjiṣṭha red,<sup>2</sup> Piñjara (red) like the morning sunshine,<sup>3</sup> are all subtle varieties. The rosy colour of the dove's leg<sup>4</sup> is a noteworthy tint.

There are many varieties of green such as parrot-green of the colour of the plantain leaf<sup>5</sup>, emerald-green,<sup>6</sup> and dark-green of the Tamāla type.<sup>7</sup>

There are different types of grey like the smoke colour<sup>8</sup>, the colour of the ass's skin,<sup>9</sup> the grey of the dove<sup>10</sup>, the grey of a pigeon's neck<sup>11</sup> and the colour of the Śaphara's belly.<sup>12</sup>

Varieties of brown are equally numerous. We have the Gorocanā brown,<sup>13</sup> yellowish brown,<sup>14</sup> brown of the red palm fruit,<sup>15</sup> of the camel's hair,<sup>16</sup> and of the Godhūma (wheat).<sup>17</sup>

Black is of various degrees and grades. There is the light black colour of the buffalo,<sup>18</sup> the darker shade on the face of the Golāṅgūla monkey,<sup>19</sup> and the pitch-dark night resembling the wing of the bird Cāṣa.<sup>20</sup>

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1. लोहितायमानमन्दारसिन्दूरसीम्नि H. C. p. 47.
  2. माञ्जिष्ठरागलोहिते किरणजाले Kā. p. 53.
  3. बालातपपिञ्जरा इव रजन्यः Kā. p. 105.
  4. पारावतपादपाटलरागः Kā. p. 94.
  5. शुक्रहरितैश्च कदलीवनैः Kā. p. 42. हारीतहरिता H. C. p. 22.
  6. मरकतहरितानां कदलीवनानाम् Kā. p. 379.
  7. तरुणतरतमालश्यामले H. C. p. 28.
  8. कृष्णाजिनेन नीलपाण्डुभासा.....धूमपटलेनेव Kā. p. 72.
  9. रासभरोमधूसरासु Kā. p. 52.
  10. वनदेवताप्रासादनां तरुणां शिखरेषु पारावतमालायमानासु धर्मपताकास्विव समुन्मिषन्तीषु तपोवनाग्निहोत्रधूमलेखासु Kā. p. 52.
  11. कपोतकण्ठकर्बुरे...तिमिरे H. C. p. 145.
  12. शफरोदरधूसरे रजसि H. C. p. 21.
  13. गोरोचनाकपिलद्युतिः Kā. p. 126.
  14. हरितालकपिलपक्वेषुविटपरचितवृत्तिभिः Kā. p. 393.
  15. संध्यानुबन्धताम्रे परिणततालफलत्वक्त्वविषि कालमेघमेदुरे H. C. p. 15.
  16. धूसरीचक्रुः क्रमेलककचकपिलाः पांसुवृष्टयः H. C. p. 162.
  17. गोधूमधामभिः स्थलीपृष्ठैरधिष्ठितः H. C. p. 94.
  18. जरन्महिषमघ्नीमलीमसि तमसि H. C. p. 81.
  19. गोलाङ्गूलकपोलकालकायलोम्नि नीलसिन्धुवारवर्णे वाजिनि H. C. p. 23.
  20. चाषपक्षत्वविषि तमस्युदिते H. C. p. 16.

The versicoloured hue of flowers<sup>1</sup> made up of innumerable tints is one type of the variegated colour. A limited number of colours variegate the rainbow<sup>2</sup>. It is the same case with the mottled colour of the bean-seed<sup>3</sup>. Two tints, yellow and black account for the variegation in the tiger's skin;<sup>4</sup> and white and blue for that in the eyes.<sup>5</sup>

Bāṇa's knowledge of the infinite variety of colour in nature and his singling out the beautiful natural tints of flowers and fruits so often chosen with great delicacy by expert artists for the execution of excellent still-life compositions is remarkable. The parrot's beautiful description of the purple Jambū fruit with its bluish-red tinge resembling the eye of a ruddy cuckoo, of the pomegranate seed looking like a pearl dabbled in blood with its intermixture of red and white, and of the Āmalakī fruit green like the lotus leaf is quite pleasing.<sup>6</sup> There are some noteworthy paragraphs in Bāṇa's works wherein, colours, all from nature, play an important part. In one description he actually brings in the names of colours—yellowish-white, tawny (deep brown), brown, white etc., and though attempting pun by their use nevertheless gives the reader an idea of the multicoloured nature of the forest-fires<sup>7</sup>. In actual painting of flames an artist cannot but use these colours which are ample and exhaustive. Thus it is not mere pun but a deliberate use to give out the nature of the flame.

Elsewhere he gives us a picture of the colorific nature of the forest, not by the use of colour-names, but by a towering description of the myriad trees and creepers loaded with sprouts and

1. आचमनशुचिशचीपतिमुच्यमानार्चनकुसुमनिकरशाराम् H. C. p. 19.

2. आभरणप्रभाजालजायमानानीन्द्रधनुःसहस्राणि H. C. p. 71.

3. पाकविशारारुजमाषनिकरकिमीरितैश्च H. C. p. 94.

4. शबलशार्दूलचर्मपटपीडितेन H. C. p. 232.

5. तिर्यङ्नीलधवलांशुकशाराम् H. C. p. 79.

6. आमत्तकोकिललोचनच्छविर्नीलपाटलः कषायमधुरः प्रकाममापीतो जम्बू-फलरसः, हरिनखरभिन्नमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भमुत्तरक्ताद्रमुक्ताफलत्विषि खण्डितानि दाडिमी-बीजानि, नल्लिनीदलहरन्ति द्राक्षाफलस्वादूनि च चूर्णितानि स्वेच्छया प्राचीनामलकी-फलानि Kā. p. 36.

✓7. क्वचित् स्वच्छन्दतृणचारिणो हरिणाः, क्वचित्स्तलविवरविवर्तिनो बभ्रवः, क्वचिजटावलम्बिनः कपिलाः, क्वचिच्छकुनकुलकुलायपातिनः श्येनाः H. C. p. 50.

blossoms.<sup>1</sup> The Karṇikāra flowers with an excellent yellowish colour (though lacking scent), the Campaka with its fragrant yellow flowers, the Nameru with its whitish flowers, the Kurabaka with its red flowers, the Kesara (Bakula) with its tawny flowers, the Aśoka with its vermilion flowers, the Tilaka tree with its peculiarly beautiful flowers, the lovely yellow Priyaṅgu creeper, the Mucukunda tree with its bark darkened with elephant's rut, the green verdure of the ground charmingly broken here and there by the spotted skin of the skipping deer, the yellow sunshine hidden by the dark shade of the Tamāla tree, the green betel and the blue Jambū, the whole atmosphere whitened by flower-pollen, form nature's colour-picture of the forest quite transcending the meagre and artificial portraiture of the same by the human hand.

Bāṇa gives another colour-picture of a country (Janapada) using colour names, this time with no purpose of punning.<sup>2</sup> The

1. अथ क्रमेण गच्छत एव तस्य कुञ्जालितकर्णिकाराः, प्रचुरचम्पकाः स्फीतफलेग्रहयः, फलभरितनमेरवः नीलदलनलदनारिकेलनिकराः, हरिकेसरसरलपरिकराः कोरकनिकुरम्बरोमाञ्चितकुरबकराजयः, रक्ताशोकपल्लवलावण्यलिप्यमानदशदिशः, प्रविकसितकेसररजोविसरबध्यमानचारुधूसरिमाणः स्वरजःसिकतिलकतलाः, प्रविचलित-हिङ्गवः, प्रचुरपूगफलाः, प्रसवपूगपिङ्गप्रियङ्गवः, परागपिङ्गारितमञ्जरीपुञ्जायमानमधुप-मञ्जुशिञ्जाजनितजनमुदः, मदमलमेचकितमुचुकुन्दस्कन्धकाण्डकथ्यमाननिःशङ्ककिर-करटपङ्कतयः, उड्डीयमाननिःशङ्कचटुलकृष्णशारशावसकलशाद्वलसुभगभूमयः, तमः-कालतमतमालमालामीलितातपाः, स्तबकदन्तुरितदेवदारवः, तरलताम्बूलीस्तम्बजाल-कितजम्बूजम्बीरवीथयः, कुसुमरजोधवलधूलीकदम्बचक्रचुम्बितव्योमानः H. C. p. 234.

2. पाकविशाररुजमाषनिकरकिर्मीरितैश्च स्फुटितमुद्गफलकोशीकपिशितै-गोधूमधामभिः स्थलीपृष्ठैरधिष्ठितः, क्षीरोदमिव क्षीरं क्षरन्निर्वाण्यच्छेद्यतृणतृणैर्गोधनै-र्धवलितविपिनः, विविधमखहोमधूमान्धशतमन्युमुक्तैर्लोचनैरिव सहस्रसंख्यैः कृष्णशारैः शारीकृतोद्देशः, धवलधूलीमुचां केतकीवनानां रजोभिः पाण्डरीकृतैः प्रमथोद्भूतलधूसरैः शिवपुरस्येव प्रवेशैः प्रदेशैरुपशोभितः, शाककन्दलश्यामलितप्रायोपकण्ठकाश्यपीपृष्ठः, पदे पदे करभपालीभिः पीलुपल्लवप्रस्फोटितैः करपुटपीडितमातुलुङ्गीदलरसोपलितैः स्वेच्छाविचितकुङ्कुमकेसरकृतपुष्पप्रकरैः प्रत्यग्रफलरसपानसुखमुत्पथिकैर्वनदेवतादीय-मानामृतरसप्रपागृहैरिव द्राक्षामण्डपैः स्फुरत्फलानां च बीजलग्नशुकचञ्चुरागाणामिव समारूढकपिकुलकपोलसंदिह्यमानकुसुमानां दाडिमीनां वनैर्विलोभनीयोपनिर्गमः..... श्रीकण्ठो नाम जनपदः H. C. p. 95



natural ground (that of the forest) mottled with bean-seeds, made tawny by the seed-vessels of kidney-beans splitting and falling from them, the forest-land whitened by herds of cows, variegated by the spotted deer, made dusky-white by the pollen of Ketakī flowers, the lands about villages dark-green with pot-herb plantations and plantain groves, with flowers and Kuṅkumakesaras scattered in pomegranate groves having flowers red like the parrot's beak and creating a doubt whether they were monkeys' faces, is a beautiful colour study.

Never was the multicoloured nature of the ground given out more vividly than in the passage in the Kādambarī where Bāṇa compares the divers colours of the earth spread here and there helter skelter with the grey of the old Śaphara's belly, the brown of the camel's hair, the dull colour of the Rallaka deer, the light white of the cobweb, the brighter white of a full-grown lotus-stalk, the brown of an old monkey's hair, and the pure white of the foam (froth) in the mouth of Śivas bull.<sup>1</sup> None but an artist in the true sense can conceive the rich colour imagery found in the description of the elephant Gandhamādana, who with his dark body tinged rosy by a free use of Sindūra (red powder) and ornamented with garlands of white flowers on his crown and the long pearl trappings hanging from the ears appears like the Meru mountain at sunset with the last lingering rays of the sun, the stars preping at its crest and the white waters of the Ganges flowing down the slopes.<sup>2</sup>

The texts on painting like the Citrasūtra in the Viṣṇudharmottara, the chapters on painting in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi

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1. शनैः शनैश्च बलसंक्षोभजन्मा क्षितिरनेकवर्णतया कचिज्जीर्णशफर-  
क्रोडधूम्रः, कचित् क्रमेलकसटासंनिभः, कचित् पीरणतरल्लकरोमपल्लवमलिनः,  
कचिदुत्पन्नोर्णतन्तुपाण्डरः, कचिज्जरठमृणालदण्डधवलः, कचिज्जरत्नकपिकेशकपिलः,  
कचिद्धरवृषभरोमन्थफेनपिण्डपाण्डरः.....रेणुस्तपात् Kā. p. 218.

2. बहलसिन्दूरेणुपाटलेन क्षितितलडोलायमानमुक्ताकलापावचूलेन सित-  
सुममालाजालशबलशिरसा संलग्नसंघ्यातपेन तिर्यगावर्जितश्वेतगङ्गाप्रवाहेण तारागणदन्दुरि-  
तशिलातलेन मेरुगिरिणेव गन्धमादनेनानुगम्यमानः

and the Śivatattvaratnākara and the Citralakṣaṇa chapter of the Śilparatna etc., give a list of the various tints got by mixing primary colours. It is remarkable that Bāṇa has set at naught the limited colour variety of these texts and given out in his catalogue of innumerable tints that deep and close study of nature which had enabled him to grasp the extreme subtlety of difference between tint and tint. In spite of the limited number of colours stated the texts on painting are not unacquainted with subtle differences in the same colour. The Śilparatna gives three gradations of red—Sindūra for light red, Gairika (mountain-born) red (mineral chalks) for a middle tint and Lākṣā(lac) juice for a deep colour.<sup>1</sup> The Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and the Śivatattvaratnākara tell us that vermilion is for reddish brown, and red lac or sap, red sanders and mountain-born chalks are for crimson tint.<sup>2</sup> They echo Bāṇa's statements. White and black give the grey of smoke;<sup>3</sup> blue and white the colour of the pigeon similar to the Rājāvarta\* and the hemp-flower.<sup>4</sup> Red mountain chalk and conch powder give a peculiar pale red (Dhūmracchāya).<sup>5</sup> Daradaφ (vermilion) mixed with white gives the pale red of the red-lily while Alaktaka (red lac or sap) combined with white gives the colour of the sun's horses.<sup>6</sup> The difference is very slight here.

1. मृदुरक्ते तु सिन्दूरं गैरिकं मध्यरक्ते ॥

अतिरक्ते तु संयोज्यं वर्णे लाक्षारसं विदुः ।

Śilparatna, p. 255, Śl. 117, 118.

2. .... शोणेषु दरदं तथा ।

रक्तेष्वलक्तशकलं लोहितं गैरिकं तथा ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

✓3. कज्जलं शङ्खसंमिश्रं धूम्रच्छायं निरूपितम् ।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

\* An inferior diamond of the Virāṭa country.

4. निर्विशङ्गेन संमिश्रं कपोताभं प्रजायते ।

(नीली शङ्गेन संयुक्ता कपोताभा विराजते a better reading.)

राजावर्तः स एव स्यादतसीपुष्पसंनिभः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

5. गैरिकं शङ्खसंमिश्रं धूम्रच्छायं निरूपितम् ।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

φ Vermilion or Cinnabar, a red mercuric sulphide of oriental source.

6. दरदं शङ्खसंमिश्रं सौराश्वसदृशप्रभम् ।

or भवेत् कोकनदच्छवि

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

Pure indigo (Nīlī) of the colour of the blue lily gives a green tint when mixed with yellow pigment.<sup>1</sup> Red lac with lamp-black gives a dark brown and with blue the colour of the Jambū fruit.<sup>2</sup> The tints got by mixing primary colours—like smoke grey, pigeon colour, the different varieties of red, brown, green and the colour of the Jambū fruit are clearly given by Bāṇa. The variegated hue to which he refers is given by the Śilparatna as a convenient colour for artists; but according to Śrīkumāra it is got by mixing red, black and yellow in equal proportions.<sup>3</sup> Red and yellow give the colour of Bakula flowers which Bāṇa describes as Dhūsara (tawny).<sup>4</sup> This is the same as flame colour.<sup>5</sup> There are also other varieties of red given in the Śilparatna. The green of the parrot's wing described by Bāṇa as not dissimilar from that of the plantain leaf is got by a mixture of Haritāla (yellow) and blue;<sup>6</sup> and the purple of the Jambū fruit so cleverly described by the parrot in the Kādambarī is the result of the union of red lac and blue.<sup>7</sup> The yellowish white of the inner petals of the Ketakī flower noted by Bāṇa is the type of white got by mixing Haritāla and conch-powder as laid down in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.<sup>8</sup> The rosy

1. केवलैव च या नीली भवेदिन्दीवरप्रभा ।  
हरितालेन संमिश्रा जायते हरितच्छविः ॥  
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.
- ✓ 2. अलक्तकेन संमिश्रं कज्जलं पाटलं भवेत् ।  
अलक्तं नीलिकायुक्तं जम्बूवर्णं स्फुटं भवेत् ॥  
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.
- ✓ 3. श्वेतं कृष्णं च पीतं च समभागविमिश्रितम् ।  
शारच्छवीति विख्यातं वर्णकारमुखप्रदम् ॥ Śilparatna, p. 256.
- ✓ 4. रक्तं पीतं समं मिश्रं वकुलस्य फलाकृति । Śilparatna, p. 257.  
The colour of the Bakula fruit is not essentially different from that of the flower.
- ✓ 5. ज्वलनाभमिदं ख्यातमग्निवर्णनिभं परम् । Śilparatna, p. 257.
- ✓ 6. हरितालं श्यामयुतं शुक्लपक्षनिभं भवेत् । Śilparatna, p. 257.
7. लाक्षारसेन संमिश्रं कृष्णं जम्बूफलाकृति । Śilparatna, p. 257.
8. गैरिकं हरितालेन मिश्रितं गौरतां व्रजेत् ।  
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.  
हरितालं शङ्खयुतं घोरात्व(?) सदृशप्रभम् । Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.  
घोरात्व can have no meaning. It might be गौराब्जासदृशप्रभम् which would mean that it is not very different from the colour 'Gaura' (got by mixing red and white—a pale rosy white.)

colour of the pigeon's leg in the Kādambārī is the 'Gaura' type of rosy white in the Śilparatna,<sup>1</sup> which is the same as the Saurāśva-saṁśrāpabha (colour of the sun's horses) of the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and the Śivatattvaratnākara, though the 'Gaura' of these books is slightly different from that of the Śilparatna being got by mixing red and yellow instead of red and white. The Piṅgaḷa type of yellow that Bāṇa states as the colour of honey<sup>2</sup> is not the result of a mixture of white and yellow in the proportion of one is to two<sup>3</sup> that the Śilparatna gives. It is a tawny colour—more red than yellow—something like Piñjara which is defined by the Haimakośa as Pitarakta.<sup>4</sup> Bāṇa gives the Piñjara type of reddish brown as the colour of ripe paddy fields—a really true observation; and this colour is lighter than that of honey which has a greater proportion of red. This might be the same as the Atirakta of the Śilparatna with yellow and red in the proportion of one is to two.<sup>5</sup> The variegated colour of deer, tigers, peacocks, tittiris etc. as given by Bāṇa is quite in accordance with the rule of the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and the Śivatattvaratnākara that holds the use of different colours for the effect of the animals absolutely necessary.<sup>6</sup> It might be two colours or three or more.

Bāṇa's colour-scheme is never complete without a reference to certain of his minute observations that go to prove his artistic insight. The pale pink of Śakragopas,<sup>7</sup> the pale green on the back of the lotus leaf,<sup>8</sup> the brown of the peeping moustaches<sup>9</sup>, the green colour of fresh cow-dung smeared on the floor<sup>10</sup>—which idea is

1. सितं रक्तेन संयुक्तं गौरच्छवि हि दृश्यते । Śilparatna, p. 256.

2. कमलकवलपीतं मधुरसमिव स्वभावपिङ्गलेन वमन्तम् H. C. p. 66.

3. श्वेतस्य द्विगुणं पीतं मिश्रं खयातं तु पिङ्गलम् । Śilparatna, p. 257.

4. पीतरक्तस्तु पिञ्जरः इति हैमः ।

5. पीतस्य द्विगुणं रक्तं मिश्रितं त्वतिरक्तकम् । Śilparatna, p. 257.

6. एणसारङ्गशार्दूलशिखितित्तिरिकादिषु ।

भिन्नवर्णेषु सत्त्वेषु पृथग्वर्णः प्रयुज्यते ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and Śivatattvaratnākara.

7. शाक्रगोपकालोहितरागेणांशुकेन रचितावगुण्ठनया Kā. p. 192.

पाटलितशाद्वलैः शक्रगोपकैरपि पाण्डुतां प्रत्यपद्यत Kā. p. 517.

8. म्लानारविन्दनीलपलाशपृष्ठपाण्डरेण Kā. p. 540.

9. विजृम्भमाणरमश्रुगणशोभा Kā. p. 466.

10. बहुलगोमयोपलेपहरिते Kā. p. 488.

हरितगोमयोपलिप्तक्षितितलवितते H. C. p. 103.

हरितगोमयोपलिप्ताजिरस्थण्डिलस्थापितम् H. C. p. 57.

echoed by Māgha<sup>1</sup> are only a few. The picture of dawn with the pale moonlight slowly disappearing with the moon, and the forests rising as it were, from the waters, a dark mass with the general outline faintly visible across the rosy sky, is a perfect silhouette.<sup>2</sup> The comparison of the pale moon to a polishless silver pot is apt.<sup>3</sup> The rosy colour of the morning rays not unmixed with white in union with black (blue) is a faithful picture.<sup>4</sup> Bāṇa gives the colour of the peacock's plume with great accuracy. It is Śabala and has blue predominant but appears green when the sun's light falls on it<sup>5</sup>. This observation is really striking. The Śabala colour of the the peacock is further explained by Māgha who gives it out as violet and gold.<sup>6</sup> Amusing, indeed, is the quaint but highly realistic description of the canary of the royal household approaching Kādambarī, being followed by her mate, to lodge a complaint with the princess against her dissipative husband<sup>7</sup>. The

1. शुक्राङ्गनीलोपलनिर्मितानां लिप्तेषु भासा गृहदेहलीनाम् ।

यस्यामलिन्येषु न चक्रुरेव मुग्धाङ्गना गोमयगोमुखानि ॥

Śiśupālavadha, Can. III, Śl. 48.

2. गलदवश्यायक्षालनादिव शनैः शनैर्दलितमुक्तागौरज्योत्स्नानुभावमुत्सृजन्ती-

ष्वाशासु, पुनर्विभाव्यमानसहजश्यामकान्तिषु सलिलादिवोन्मज्जत्सु तरुलताविटपेषु

Kā. p. 471.

3. प्रभाविरहादनुन्मृष्टरजतकुम्भाभमिदमपरान्तावलम्बि वर्तते रजनिकर-

बिम्बम् Kā. p. 581.

4. यथायथोद्गमविस्तारिणी जरत्तामरसपत्रारुणा पाण्डुच्छविरुल्लसति

सीमन्तयन्ती तमः केशसंघातमिव पूर्वस्याः ककुभोऽरुणाग्रकरालोक्ततिः Kā. p. 581.

5. एष विकचोत्पलवनरचनानुकारिणमुत्पतच्चारुचन्द्रकशतं हरिणलो-

चनद्युतिशबलमभिनवशाद्वलमिव विशति शिखिनः कलापमातपाहतो निःशङ्कमहिः

Kā. p. 90.

6. श्यामारुणैर्वारणदानतोयैरालोडिताः काञ्चनभूपरागाः ।

आनेमिमग्नैः शितिकण्ठपिच्छक्षोदद्युतश्चुक्षुदिरे रथौघैः ॥

Śiśupālavadha, Can. III, Śl. 27.

7. अथ सहसैव त्वरितगतिः, त्रिवर्णरागमिन्द्रायुधमिव कुण्डलीकृतं कण्ठेन

वहता विद्रुमाङ्कुरानुकारिणा चञ्चुपुटेन मरकतद्युतिपक्षतिना मन्थरगतेन शुकेनानुबध्य-

माना, कुमुदक्रेसरपिञ्जरतया चरणयुगलस्य चम्पककालिकाकारतया च मुखस्य

कुवलयदलनीलतया च पक्षद्युतीनां कुसुममयीवागत्य सारिका सक्त्रोधमवादीत्

Kā. p. 351.

parrot's neck, tricoloured and bent, resembles the rainbow in its curvature and hue; the canary with its feet rosy-gold as the lily-pollen, its face of the form of the Campaka petal (golden), its plume of the tinge of the blue lotus, is delicately feminine and flower-like.

*Anatomy.* It is not mere conventional comparisons to various flowers, trees and animals that satisfies the spirit of so keen an observer as Bāṇa. He has his own way in everything: not that he is unaware of the conventional comparisons or that they are defective—they are apt though oft repeated—but because he wants to be more original and forceful. As an instance we have his comparison of the limbs of a strong and sinewy man like Mādhavagupta to those of various animals.<sup>1</sup> His strength compared to a lion's, his gait to an elephant's are not to our point. His forearm is likened to that of a tiger's. A



Fig. 1.

close study of the particular brawny limb of a human being and that of the mighty Bengal tiger would reveal the force of this comparison attempted to be shown in the picture (fig. 1). His eyes, wide and round, are like a deer's. It would not be without

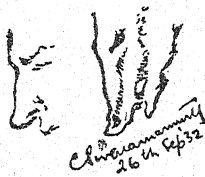


Fig. 2.

gain perusing the leaves of 'Some notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy' where Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has tried to show the similarity of the deer's eye to the rather wide one of a human being by means of a picture; but any day it would be a feast of the eye to observe from nature the beauty of God's creation albeit only in a small limb or organ of a comparatively insignificant but yet a lovely creature—the deer. His nose is like the snout of a boar. This is a rather exaggerated way of giving out that his nose was prominent. But yet it is forceful and striking. The picture (fig. 2) might give some

1. चक्षुः कुरङ्गकैर्घोणावंशं वराहैः स्कन्धपीठं महिषैः प्रकोष्ठवन्धं व्याघ्रैः पराक्रमं केसरिभिर्गमनं मातङ्गजैर्मृगयाक्षपितशेषैर्भित्तैस्कोचमिव दत्तं दर्शयन्तं माधवगुप्तं ददृशतुः H. C. p. 140.

idea of the comparison. Lastly his lusty shoulders are compared to the mighty humpy back of the buffalo. This is a vigorous stroke in the annals of comparison. It is not that Bāṇa is not conversant with the hackneyed phrase वृषस्कन्ध; he actually uses it elsewhere describing the man who followed Mekhalaka.<sup>1</sup> Both the comparisons, and the force of the use of ककुद् which gives strength to the comparison, are attempted to be shown in the picture (fig. 3).

As a contrast to the description of sturdy Mādhavagupta, a man in the service of a master and with a hardened body, is the



Fig. 3.

delicate delineation of the beautiful limbs of Candrāpīḍa. His forehead is like the crescent moon, eyes long and like the half closed blue lotus, lips like tender leaves, nails, palms and soles coral-red, and withal his body symmetrical and full of lāvaṇya.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. हरवृषककुदकूटविकटांसतटेन H. C. p. 61.
  - ✓ 2. तथैवेयमिन्दुशकलानुकारिणः कान्तिर्ललाटस्य । तादृशमेवेदमाकुलित-  
नीलोत्पलद्युतिहारि कर्णान्तायतं लोचनद्वयम् । तादृश एवाभिनवकिसलयच्छविरधरः ।

Elsewhere Bāṇa gives in a general way that the chest should be broad, the arms sinewy, the waist slim and the thighs well developed in the case of a youth.<sup>1</sup>

We shall now turn to the fairer sex. Lāvanya<sup>2</sup> is the beautifying factor according to Bāṇa and there is not a description of beauty but we find it there. In describing Patralekhā the daughter of Kulūteśvara, *i.e.*, Kulūta King, he gives out that her lips were thin and looked a streak—not coarse or thick;\* that her nose was symmetrical, well rounded and elevated—the force of this is well understood if we note, of course, only occasionally by chance (since ugliness is not the law of the universe), a rather deformed snub nose where one nostril is smaller than the other and the *ala nasi* are not well rounded; that her eyes were like the full-blown lotus; that her body was slender like a creeper, her heel and ankle well developed;† that her waist was slim and that above all she had Mahānubhāvākāra.<sup>3</sup> This is the same as the Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa of heroes and the high-born. It is essential in depicting high class women—Uttamastrī. In the description of Kādambarī Bāṇa gives free play to his poetic genius and gives us a grand picture of typical feminine beauty. His Utprekṣās ('Poetic fancy')

तथैव चेदं विद्रुमलोहितनखाङ्गुलीतलं पाणिपादम् । तदेवेदमविमलितसहजलावण्य-  
सौकुमार्याणां सौष्टवमङ्गानाम् Kā. p. 549.

✓ 1. वक्षसैव सह विस्तीर्यते वाञ्छा । दोर्द्वयेनैव सह स्थूलतामापद्यते धीः । मध्ये-  
नैव सह कार्यमुपयाति श्रुतम् । ऊरुयुगलेनैव सहोपचीयतेऽविनयः । Kā. p. 496.

✓ 2. Cf. रूपभेदः प्रमाणानि भावलावण्ययोजनम्

सादृश्यं वर्णिका भङ्ग इति चित्रं षडङ्गकम् ॥

Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana.

\* It is surprising that almost all the Ajanta pictures have thick lips when such a delineation is considered a doṣa ;

Cf. दौर्बल्यविन्दुरेखात्मविभक्तत्वमेव च ।

बृहद्गण्डोष्ठनेत्रत्वं.....चित्रदोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Viṣṇudharmottara.

‡ Her feet resting firmly on the ground, devoid of the ugly gait caused by an upraised heel, suggest the well-developed nature of her heel and ankle.

✓ 3. बहलताम्बूलकृष्णिकान्धकारिताधरलेखया सममुवृत्ततुङ्गनसिकया, विकसित-  
पुण्डरीकलोचनया.....नववनलेखयेव कोमलतनुलतया...महानुभावाकारयानु-  
गम्यमानं कन्यकया Kā. p. 193.



regarding her weighty hips, slender waist, rounded thighs, high breasts, deep naval, tender arms, rosy nails and red lips are best studied in the text itself. Her nose (Nāsāvarīśa) is shaped like the bow of Rati's lute.<sup>1</sup> The comparison would not be clear without seeing the fiddlestick; and we are at a loss to know what sort of a thing it was in the days of Bāṇa. The word Varīśa is invariably found used in his descriptions of the nose. What he means is that a marked nose should be divided into two equal parts by the nasal bone, thus elevating it and giving the contour of the side view an undulation rather than a flat straight line. The bone would thus be something like the node of a bamboo. The rounded nature of the nose and its symmetry would be clear from the picture (fig. 4). Her eyes are long and tinged red at the tip, her eyebrows creeper-like and her ears like the Pāśa.



Chinnamamurti  
21th Sep 32

Fig. 4.

This last comparison is noteworthy and is easily seen in the pictures at Ajanta and the ears of the Mūrtis of Gods in temples. A better idea of the ear is got by the description of the limb in the case of Bhairavācāya.<sup>2</sup> But Karnaṇapāśa has an air of delicacy and is generally used in the case of women. Finally, her hair is long and of a luxuriant growth.<sup>3</sup>

Now, beauty alone is not the rule in this mundane world. There is ugliness; and it has also a right in the sphere of Art. Portrayal of the horrid is as essential in art as portrayal of the lovely. 'It is only by the habit of representing faithfully all things,' says Ruskin, 'that we can truly learn what is beautiful, and what is not. The ugliest objects contain some element of beauty; and in all it is an element peculiar to themselves, which cannot be separated from their ugliness, but must either be enjoyed together with it or not at all.'<sup>4</sup> Oscar Wilde voices forth the same opinion<sup>5</sup> when he says 'Nothing so ignoble that Art cannot

1. रतिपरिवादिनीरत्नकोणचारुणा नासावंशेन च विराजमानाम्

Kā. p. 140.

2. लोमशकर्णशङ्कुलीप्रदेशम् H. C. p. 103.

3. दीर्घकेशकल्पाम् Kā. p. 341.

4. Modern Painters, Vol. III, part IV, Chap. iii, para. 15.

5. Essays and Lectures—House Decoration, p. 171.

sanctify it'. It is this same idea of his that Bāṇa reveals through his descriptions of the Draviḍa-dhārmika, the Śābaras in the Kādambarī, Bhairavācārya and his disciple. The brown shaggy eyebrows and the blood-shot eyes of the old hunter,<sup>1</sup> the ugly protuberant blue veins and small-pox scars enhancing the original ugliness of the Draviḍa-dhārmika<sup>2</sup> are specially to be noted in their description. Bhairavācārya has a bald pate with the few remaining matty hairs tied up. His ears all overgrown with hairs and rudely modelled like a Śaṣkuli,\* his forehead full of wrinkles and marked by the brown shaggy eyebrows united and running in one continuous line, his long eyes emitting divers lights, his nose resembling in its curvature an eagle's beak, his cheeks diminished in their size by the extending corners of his wide mouth possessing long, projecting teeth and hanging lip, with his belly slightly formed by a decrease of folds and his hips putting on flesh, Bhairavācārya is a veritable model for an artist to study features.<sup>3</sup> The description of his pupil is not less impressive.<sup>4</sup> Though emaciated in body he has well-developed bones. His forehead is broad; and the cheeks void of flesh appear hollow. The phrase 'Nirmāṇsagaṇḍakūpa' is pregnant with meaning. His eyes

1. रुधिरबिन्दुपाटलया कपिलभ्रूलतापरिवेषभीषणया दृष्ट्या Kā. p. 65.

2. स्थूलस्थूलैः शिराजालकैर्गोधागोलिकाकृकलासकुलैरिव दग्धस्थाष्वाशङ्कया समारूढैर्गवाक्षितेन, अलक्ष्मीसमुत्खातलक्षणस्थानैरिव विस्फोटकव्रणविन्दुभिः कल्माषित-सकलद्वारीरेण Kā. p. 398.

\* Called முஷ்கு in Tamil and శృంగుడి in Telugu.

3. स्वालित्यक्षीयमाणशङ्खलोमलेखम् ; लोमशकर्णशङ्कुलीप्रदेशं पृथुललाट-तटम् , सहजललाटं वलिभङ्गसंकोचितकूर्चभागां बभ्रूभासं भूसंगत्या निरन्तरामायामिनी-मेकामिव भ्रूलेखां विभ्रानाम् , ..... अतिदीर्घेण लेचनयुगलेन परितो महामण्डल-मिवानेकवर्णरागमालिखन्तम् , ..... तार्क्ष्यतुण्डकोटिङ्कुञ्जाग्रघोणम् , दूरविदीर्ण-सूक्ष्मसंक्षिप्तकपोलम् , किञ्चिद्वनुरतया सदा हृदयसंनिहितहरमौलिचन्द्रातपेनैव निर्गच्छता दन्तालोकेन धवलयन्तं दिशां जालकम् , ..... ईषत्प्रशिथिलवलिवलयवध्यमानतुन्दम् , उपचीयमानस्फिङ्मांसपिण्डकम् ..... भैरवाचार्यं ददर्श H. C. p. 103.

4. भैक्षक्षाममपि स्थूलस्थिभिरवयवैः पीवरमिवोपलक्ष्यमाणम् , पृथूत्तमाङ्ग-मुत्तुङ्गबलिमङ्गस्थपुटललाटम् , निर्मौसगण्डकूपम् , मधुविन्दुपिङ्गलपरिमण्डलाक्षम् , ईषदावक्रघोणम् , अतिप्रलम्बैककर्णपाशम् , अलाबुवीजविकटोन्नतदन्तपङ्क्तिम् , तुरगानूकश्लथाधरलेखम् , लम्बचिबुकायततरलपनम् ..... मस्करिणमद्राक्षीत् ।

H. C. p. 101.

are globular, the nose slightly curved and the ears drooping; his teeth shaped like the seeds of the bottlegourd and the hanging lower lip resembling that of the horse. His face appears lengthened by the drooping chin. The description of the teeth and lip is highly realistic.

Bāṇa gives us Lakṣaṇas of some demigods also. The Vidyādhara have curled hair, wear crowns on their heads, Kuṇḍalas on their ears, garlands by their neck, Keyūras on the hand, girdles on their waist and carry clubs and swords.<sup>1</sup> The Kinnaras are horse-faced beings generally going in pairs.<sup>2</sup>

Of the so-called less important of God's creation, animals, Bāṇa gives us a detailed account of two important ones—the elephant and the horse. The Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi also singles out these two and deals with their anatomy;<sup>3</sup> with this difference, that the one deals with their characteristic features while the other gives measurements for drawing their figures.

We have but to read the description of Darpaśāta to get an accurate idea of a noble elephant. Its streaky trunk gives us an idea of its furrowed skin.<sup>4</sup> The red lower lip of the elephant is a minute observation.<sup>5</sup> Its ears are like big fans, the tail like a chowrie.<sup>6</sup> With polished nails, shaggy hairs, ponderous head,

1. सद्य एव कुन्तली किरीटी कुण्डली हारी केयूरी मेखली मुद्ररी खड्गी च भूत्वावाप विद्याधरत्वम् H. C. p. 115.

2. मृगयानिर्गतः विचरन् कानने शैलशिखरादवतीर्णं यदृच्छया किन्नर-मिथुनमद्राक्षीत् Kā. p. 226.

अहो निष्फलमपि मे तुरङ्गमुखमिथुनानुसरणमेतदालोकयतः सरः सफलता-मुपगतम् Kā. p. 234.

✓ 3. ...एतल्लक्षणमुद्दिष्टं वाजिनां सोमभूभुजा ।.....

...अनेनैव प्रकारेण लेखनीया गजाकृतिः ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

4. बलिवलयराजिभिस्तनीयसीभिस्तरङ्गितोदरेणातिस्थवीयसा हस्तार्गलदण्डेन H. C. p. 65.

5. रक्तांशुकुसुमारतलेन तालुना कबलितानि रक्तपद्मवनानीव वर्षन्तम् H. C. p. 66.

6. ...कर्णतालतालवृन्ताभ्यां वीजयन्तमिव... H. C. p. 66.

गजाधिपत्यचिह्नेन चामरेणेव चलता बालधिना विराजमानम्

H. C. p. 67.

tender pate, short neck, and small belly (of course only proportionately)<sup>1</sup>, he stands in a beautiful Tripadī pose quite characteristic of him. Something of this import is attempted in the picture (fig. 5).

Of the horse we have a fine account in the description of Indrāyudha. Its thighs are thin (as if scraped), chest is wide, the face narrow and long—a sign of good breed, an elongated neck, the flanks reduced (*i. e.*) small girth at the loins—

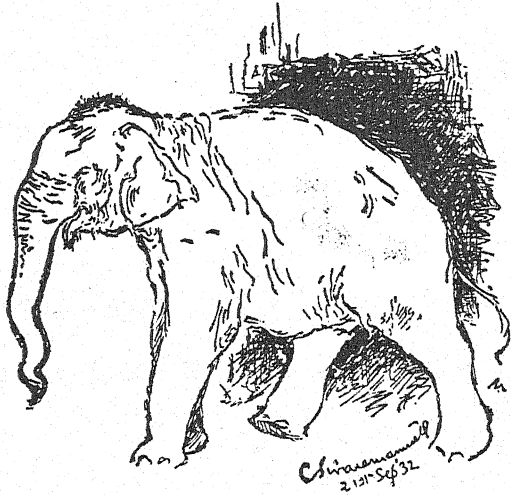


Fig. 5.

another sign of good breed, and the hind parts well-developed.<sup>2</sup> The Harṣacarita gives us something more. The horses before the palace gates of Emperor Harṣa are fine breeds with small ears, long necks, powerful shoulders, curved chests, hard hoofs (neatly shod with horse-shoes), thin waists, broad rounded hips, and long stately bodies.<sup>3</sup> They are of various shades, brown, black, white, reddish yellow, yellow, mottled;<sup>4</sup> and are from various countries and different in their build. Thus, for instance, the Kāmbhoja horses have very long manes.<sup>5</sup> Bāṇa's proficiency in Aśva and

1. त्रिपदं नखेषु, परुषं रोमविषये, गुरुं मुखे, ... मृदुं शिरसि, ... ह्रस्वं स्कन्ध-  
बन्धे, ... दरिद्रमुदरे ... H. C. p. 67.

2. उत्कीर्णमिव जङ्घासु, विस्तारितमिवोरसि, श्लक्ष्णीकृतमिव मुखे, प्रसारित-  
मिव कंभरायाम्, उल्लिखितमिव पार्श्वयोः, द्विगुणीकृतमिव जघनभागे Kā. p. 156.

3. आयतनिर्मांसमुखैः, अनुत्कटकर्णकोदौः, ... यूपानुपूर्वीवक्रायतोदग्रग्रीवैः,  
उपचयश्चसत्कन्धसन्धिभिः, निर्मुग्रोरःस्थलैः, अस्थूलप्रगुणप्रसृतैर्लोहपीठकटिनखुर-  
मण्डलैः, अतिजवनुटनभयादनिर्मितान्त्राणीवोदराणि वृत्तानि धारयद्भिः, उद्यद्द्रोणी-  
विभज्यमानपृथुजघनैः ... आयतैरपि पश्चात्पाशबन्धप्रसारितैकाङ्घ्रिभिरायततैर-  
विवोपलक्ष्यमाणैः H. C. p. 62, 63.

4. शोणैश्च, श्यामैश्च, श्वेतैश्च, पिङ्गरैश्च, हरिद्रैश्च, तित्तिरिक्त्स्माषैश्च  
H. C. p. 62.

5. स्कन्धावलम्बमानकेसरमालाः काम्बोजवाजिन इव H. C. p. 131.

Gaja Lakṣaṇas would be clear by going through Śaṅkara's commentary on the Harṣacarita wherein he quotes authoritative Lakṣaṇa texts.

Bāṇa is quite aware of the tremendous potentialities of pose. In fact, in every description of his, posture is given an important place and its power of enhancing or detracting beauty is recognised. Kādambarī, gone up the terrace of the palace to watch Candrāpīḍa on the Kṛīḍāparvata, stands, motionless (see fig. 6) with one hand on her waist, the other running after the loosely



Fig. 6.

fluttering upper garment.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere she is described in a reclining posture, her forepart a bit raised, adjusting her braid over her shoulder before a mirror.<sup>2</sup> The picture here given (fig. 7) would give some idea of the beauty of the posture; but one would do well to see that striking picture of Velasquez

1. मुहुर्मुहुर्नितम्बविम्बन्यस्तवामहस्तपल्लवा प्रावृतांशुकानुसारप्रसारितदक्षिण-करा निश्चलतारका लिखितेव... Kā. p. 365.

2. कपोलसङ्गिनी च मणिदर्पणे विलोक्यायथास्थितां करेण कवरीमंसदेशे निवेशयन्तीम्... Kā. p. 512.

'Venus and Cupid' which, in my opinion, satisfies this description to a great extent (of course the figure must be draped before we institute comparisons), and than which I cannot conceive a more sublime picture in delicacy of treatment. In the *Harṣacarita* we have the palace of Rājyaśrī with Cupid painted in a peculiarly beautiful posture (see fig. 8), the charm lying in the half-closed eyes.<sup>1</sup> As an expert in pose Bāṇa knows enough of *Aṅgabhaṅga*.<sup>2</sup> There is a variety of *Aṅgabhaṅga* in the limbs of the *Vāravilāsinī* surrounding Harṣa. With a definite knowledge of *Aṅgas* and *Pratyāṅgas*<sup>3</sup> he gives out names of separate *Bhaṅgas* like the *Grīvābhaṅga* mentioned by Kālidāsa. One such is the *Madhyabhāgabhaṅga*.<sup>4</sup> A great aesthete conversant with the principles of *Nāṭya* (dance), Bāṇa informs us of a charming pose—*Karaveṇikā*—in which two women stand with their hands interlocked.<sup>5</sup>

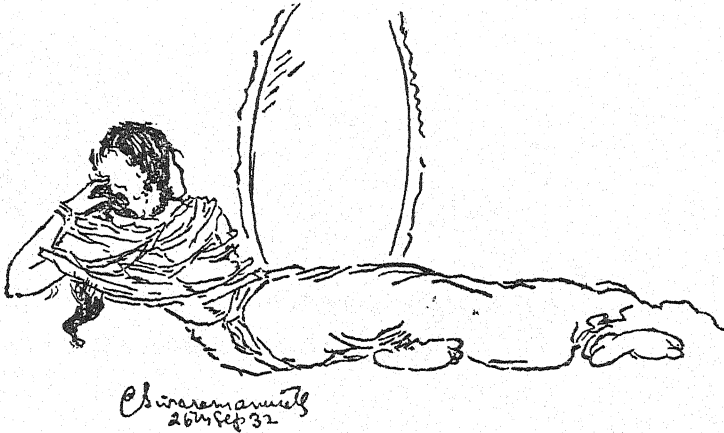


Fig. 7.

### Sculpture:

Of the allied arts, Sculpture demands some attention. Bāṇa refers to *Pustakṛts*, *i. e.*, modellers or sculptors as doing some work in connection with the festivities of the marriage of

1. एकदेशालिखितस्तत्राक्षरकाशकतस्तलभाजाधिज्यचापेन तिर्यक्कूणितनेत्र-  
त्रिभागेन शरमृजु कुर्वता कामदेवेनाधिष्ठितम् H. C. p. 148.

2. अभिलाषलीलानिर्निमित्तस्मितैश्चन्द्रोदयानिव मदनसहायकाय संपादय-  
न्तीभिरङ्गभङ्गवलनान्योन्यघटितोत्तानकरवेणिकाभिः H. C. p. 75.

3. सुचिरमालोक्यास्योपारूढयौवनभराभिरामतराण्यङ्गप्रत्यङ्गानि Kā. p. 464.

4. देवताप्रणामेषु मध्यभागभङ्गो नातिविस्मयकरः Kā. p. 335.

5. अङ्गभङ्गवलनान्योन्यघटितोत्तानकरवेणिकाभिः Kā. p. 75.

Rājyaśrī. But their work is restricted to the making of such trivial things as the models of fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, and cocoanut, plantain and areca-nut trees.<sup>1</sup> It does not mean they do not know more elegant work. The occasion requires those models. Citraputrikās, *i. e.*, statuettes of beauty, were great favourites with the royal house; and we have queen Yaśovati taking leave of even the statuettes, which she loved, before consuming herself in the fire.<sup>2</sup> We have references to Sālabhañjikās carved on pillars to beautify them.<sup>3</sup> Candraśālās\* were especially provided with adornments in the shape of carved Sālabhañjikās.<sup>4</sup> In the Kautukagrha (pleasure house) of Rājyaśrī we have peculiar statuettes going by the name of Añjalikārikās.<sup>5</sup> These are made of clay, and as their very name suggests, have their hands joined in respect or adoration. We might then suppose them to be the forerunners of the later statues in that posture like that of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his queens in Tirupati. But the Añjalikārikās hold fruits in their hand. Hence the Añjali should be in the form of an opening lotus—as when Arghya is offered in Sandhyā. This has some similarity with the Dīpapratiṃś



Fig. 8.

1. लेप्यकारकदम्बकक्रियमाणमृण्मयमीनकूर्ममकरनारिकेलकदलीपूगवृक्षकम्  
H. C. p. 143.
2. चित्रपुत्रिका अप्यामन्त्रयमाणाम् H. C. p. 165.
3. सुभटभुजस्तम्भविलाससालभञ्जिकाम् H. C. p. 115.  
विश्राम्यन्ती सालभञ्जिकेव समीपगतस्तम्भभित्तिष्वलक्ष्यत H. C. p. 125.
- \*. The room on the topmost terrace.
4. प्रतिबुध्यमानायाश्च चन्द्रशालिकासालभञ्जिकपरिजनो जयशब्दमसकृदजनयन् H. C. p. 127.
5. सेकसुकुमारयवाङ्कुरदन्दुरैः पञ्चास्यैः कलशैः कोमलवर्णिकाविचित्रैरामित्रमुखैश्च मङ्गल्यफलहस्ताभिरञ्जलिकारिकाभिरुद्भासितपर्यन्ताम् H. C. p. 147.

(figures holding lamps) in temples though the hands are a bit apart in this case. Pillars are decorated with carvings of peacocks;<sup>1</sup> and these are executed in costly stone. There are temporary dolls of camphor<sup>2</sup>, and others of moon-stone.<sup>3</sup> All these and the quaint ornamentation of water channels in the form of Makaramukhas<sup>4</sup>, not to speak of the numerous other architectural ornamentations, are done by stone-masons and specialists in the field. That the stone-masons were specialists is no wonder when a lay man like the general Simhanāda is a Marmajāña of Mahā-vigrahas.<sup>5</sup> Of course, Bāṇa uses a pun on the word but that does not disprove his knowledge of the subject. Having actually observed the sculptors at work, he gives us a vivid picture of the material just after the chiselling work is done—the rosy layers becoming visible.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps red stone was mostly used in his days. The workmen seem to have been engaged in raising temples and chiselling ornamentations and letters on stone about the time of the poet.<sup>7</sup>

Ornamentation is an essential feature of Art and it is but proper that some attention is paid to what Bāṇa has to say on this point. We have ear ornaments like Dantapatras,<sup>8</sup> Trikaṇṭakas<sup>9</sup>—a conical jewel with three stones inset, Dantapatras coloured

1. स्तनकलशभारावनम्यमानमूर्तिमणिस्तम्भमयूरानालम्बसे Kā. p. 336.
2. मुहुः कपोलफलकेन कर्पूरपुत्रिकामाश्लिष्यन्तीम् Kā. p. 385.
3. मुहुर्मुहुर्मुजलतया तुषारशिलासालभञ्जिकामालिङ्गन्तीम् Kā. p. 385.
4. मरकतशिलामकरिकाप्रणालप्रस्रवणसिच्यमानलतामण्डपे Kā. p. 378.  
दन्तमयमकरमुखमहाप्रणाल इव H. C. p. 16.  
गन्धोदकवाहि मकरमुखप्रणालीपूर्यमाणक्रीडावापसिमूहम् H. C. p. 142.
5. मर्मज्ञो महाविग्रहाणाम् H. C. p. 190.
6. स च प्रत्यग्रत्वष्टृङ्कतष्टतनुरिव बृहद्बृहल्लक्षधिररसमांसच्छविरपरपारावारपयसि  
ममज्ज मञ्जिष्ठारुणोऽरुणसारथिः H. C. p. 178.

There is also a reference to the popular anecdote of how Sūrya was put in the furnace by Tvastā.

7. सुरालयशिलाघट्टनटङ्कनिकरनिकृता इव व्यदीर्यन्त विपदः H. C. p. 96.  
निशितशस्त्रटङ्ककोटिकुट्टितवहुबृहद्गणधिरपङ्क्तिनिरन्तरया H. C. p. 189.
8. धवलदन्तपत्रिकाद्युतिहसितकपोलभित्तिना H. C. p. 21.
9. त्रिकण्टककर्णभरणस्य प्रेङ्खतः प्रभया H. C. p. 22.

काश्चिदुद्धूयमानधवलचामरसटालग्रत्रिकण्टकवलितविकटकटाक्षाः H. C.  
p. 133,



blue<sup>1</sup>, Bālikās with three pearls inset<sup>2</sup>, Taraṅgakas effulgent with Padmarāga stones,<sup>3</sup> and Maṇikarṇikas made of brown glassy stones.<sup>4</sup> Of these the Dantapātras are worn on only one ear<sup>5</sup> while the others are worn in pairs; sometimes a Trikaṇṭaka is worn on one ear with another jewel of blue stone to match it on the other.<sup>6</sup> Of the different bracelets refined and unrefined in material and workmanship, the golden one with emeralds inset and ornamented with Makara design,<sup>7</sup> the Padmarāgavalaya<sup>8</sup> and the Keyūra<sup>9</sup> belong to the former class, while the one with the gems of the Godanta serpent inset in a frame work of lead is typical of the second class<sup>10</sup> being generally worn by primitive people like the hunters. Of the necklaces, the one of tiger's claws mounted on gold ornamentations,<sup>11</sup> the string of coral beads<sup>12</sup> and the Ekavalī deserve mention. Of the other ornaments, Caṭulātīlaka<sup>13</sup> and Cūḍāmaṇimakarikā<sup>14</sup> are worthy of note. The former is a kind of ornamentation for the head going right up the parting line of the hair and running down the forehead to

1. नीलीरागनिहितनीलिम्बा शितिगलशितिना वामश्रवणश्रयिणा दन्तपत्रेण  
H. C. p. 32.
2. वकुलफलानुकारिणीभिस्तिसृभिर्मुक्ताभिः कल्पितेन बालिकायुगलेन H. C.  
p. 32.
3. तरङ्गकं नाम कर्णाभरणम् H. C. p. 218.
4. पिनद्धकाचरकाचमणिकर्णिकेन श्रवणेन शोभमानम् H. C. p. 231.
5. वामश्रवणश्रयिणा दन्तपत्रेण H. C. p. 32
6. एकेनेन्द्रनीलकुण्डलांशुश्यामलितेन शरीरार्धतरेण च त्रिकण्टकमुक्ताफला-  
लोकधवलितेन H. C. p. 135.
7. प्रकोष्ठनिविष्टस्यैकस्य हाटककटकस्य मरकतमकरवेदिकासनाथस्य H. C.  
p. 32.
8. पीनप्रकोष्ठप्रतिष्ठितपुष्पलोहवलयम् H. C. p. 135.
9. केयूरत्नकिरणदण्डैः H. C. p. 73.
10. प्रकोष्ठे प्रतिष्ठां गतं गोदन्तमणिचित्रं त्रापुषं वलयं विभ्राणम् H. C. p. 32.
11. हाटकवद्धविकटव्याघ्रनखपङ्क्तिमण्डितग्रीवके H. C. p. 134.
12. यथा द्वयोः सुतयोरुपरि स्तनयोरिवैकावलीलतया नितरामराजत  
H. C. p. 135.
13. ललाटलासकस्य सीमन्तचुम्बिनश्चटुलातिलकमणेरुदञ्चता चटुलेनांशुजालेन  
रक्तांशुकेनेव कृतशिरोऽवगुण्ठना H. C. p. 32.
14. नीलचामरावचूलीनीव चूडामणिमकरिकासनाथा H. C. p. 33.

the ear on both sides, thus forming a trident shape;<sup>1</sup> while the latter is a type of jewel for the top of the braid.<sup>2</sup> Bāṇa is aware of other minor ornamentations like the Lalāṭikā<sup>3</sup> effected with the help of sandal paste, the Pulakabandha<sup>4</sup>—a dexterous dotting of different colour drops on the body, the Tilakabindumudrā<sup>5</sup>—a kind of circular mark on the forehead.

These are, indeed, a few of the many arts known to Bāṇa and do not exhaust the list. For instance, he refers in one place to a Carmaputrikā<sup>6</sup> thus hinting the high order of craftsmanship in leather work<sup>7</sup>; elsewhere to fine artistic execution of drinking vessels out of such materials as shell and Galvarka gem;<sup>8</sup> to beautiful skins from the country, Kārdaraṅga, all embroidered in gold and preserved in excellent covers;<sup>9</sup> to thin delicate garments all decorated with drawings and pictures.<sup>10</sup> As a born artist he had the curiosity to note all these divers arts and he has recorded his observations for posterity. His peculiar pride in his Art

1. Called தலை ஸ்தமாண் (சட்டி பட்டம்) in Tamil and పాపిడి పింఠం in Telugu.

2. Called நாகர் in Tamil and నాగం in Telugu.

3. लिखितलाटिकापुण्ड्रकैः H. C. p. 46.

4. कुसुम्भरागपाटलं पुलकबन्धचित्रम् H. C. p. 32.

5. तमालश्यामलेन मृगमदामोदनिष्यन्दिना तिलकबिन्दुना मुद्रितमिव मनो-  
भवसर्वस्वं वदनमुद्रहन्ती H. C. p. 32.

6. न निजकलत्रच पुत्रिकासु H. C. p. 55.

7. The Carmaputrikā is known as தேயல் லிதவை in Tamil and చాపి జాక్కు in Telugu and its very popular nature accounts for its being preserved to this day as a distinct art in the Bommalāṭṭam (பொம்மலாட்டம்) of the Tamils and the Bommalāṭa (బొమ్మలాట) of the Telugus. Specimens of flat figures made of leather used in Jāvanese shadow plays (Chāyā Nāṭaka) are to be seen in the Adyar library.

8. कुशलशिखिलोकोल्लिखितानां शुक्तिशङ्खगल्बकप्रमुखानां पानभाजनानां  
निचयम् H. C. p. 217.

9. निचोलकरक्षितरुचां च रुचिरकाञ्चनपत्रभङ्गुराणामतिबन्धुरपरिवेशानां  
कार्दरङ्गचर्मणां संभारम् H. C. p. 217.

10. भूर्जत्वक्मोमलाः स्पर्शवतीः जातीपट्टिकाः चित्रपटानां च म्रदीयसां  
समूहकोपधानादीन् विकारान् H. C. p. 217.

(Śilpa) is clear in his styling artists Vijñānins and the Citraśālā Viśvakarmagrha.<sup>1</sup>

As a man of restraint he does not lose himself in the quagmire of over-enthusiasm. While fully appreciating art he is alive to its limitations. He knows that pictures are easily destroyed by smoke,<sup>2</sup> that as shadows of originals they could at best please the ocular sense alone.<sup>3</sup> That pictures are mere representations and never possess an atom of real life or vigour is readily given out by Bāṇa when he says that a Citradhanus is after all a Citradhanus (a picture) and never of any real use.<sup>4</sup> Though fully aware of the stolid state of pictures, which is no doubt a weakness unavoidable, he does not, like the modern Futurists, attempt representation of fantastic repetition of form, an amusing example of which is 'A lady and her dog' by Giacomo Balla. Thus this short note attempts to show Bāṇa's strong artistic leanings and genius. It would not, I hope, be too preposterous a claim if I hold him to be at least as great an artist as he is a literati.

1. विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विज्ञानिभिः H. C. p. 97.

✓2. परामर्शधूमलेखा सचरितचित्राणाम् Kā. p. 201.

Compare Rājaśekhara's version of the same thing—

निर्यद्वासरजीवपिण्डकरुणां बिभ्रत्कवोष्णैः करै-

र्माञ्जिष्टं रविबिम्बमम्बरतलादस्ताचलं चुम्बति ।

किञ्च स्तोकतमः कलापकलनाश्यामायमानं मना-

ग्धूमश्यामपुराणचित्ररचनारूपं जगज्जायते ॥

Viddhaśālabhāñjikā, Act II, 22 and Bālabhārata, Act I, 22.

✓3. आलेख्यगतामिव दर्शनमात्रफलाम् Kā. p. 23.

दर्शनीयस्याप्यालेख्यकुसुमस्येव निष्फलजन्मनः H. C. p. 23.

✓4. चित्रधनुष इवालीकगुणाध्यारोपणैकक्रियानित्यनम्रस्य निर्वाणतेजसः

H. C. p. 223.

EXTRACTS FROM JAYĀNANDA'S COMMENTARY.

(Continued from page 183, Vol. VI, J. O. R. M.)

BY

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI,

*Mylapore.*

=एवमनुमानविषयाणां परोक्षाणां भावानामनुमानेन तथैव साधनमविसंवादि । यथा अनित्यत्वादीनाम् । अननुमेयस्य अननुमेयत्वं सिद्धमित्यत अनुमानेनावधितमविसंवादि । यथा प्रधानेश्वरादीनाम् ।

de. rnam. kyī. rañ. bshin. du. gyur. pai. chos. ni. rtag. pa. ma. yin. te| dei. rañ. bshin. ñid. bsgrub. par. bya. ba. yin. pas. so|| hbras. bur. gyur. pa. yañ. ma. yin. te| rtag. pa. la. hbras. bu. yod. pa. ma. yin. pas. so|| de. ltar. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dños. po. la. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pas. mi. bslu. ba. yin. no||

=न हि तेषां स्वभावभूतो धर्मः सिद्धः । तत्स्वभावत्वस्य साध्यत्वात् । नापि कार्यभूतः । सिद्धस्य कार्यभावाभावात् । एवं परोक्षस्य वस्तुन अनुमानेन अबाधनमविसंवादि ।

de. bshin. du. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. dños. po. la. luñ. gi. stobs. kyis. hjug. pai. rjes. su. dpag. pas. mi. gnod. pa. ni. bslu. ba. [ma.] yin. te| hdi. ltar. dños. poi. stobs. kyis. hjug. pai. thsad. ma. gñis. kyī. yul. rnam. par. dag. pai. phyis. kyī. phyis. thsad. mar. khas. blañs. bai. bstan. bcos. kyī. rnam. par. bshag. pai. chos. can. la. sñā. phyii. hgal. ba. yod. med. dpyad. pas. gañ. gi. thse. bsam. pai. khyad. par. can. hjug. na. dei. thse. luñ. la. brten. pai. rjes. su. dpag. pas. gnod. par. hgyur. pa. yin. no||

=तथा परोक्षस्य वस्तुनः आगमब्रह्मप्रवृत्तानुमानेन अबाधनमविसंवादि । यतः वस्तुब्रह्मप्रवृत्तिविशुद्धविषयकप्रमाणद्वयबाह्यप्रमाणाङ्गीकर्तृशास्त्रव्यवस्थितधर्मिणि पूर्वापरविरुद्धसदसद्विचारेण यदाशयविशेषयुक्तः प्रवर्तते तदागमाश्रितानुमानेन बाध्यते ? ।

de. lta. bui. rjes. su. dpag. pa. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. (f. 134a) pai. dños. po. la. gnod. pa. med. na. mi. bslu. ba. ste| dper. na. hdod. chags. la. sogs. pai. rañ. bshiu. can. dañ| de. las. byuñ.

bai. chos. ma. yin. pa. khas. blañs. na. de. spañ. bai. don. du.  
 sbyin. sdig. la. sogs. pa. mi. ston. pa. gañ yin. pa. de. ni. rjes. su.  
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 hdod. chags. dañ| she. sdañ. dañ| gti. mug. dañ| de. las. byuñ.  
 bai. lus. dañ. ñag. gi. las. chos. ma. yin. par. brjod. la| de. spañ.  
 bai. phyir. rten. la. khru. byas. pa. dañ| sbyin. sreg. dañ| smyuñ.  
 bar. gnas. pa. la. sogs. pa. byed. pa. yin. no|| de. ltar. mi. brjod.  
 pa. gañ. yin. pa. de. ni. mi. bslu. ba. ste| hdi. ltar. khru. byed.  
 pa. la. sogs. pas. sdig. pa. sel. bar. mi. hgyur. te| hdod. chags. la.  
 sogs. pai. sdig. pa. dañ. hgal. ba. med. pas. so| gañ. dañ. gañ.  
 rgyu. la. gnod. par. mi. hgyur. te| dei. gnod. par. byed. pa. ma.  
 yin. te| dper. na. mñar. ba. dañ| bsil. ba. dañ| snum. pai. rdsas.  
 rnams. bad. kan. gyi. nad. la. mi. gnod. pa. bshin. du. khru.  
 byed. pa. la. sogs. pas. kyañ. sdig. pai. rgyu. rnams. la. gnod. pa.  
 ma. yin. te| des. phyi. dri. ma. kho. na. dag. par. hgyur. gyi| nañ  
 (xyl.: nad) gi. hdod. chags. la. sogs. pa. ma. yin. no||

=एवंविधानुमानमत्यन्तपरोक्षस्य वस्तुनः अबाधकमविसंवादि । यथा  
 रागादिस्वभावकतत्प्रभवार्थमोपादातुः तत्प्रहाणार्थं यत् दानं पापाद्यकथनं तत्  
 अनुमानेन अबाधितम् । तथा तीर्थिकेन रागद्वेषमोहाः तत्प्रभवं कायिकं वाचिकं च  
 कर्म अधर्म उक्तम् । तत्प्रहाणाय तीर्थ (?) (=rten.) स्नानहोमोपोषथादिकरणं च  
 इत्येवमनभिधायकं यत् तत् अविसंवादि । तथा हि । स्नानादिना पापशोधनं  
 न भवति । रागादिपापेन विरोधाभावात् । यत् यत्कारणबाधकं न भवति[तत्]  
 तद्बाधकं न भवति । यथा मधुरशीतस्निग्धद्रव्याणि श्लेष्मरोगं न बाधन्ते । तथा  
 स्नानाद्यपि पापहेतूनामबाधकम् । तत् बाह्यमेव मलं शोधयति । नान्तरं रागादि ।

de. ltar. luñ. gañ. la. yul. yoñs. su. dag. pa. yod. pa. de. ni. mi.  
 slu. ba. yin. pas. hjig. rten. pai. rjes. su. hbrañs. nas. thsad. ma.  
 yin. te| hjig. rten. pas. yul. yoñs. su. dag. pai. thsig. kho. na.  
 thsad. mar. hdod. pas. so|| de. ltar. luñ. thsad. mar. khas. blañs.  
 pas. hphags. pa. klu. sgrub. shabs. luñ. bstan. pa. bden. pa. ñid.  
 du. ñes. pas. des. mdsad. pai. bstan. bcos. luñ. phyin. ci. ma. log.  
 par. hchad. pa. mthoñ. bai. sgo. nas. de. kho. na. ñid. ñes. pa. ni.  
 rigs. pa. ñid. yin. no||

=एवं यस्यागमस्य विषयः परिशुद्धो भवति सं ह्यविसंवादीति लोकानु-  
 रोधात् प्रमाणम् । लोकेन परिशुद्धविषयकवाक्यस्यैव प्रमाणतया इष्टत्वात् ।  
 एतादृशागमग्रामाण्याभ्युपगमेन आर्यनागार्जुनपादव्याकरणं सत्यतया निश्चितमिति  
 तत्प्रणीतस्य शास्त्रस्याविपरीतागमव्याख्यातुर्दर्शनद्वारा तत्त्वनिश्चयो युज्यत एव ।

de. ñid. kyi. phyir. rnam. hgrel. las|  
 hgrol. dañ. ni. rjes. su. mthun. thabs|  
 skyes. bui. don. ni. rjod. par. byed|  
 ñag. de. dpyad. par. hos. pa. yin|  
 de. las. gshan. pa. dpyad. hos. min||  
 mñon (f. 134b) sum. dañ. ni. rjes. su. dpag|  
 rnam. pa. gñis. kyi. mi. gnod. pa|  
 mthoñ. dañ. ma. mthoñ. don. dag. la|  
 don. de. la. ni. slu. ma. yin|| shes. gsuñs. to||

=अत एवोक्तं वार्तिके ।

संमोक्षानुगुणोपायं पुरुषार्थमिधायकम् ।

परीक्षायोग्यं वाक्यं तत् न परीक्ष्यमतः परम् ॥

प्रत्यक्षानुमितिभ्यां च द्विविधाम्यामवाधितम् ।

दृष्टादृष्टार्थयोरर्थे विसंवदति तत्र न ॥ इति ।

ci. ltar. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. yon̄s. su. gcod. par. nus. pa.  
 mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su. dpag. par. bya. bai. don. la. mi. bslu.  
 ba. de. bshin. du. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don. la. yañ. ñes.  
 pa. zad. pai. thsig. mi. bslu. ba. yin. no|| des. na. ñes. pa. zad.  
 pai. mthsan. ñid. can. kyi. rtags. śin. tu. lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don.  
 la. yañ. skye. bai. blos. yañ. rjes. su. dpag. pa. ñid. yin. no|| hjig.  
 rten. pai. thsad. mas. rnam. pa. de. lta. bu. yin. te| hdi. ltar. gañ.  
 ci. ltar. bstan. pai. luñ. gi. khyad. par. la. brten. nas. rtogs. pa.  
 de. ni. mi. bslu. ba. yin. te| dper. na. mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su.  
 dpag. pas. rtogs. par. bya. bai. don. rtogs. pa. bshin. no|| śin. tu.  
 lkog. tu. gyur. pai. don. la. yañ. ci. ltar. bstan. pai. luñ. gi. khyad.  
 par. la. brten. pai. rtogs. pa. yin. no|| shes. pai. rigs. pas. śin. tu.  
 [lkog. tu.] gyur. pai. don. la. luñ. thsad. ma. yin. no||

=यथा क्षीणदोषस्य वाक्यं परिच्छेत्तुं शक्ये प्रत्यक्षे अनुमेये चार्थे  
 अविसंवादि तथा अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽर्थेऽपि क्षीणदोषस्य वाक्यमविसंवादि ।  
 तेन क्षीणदोषलक्षणलङ्घन[त्] । अत्यन्तपरोक्षमर्थमपि उत्पन्नमितिः अनुमिनोत्येव ।  
 लौकिकप्रमाणेन एवंविधम् । तथा हि । यत् यथोक्तागमविशेषमाश्रित्य ज्ञायते  
 तदविसंवादि यथा प्रत्यक्षानुमानाम्यामधिगन्तव्योऽर्थोऽधिगम्यते । अत्यन्त-  
 परोक्षेऽर्थेऽपि यथोक्तागमविशेषाश्रया बुद्धिः इति न्यायेन अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽर्थे आगमः  
 प्रमाणम् ।

mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su. dpag. pas. rtogs. par. bya. bai.  
 gnas. gñis. gañ. gis. gsuñs. pa. de. ñid. kyis. gnas. gsum. pa.

gsuñs. so. shes. pa. de. la. ñes. pa. ga. la. yod| des. na. ci. skad.  
 gsuñs. pai. luñ. gi. khyad. par. la. brten. nas. shes. pai. gtan. thsigs.  
 de. la. ñes. pa. [ma.] yin. no. she. na| skyon. hdi. yod. pa. ma.  
 yin. te| gañ. ston. pa. dañ. ñe. bai. ñan. pa. po. de. rnam. kyis.  
 gnas. gsum. ka. ston. pa. po. gcig. gis. bstan. pas. mñon. sum.  
 kho. nas. rtogs. par. hgyur. gyi| de. rnam. la. the. thsom. yod.  
 pa. ni. ma. yin. no|| da. ltar. gyi. ñan. pa. po. rnam. kyis. ni.  
 bcom. ldan. hdas. kyis. gsuñs. pai. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. gi.  
 mthsan. ñid. kyis. so||

=प्रत्यक्षानुमानाधिगन्तव्यं स्थानद्वयं येन उक्तम् । तेनैव तृतीयं स्थानमुक्त-  
 मित्यत्र निश्चयः कुतः । तेन यथोक्तागमविशेषमाश्रित्य इत्यस्य हेतोः [न] निश्चयः  
 इति चेत् । नैष दोषः । ये शास्त्ररुपासीनाः श्रोतारः तैः स्थानत्रयमेकेनैव  
 शास्त्रा देशितमिति प्रत्यक्षेणैवावबुध्यते । न तु तेषां संशयोऽस्ति । अद्यतनश्रोतृ-  
 मिश्र भगवतोक्तस्य क्षीणदोषवाक्यलक्षणात् ।

de. ltar. yañ. bcom. ldan. hdas. kyi[s]gañ. mdo. sde. la. sogs.  
 pa. la. hjug. pa. dañ| hdu. byed. thams. cad. skad. cig. ma| chos.  
 thams. cad. bdag. med. pa| mya. ñan. las. hdas. pa. thams. cad.  
 shi. bao|| shes. chos. ñid. rnam. pa. gsum. dañ [f. 135a] hgal.  
 bar. mi. byed. pa. ste| myañ (xyl.; ñas) hdas. kyañ. khyed. rnam.  
 kyis. sañs. rgyas. gyis. gsuñs. pa. yin. no. shes. gzuñ. bar. byao||  
 gnas. gsum. pa. yañ. chos. ñid. dañ. mi. hgal. bar. gnas. pa. yin.  
 no|| kun. rdog. tu. skad. cig. ma. dañ. bdag. med. pa. dañ. ldan.  
 par. gnas. gsum. bstan. pa. yin. pas. so|| chos. ñid. dañ. hgal. ba ni.  
 ñes. pa. zad. pas. gsuñs. pa. ñid. du. khas. mi. len. pas. so|| gal.  
 te. ñes. pa. zad. pai. thsig. gi. mthsan. ñid. hdi. ñes. pa. zad. pas.  
 gsuñs yod. pa. shes. gañ. las. ñes. she. na| rigs. pa. yin. pas. so||  
 gañ. thams. cad. du. rigs. pa. brjod. pa. de. ñid. ñes. pa. zad. pa.  
 yin. no. shes. pa. ni. shar. la. hoñs. pas. chog. go||

=एवं च यत् भगवता सूत्रान्तादौ अवतारितम् । क्षणिकास्सर्वसंस्काराः  
 सर्वधर्मा निरात्मकाः । निर्वाणं सर्वोपशमम् । इति त्रिविधा धर्मता [तत्] अवि-  
 रूढम् । निर्वाणमपि बुद्धोक्तमिति युष्माभिः प्रहृतव्यम् । तृतीयं स्थानमपि धर्मता-  
 विरुद्धं स्थानम् । सर्वत्र क्षणिकनिरात्मवैशिष्ट्येन स्थानत्रयदेशनात् । धर्मताविरो-  
 धस्य क्षीणदोषोक्तत्वेन अनभ्युपगमात् । क्षीणदोषवाक्यलक्षणमिदं क्षीण-  
 दोषोक्तमिति कुतो निश्चय इति चेत् । न्यायसत्त्वात् । यः सर्वत्र युक्तं वदति स एव  
 क्षीणदोष इत्यलं प्रसङ्गागतेन ।

de. (xyl.: da.) ltar. luñ. thsad. ma. ñid. du. grub. pas. hphags.  
 klu. sgrub. shabs. luñ. bstan. pa. bden. pa. ñid. du. ñes. par. des.

gsuñs. pai. luñ. hchad. pa. phyin. ci. ma. log. pai. bstan. bcos.  
kyi. sgo. nas. de. lon. ñid. ñes. par. rigs. pa. yin. no|| yañ. na.  
gtso. boi. don. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. mñon. sum. dañ. rjes. su. dpag.  
pas. mi. gnod. shes. mthsan. ñid. can. mi. bslu. bas. śin. tu. lkog.  
tu. gyur. pa. gshan. la. yañ. mi. bslu. bai. phyir. luñ. thsad. ma.  
ñid. yin. no|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir. gtso. boi. don. la. mi. bslu. bas.  
rjes. su. dpag. pa. gshan. lahañ. shes. gsuñs. pa. yin. te| luñ. mi.  
bslu. ba. ñid. du. grub. pas. gañ. gi. gsuñs. pa. de. yañ. thsad. ma.  
ñid. du. grub. pa. yin. no||

=एवमागमप्रामाण्यसिद्ध्या आर्यनागार्जुनपादव्याकरणं तथ्यत्वेन निश्चि-  
तमिति तदुक्तेनागमाविपरीतव्याख्यातृशास्त्रेण तदर्थता- (lon=अर्थ ?) निश्चयो  
युज्यते । अथवा प्रधानार्थशून्यतायां प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामबाधलक्षणाविसंवादेन  
अत्यन्तपरोक्षेऽन्यस्मिन्नपि अविसंवादित्वात् आगमः प्रमाणमेव । अत एवोक्तम् ।  
‘प्रधानार्थेऽविसंवादादनुमानान्तरेऽपि च’ इति । आगमः अविसंवादितया सिद्ध  
इति यस्योक्तिः सापि प्रमाणतया सिद्धा ।

de. ltar. thabs. gañ. gis. śes. rab. skye. ba. de. bstan. zin. to||  
da. ni. stoñ. pa. ñid. ston. pai. snod. bstan. par. byai. phyir. rten.  
ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ. ba. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. te|  
hbras. bu. can. gyi. shes. bya. ba. ni. rten. ciñ. hbrel. bar. hbyuñ.  
ba. yañ. dag. pa. ci. lta. ba. ni. skye. ba. med. pa. yin. pas. ston.  
pa. ni. khoñ. du. chud. pai. byed. pai. hbras. bu. gañ. la. yod. pa.  
de. skad. ces. byao||

=एवं येन उपायेन प्रज्ञा उत्पद्यते स उक्तः । अधुना शून्यतादेशना-  
भाजनप्रतिपादनायाह । प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादेत्यादि । फलकेति । यथाभूतः प्रतीत्य-  
समुत्पादः अनुत्पाद इति देशना व्युत्पादनं फलं यस्मिन्नस्ति तत्तथोक्तम् ।

(f. 135b, L. 5) de. [la] log. par. shugs. pai. bsam. pa. dañ.  
ldan. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. dmigs. par. gyur. pai. dños. po. rnam.  
stoñ. pa. ñid. ci. ltar. yin. sñam. du. dños. po. la. dmigs. pai. sgo.  
nas. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. gśe. bai. bsam. pa. yod. pas. so|| yañ. na.  
dños. po. chad. pai. rañ. bshin. can. stoñ. pa. ñid. yin. par. rtogs.  
nas. gdod. nas. skye. ba. med. pai. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. gśe. bai.  
bsam. pa. yod. pas. so|| don. ma. yin. pa. chen. po. dañ. ldan.  
pai. phyir. ro|| shes. bya. ba. ni. dños. po. med. pai. stoñ. pa. ñid.  
kyi. don. ma. śes. pas. dam. pai. chos. kyis. hphoñs. pai. lam. gyis.  
ñes. par. ñan. soñ. du. hgro. bar. hgyur. ba. yin. pas. so|| de. ñid.  
rgyas. par. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir|| res. hgah. ni. shes. bya. ba.  
la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. te| mi. mkhas. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. stoñ. pa.



ñid. yañ. dag. pa. ji. lta. ba. bshin. du. mi. śes. pas. so|| stoñ. pa.  
ñid. spañs. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. dños. po. la. mñon. par. shen.  
pai. sgo. nas. so|| stoñ. pa. ñid. kyi. don. ni. med. pa. yin. no.  
shes. bya. ba. ni. rgyu. dañ. hbras. bu. la. skur. ba. hdebs. pa. ni.  
stoñ. pa. ñid. kyi. don. yin. no. sñam. nas. phyin. ci. log. tu. ñes.  
pas. so|| dños. po. thams. cad. la. skur. ba. hdebs. pa. shes. bya.  
ba. ni. rgyu. dañ. hbras. bu. la. sogs. pa. la. skur. ba. hdebs. pas.  
so|| de. ñid. kyi. (f. 136a) phyir. rtsa. bai. śes. rab. las.

bzuñ. bar. dkah. bai. sprul. dañ. ni|  
legs. par. ma. bzuñ. rig. sñags. bshin|  
stoñ. pa. ñid. log. par. rtogs. pa. yis|  
blo. gros. dman. pa. rlag. par. byed||  
chos. hdi. blo. grcs. dman. pa. yis|  
rtogs. par. dkah. ba. mkhyen. nas. su|  
de. bas. thub. pas. chos. . . . |  
thugs. ni. btañ. sñoms. mzad. pa. yin|| shes. gsuñs. so||

lhag. par. mos. pai. khyad. par. ñes. par. byas. te. shes. bya.  
ba. ni. stoñ. pa. ñid. la. mos. pai. khyad. par. ñes. mdsad. de.  
shes. pai. don. to||

—तत्र प्रतिपन्नविपरीताशयशालित्वेति । उपलब्धानां भावानां शून्यता  
कथम् इति भावोपलम्भनद्वारा शून्यतायां दुष्टाशयसत्त्वात् । अथवा भावोच्छेद-  
स्वभावा शून्यता इत्यधिगमेन आदित उत्पत्तिरहितशून्यतायां दुष्टाशयसत्त्वात् ।  
महानर्थयोगादिति । भावाभावशून्यतार्थाज्ञानात् सद्धर्मविपन्नमार्गेण नूनं दुर्गतिं  
गमिष्यतीति । तदेव विस्तरेण प्रतिपादयितुमाह । कदाचिदित्यादि । अपण्डित इति ।  
यथाभूतशून्यताज्ञानात् । शून्यतां विहायेति । भावाभिनिवेशद्वारा । शून्यतार्थ  
अभाव इति । हेतुफलापवादः शून्यतार्थ इति विपरीतनिश्चयात् । सर्वभावाप-  
वादेति । हेतुफलापवादात् । अत एवेक्तं प्रज्ञामूले

विनाशयति दुर्दृष्टा शून्यता मन्दमेधसम् ।

सर्पो यथा दुर्गृहीतो विद्या वा दुष्प्रसाधिता ॥

अतश्च प्रत्युदावृत्तं चित्तं देशयितुं मुनेः ।

धर्मं मत्वास्य धर्मस्य मन्दैर्दुस्वगाहताम् ॥ इति ।

(Madhyamaka Śāstra, XXIV, 11, 12.)

अधिमुक्तिविशेषं निश्चित्येति । शून्यतायामधिमुक्तिविशेषनिश्चयं  
कृत्वेत्यर्थः ॥ ३ ॥

(f. 136a, L. 5) de. le. shes. bya. ba. ni. rab. tu. dgah. ba.  
ldan. pa. lao|

=तस्येति । प्रमोदविशिष्टस्य ।

(L. 6) rjes. su. hgro. ba. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid.  
ñe. bar. bstan. pai. rgyu. yin. no| yon. tan. hbyuñ. shes. bya. ba.  
ni. thsul. khirms. la. sogs. pao||

=अन्वयेति । तत्त्वोपदेशकारणाः ।

गुणा भवन्तीति । शीलादयः ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥

(f. 136b, L. 2) hbras. bu. dpag. tu. med. pa. rnam. pa[r].  
chud. pa. med. par. shes. bya. ba. ni. sañs. rgyas. ñid. du. bsños.  
pai. sbyin. pai. sbyin. pa. la. sogs. pa. rnams. ni. zad. pai. phyir||  
cii. phyir. byañ. chub. ñid. du. bsño. bar. bya. she. na| dei. phyir.  
hgro. ba. dgrol. bar. bya. bai. phyir. shes. bya. ba. smos. te|  
sañs. rgyas. su. gyur. nas. hgro. ba. rnams. dgrol. bar. byao.  
shes. pai. don. to|

=अमेयाविच्छिन्नफलेति । बुद्धत्वपरिणामदत्तदानादीनामविनाशात् । किमर्थं  
बोधित्वपरिणामना कार्या । अत आह जगद्विमुक्तय इति । बुद्धो भूत्वा जगन्ति  
विमोक्तव्यानीत्यर्थः ॥ ६ ॥

da. (xyl.; de.) ni. de. kho. na. ñid. bstan. pai. hbras. bui.  
khyad. par. brjod. par. bya. bai. phyir| de. ltar. shes. bya. ba. la.  
sogs. pa. gsuñs. te|

=इदानीं तत्त्वोपदेशफलविशेषकथनायाह । एवमित्यादि ।

(L. 6.) lam. hdi. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. ston.  
pai. rañ. bshin. can. no|| de. la. de. kho. na. ñid. ni. gañ. zag. gi.  
bdag. med. pa. dañ| chos. kyī. bdag. med. pa. la. byao|| de. yañ.  
hdi. la. luñ. dañ. rigs. pas. bsgrub. par. bstan. pa. yin. pas. de. la.  
luñ. gis. bsgrub. pa. bstan. par. byai. phyir| de. la. chos. kyī. shes.  
bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| yañ. dag. pa. ji. lta. ba. ñid. ces.  
bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. (f. 137a) ces. pai. don. to||

=इदं वर्त्मकमिति । तत्त्वदेशनास्वभावकम् । तत्र तत्त्वं पुद्गलनैरात्म्यं  
धर्मनैरात्म्यं च । तस्य चात्र युक्त्वागमाभ्यां सिद्धिप्रतिपादनात् तत्रागमेन सिद्धि-  
प्रतिपादनायाह । तत्र धर्माणामित्यादि । यथाभूतत्वेति । तत्त्वमित्यर्थः ।

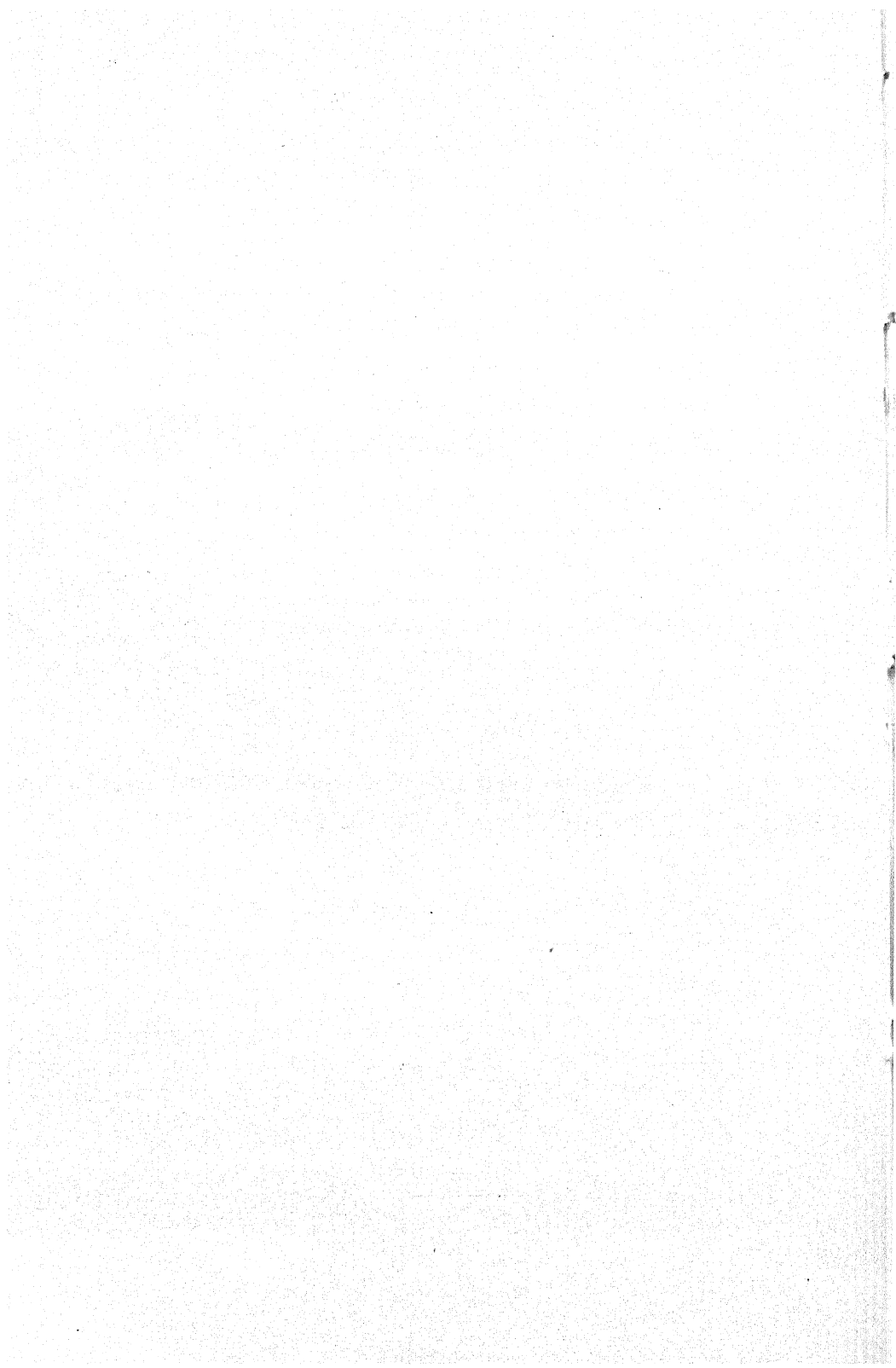
lña. pa. la. lam. ñin. tu. yon̄s. su. rdsogs. pa. shes. bya. ba.  
ni. sa. drug. pa. la. hjug. pai. bsam. gtan. gyi. pha. rol. tu. phyin.  
pai. mthsan. ñid. can. gyi. lam. yon̄s. su. rdsogs. pas. so|| hdi.

don. ni. sa. drug. par. śes. rab. śin. tu. lhag. par. hgyur. ba.  
yin. la| de. yañ. bsam. gtan. gyi. stobs. kyis. yin. te| sems.  
mñam. dañ. bshag. pas. yañ. dag. pa. ci. lta. ba. bshin. du. rab.  
tu. śes. so. shes. gsuñs. pas. so|| chos. mñam. pa. ñid. ces.  
bya. ba. ni. chos. te| phuñ. po. dañ| khams. dañ| skye. mched.  
rnam. mthsan. ma. med. la. sogs. pai. ño. bo. ñid. yin. pas.  
mñam. pa. ñid. yin. no. shes. pai. don. to||

=चम्यां [बोधिसत्त्वभूमौ] सुपरिपूर्णमार्ग इति । षष्ठीं भूमिमवतीर्णस्य  
ध्यानपारमितालक्षणमार्गपरिशुद्ध्या । अस्यार्थः । षष्ठभूमौ प्रज्ञा अत्यधिका भवति ।  
सा च ध्यानबलेन । सामहितचित्तो यथाभूतं प्रजानाति इत्युक्तत्वात् । धर्मसमतेति ।  
धर्माः स्कन्धधात्वायतनानि अनिमित्तादिस्वभावतया समा एवेत्यर्थः ।

mthsan. ma. med. pa. mñam. pa. ñid. dañ. shes. bya. ba.  
ni. gañ. kun. tu. brtags. pai. rtog. pa. dañ. brañ. bslus. pa. med.  
pa. chos. kyi. dbyiñs. de. mthsan. ma. med. pa. ste| rnam.  
par. rtog. pai. śes. pa. thams. cad. kyi. yul. ma. yin. pas. so||  
des. na. chos. thams. cad. mthsan. ma. med. pa. shes. brjod.  
pa. ñid. yin. no|| dei. phyir. chos. thams. cad. yoñs. su. grub.  
pai. bdag. ñid. can. yin. pas. mthsan. ma. med. pa. mñam. pa.  
ñid. yin. no|| mthsan. ñid. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. dañ. shes.  
bya. ba. ni. gañ. kun. tu. brtags. pai. brjod. par. bya. ba. dañ|  
brjod. par. byed. pai. bdag. ñid. gzuñ. ba. dañ| hdsin. pai. rnam.  
pa. can. gyi. chos. de. thams. cad. śin. tu. med. pa. ñid. yin.  
pai. phyir. kun. tu. brtag. pai. mthsan. ñid. des. [na] mthsan.  
ñid. med. pa. yin. pas. mthsan. ñid. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do||

=अनिमित्तसमतयेति । यः परिकल्पितः (कल्पनारहितः अमोषः ?) धर्मा धातुः  
स अनिमित्तः । सर्वविकल्पज्ञानविषयत्वाभावात् । तेन सर्वधर्म अनिमित्त इत्युक्तम् ।  
तस्मात् सर्वधर्मः परिनिष्पन्नात्मक इत्यनिमित्तसमता । अलक्षणसमतयेति ।  
यः परिकल्पितः अभिधेयाभिधानात्मग्राह्यग्राहकाकारो धर्मः स सर्व अत्यन्तमसत्त्वात्  
परिकल्पितलक्षणः । तेन लक्षणाभावात् अलक्षणसमता ।



Ex. *Atanin-iyaral.*

*Ponṇūṇ iyaṇṇa paṭṭam.* (Pura. 3, Comm.)  
(Frontlet [of an elephant] made of gold.)

*Atarraku-kilavi.*

Pal-yānai-y-um *amṇoṭṭu* tuḷaṅki. (Pura. 63.)  
(Many elephants having been shattered with arrows.)  
*Kūrattai-k-kaiyāl* viḷittarrū, (Kuraḷ, 894.)  
(It is similar to inviting the God of Death with hands.)

*Atan-vinai-p-paṭṭal.*

*Neyyoṭu* tuṇanta mai-y-iruṇ-kūntal. (Pura. 147.)  
(The black flowing tresses of a woman deprived of oil.)  
*Pacalaiyāl* uṇappaṭṭāl. (Kalit. 48.)  
(She is filled with beauty-spots on her skin.)

*Atanin-ātal.*

*Kalaviṇāl* ākiya v-ākkam. (Kuraḷ, 283.)  
(Property made through theft.)

*Atanir-kōṭal.*

*Ilaṅkutā laruvi* y-ōṭ aṇi-koṇṭa niṇ-malai. (Kalit. 46.)  
(Your mountain beautified by the shining and flowing stream.)

*Ataṇoṭu-mayaṅkal.*

Vēmpi ṇ-onṭalir.

*Neṭuṇ-koṭi y-uliṇai-p pavarōṭu* milaintu. (Pura. 77.)  
(Having worn the shining sprouts of margosa tree with  
a piece of the long creeper named *uliṇai*.)

*Pāloṭu* kalanta nīr.

(Water mixed with milk.)

Naṇ-pon.

*Paṇ-maṇi-k kuvai-y-oṭum* viraii-k koṇṇi. (Pura. 152.)  
(Take the fine gold along with many heaps of gems.)

*Ataṇoṭiyainta oruvina-k-kilavi.*

Kuṭa-ticai-t

Taṇ-katir matiyam pōlavum.

*Ninru* nilaiiya r- *ulakamō* ṭ-uṭaṇē. (Pura. 56.)

(May you live long with all the people like the cool-  
rayed moon shining in the west.)

*Irum-pē* r- *okkalōṭu* tiṇṇi. (Pura. 150.)

(Eat with a wide circle of relatives.)

*Pāvaṭiyār* ceraṇōkkin.

Oḷiru-maruppiṛ kaḷiravara.

Kāppuṭaiya kayam-paṭiyinai. (Pura. 15.)

(You have allowed to bathe in the ponds well attended to by them the elephants which have shining tusks and fierce look along with broad feet.)

Ataṇōṭiyainta vēru-viṇai-k-kiḷavi.

Toṭiyōṭu tol-kaviṇ vāṭiya tōḷ. (Kuraḷ, 1235.)

(The shoulder which was once bright, but has now faded with the armlets.)

Malai-y-oṭu poruta māl-yāṇai.

(The big elephant which fought with the mountain.)

Ataṇōṭiyainta oppal-oppurai.

Kolaiyiṛ koṭiyārai vētoruttal painkūḷ.

Kaḷai-kaṭ ṭ-ataṇōṭu nēr. (Kuraḷ, 550.)

(The King slaughtering the wicked is similar to the weeding of plants grown near green crops.)

Inṇāṇ.

Kaṇṇār kottai.

(He is blind by his eye.)

Kālāl muṭavaṇ.

(He is lame by his leg.)

*Note.*—The expressions *kaṇṇār kottai* and *kālāl muṭavaṇ* are respectively parallel to the Sanskrit sentences *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* and *pādēna khañjaḥ*.

Ētū.

Vali-miku vekuliyāṇ vāl-urra maṇṇarai. (Kalit. 46.)

(The kings who had taken their swords on account of their anger increased with their might.)

Maṇattāṇā māntark k-uṇarcci. (Kuraḷ, 453.)

(Feeling is produced in men through mind.)

Nalliya-k kōṭaṇai nayanta koḷkaiyoṭū.

Munṇāṭ ceṇṇaṇam. (Cīrupāṇ. 126-9.)

(We went to see Nalliyakkoṭaṇ sometime before.)

*Note 1.*—Sometimes a verbal participle (viṇai-y-eccam with a noun in the objective case is used instead of a noun in the instrumental case.

Ex. Oru-kaṇai koṇṭu mū-v-eyil l-uṭarri.

(Having destroyed three forts with one arrow.)

Here the word *koṇṭu* is used to signify that *kaṇai* is the instrument of *uṭarri*. Here *kaṇai* is in the objective case governing

the transitive verb *konṭi*. But later on words like *kaṇai-konṭi* were taken as one word under the misapprehension that the word *kaṇai* was the base of the noun instead of a noun in the objective case with the case-suffix dropped. Then the word *konṭi* was taken as a *collurupū* (a word used as a case-suffix). cf. the commentary on the line 'Nallār-uruppelāṇ *konṭi* iyarriyāḷ kol'. (Kalit. 56.)

*Note 2.*—From the statement '*ataṇo ṭiyainta v-oru-viṇai-k kiḷavi*' in the sūtra one may think that the expressions '*āciriya-noti māṇākkāṇ vantāṇ*' (pupil came with the teacher) and '*māṇākkāṇoti āciriyaṇ vantāṇ*' (teacher came with the pupil) were grammatically correct. But the sūtra '*Oru-viṇai y-oṭu-c-colluyar-piṇ valittē*' (Col. 91) restricts the use of the suffix *oṭu* only to be used along with the noun denoting the superior. This is one of the points where ancient Tamil differed from Sanskrit, where the third case-suffix is used along with the noun denoting the inferior cf. *saha-yuklē apradhāne* (Pāṇini Aṣṭ. II, iii, 19). But in later Tamil the ancient restriction was not attended to and hence we see the sentence '*vanta namṇiyai-t tamṇi taṇṇoti*' (the lord who came with his brother) in *Kamparāmāyaṇam* where *namṇi* refers to *Rāma* and *taṇṇi* refers to *Lakṣmaṇa*.

*Note 3.*—The expression '*iṇṇāṇ-ēti*' is split by *Ḵampūraṇar* into two parts '*iṇṇāṇ*' and '*ēti*' which respectively mean 'one of such description' and 'cause'. The examples given by him under '*iṇṇāṇ*' are '*kaṇṇār kottai*' and '*kālāl muṭavaṇ*'. *Cēṇavaraiyar*, on the other hand takes '*iṇṇāṇ-ēti*' as a compound word to mean *ēti* which is denoted both by the suffixes *iṇ* and *āṇ* (i.e.) the *jñāpaka-hēti* and condemns *Ḵampūraṇar* that the word '*iṇṇāṇ*' cannot denote a person who is to be described with reference to his limbs. Such examples in his opinion come under *aṇṇa-piṇavum* in the sūtra. *Nacciṇārkkinīyar* seems to agree with him. But the interpretation of *Ḵampūraṇar*, seems to be better since the word *ēti* here can mean only *jñāpaka-hēti*, the *kāraka-hēti* having been mentioned by *atarṛaku-kiḷavi*.

*Teyvaccilaiyār* takes *iṇṇāṇ-ēti* as three suffixes *iṇ*, *āṇ* and *ēti* and states '*pukai-y-uṇṇaiy-iṇ neruppuṇṇai-y-aṛika*' (learn the presence of fire on account of the presence of smoke), '*pukai-y-uṇṇaiyāṇ neruppuṇṇai-y-aṛika*' and '*pukai-y-ēti-v-āka-neruppuṇṇai-y-aṛika*' as examples. Since this sūtra deals with the specialised meanings of the third case-suffix whose general meaning was mentioned in the previous sūtra, such an interpretation

of Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be far from satisfactory. Besides he states that the word *aṇṇa-pīravum* in the sūtra refers to the words *kāraṇam*, *nimittam*, *tṇai* and *māṇi*. This clearly shows that he mistook the words *ēṭṭi* and *aṇṇa-pīravum* refer to *colluruṇṇi*. But Tolkāppiyāṇār has not made mention of *colluruṇṇi* in any of the sūtras found in *verrumai-y-iyal*, nor *ēṭṭi* and *aṇṇa-pīravum* can refer to *case-suffix* when the remaining portion deals with the *meaning of the case-suffix*.

*Note 4.*—Under '*ataṇṇi-iyaral*' Iḷampūraṇar gives '*taccaṇ ceyta ciṇu-mā vaiyam* (Kurun. 61). (Small *vaiyam* made by carpenter). Cēṇāvaraiyar condemns this since such sentences form examples for *viṇai-mutal* found in the previous sūtra. This seems to be fair.

*Note 5.*—The word *atu* in *ataṇṇi-iyaral*, *atarṇaku kiḷavi* etc. refers to the object denoted by the word which takes the third-case-suffix.

*Note 6.*—Such examples as '*matī-yoṭu okkum mukam*' (the face compares itself with moon) where *oṭu* denotes comparison, '*cūloṭu kalutai pāraṇ cumantati*' (ass carried the burden with the child in the womb) where *oṭu* is used with a word which denotes an object that is not visible, are taken under '*aṇṇa-pīravum*' by Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar. Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar in addition to them gives '*uṇṇal-maṇiyāṇ uyar-marupṇina*' (they have their superior tusks with gems on them) etc. *maṇat-toṭu vāymai moliyīṇāṇ* (straight forward expression with mind) and states that in the former *āṇ* is used in the sense of *oṭu* and in the latter *oṭu* in the sense of *āṇ*. This seems to be against the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār. Cēṇāvaraiyar clearly states that both *oṭu* and *āṇ* were used in all the senses mentioned above.

*Note 7.*—Cēṇāvaraiyar anticipates the objection made by Dr. Caldwell stated under the previous sūtra that, since there are two suffixes *oṭu* and *āṇ*, they should come under two different cases and gives two reasons for not having done so:—(1) both of them are used in all the meanings mentioned above : and (2) in Sanskrit *different* case-suffixes are taken to belong to one case if they have the *same meaning*. An objection was raised against the second. Since the vocative case is not taken as a separate case in Sanskrit and it is taken as a case by Tolkāppiyāṇār, it is not safe to bring in the analogy of Sanskrit. Cēṇāvaraiyar answers this point by the statement that eight cases were mentioned in Aindra-Vyākaraṇa and Tolkāppiyāṇār has followed



it. The latter point is supported by the statement ‘*aintiram nūrain̄ta tolkāppiyam*’ made in the *pāyiram* by Paṇampāraṇār.

*Note 8.*—Some read *in̄neṇa* for *in̄keṇa* in the seventh line of the sūtra.

*Note 9.*—In the Cēṇāvaraiyam (Dāmōdaram Pillai Edn.) the sentence ‘*vaṭanūluṭ poruḷ-vērrumai-y-allatu uruḷu-vērrumaiyiṇ oru-vērrumai-y-āka ṭappaṭṭamaiyāṇum*’ is found. It means ‘since, in Sanskrit, it is taken as one case where there are different suffixes without difference in meaning’. In the Śaiva-siddhānta edition the reading is ‘*vaṭanūluṭ poruḷ-vērrumai-y-allatu uruḷu-vērrumaiyāṇ oru-vērrumaiyāka ṭappaṭṭamaiyāṇum*’. This also means the same. But in the former the expression ‘*poruḷ-vērrumai-y-allatū*’ should be taken as an adjunct to *uruḷu* in *uruḷu-vērrumaiyiṇ*, and in the latter it should be taken as a verbal participle modifying *ṭappaṭṭamaiyāṇum*.

75. நான்கா குவதே

குளனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி  
எப்பொரு ளாயினுங் கொள்ளு மதுவோ.

*Nāṇkā kuvatē*

*Ku-ena-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷavi*

*Ep-poru ḷ-āyinuṅ kolḷu matu-v-ē.*

The fourth called *ku-vērrumai* denotes recipient, whatever substance it may be.

Ex. Nelli-t tīṅkaṇi . . . emakku itṭanai-y-ē. (Pura. 91.)

(You gave me the sweet *nelli* fruit.)

Āraṇi y-antaṇark k-arumaṇai pala-pakarntu. (Kalit. 3.)

(Having taught Vēdas to brahmans who had studied six aṅgas.)

*Note 1.*—The significance of the expression ‘*ep-poruḷ-āyinuṇ*’ in the sūtra is, according to ḷampūraṇar, that the recipient may be in the first person, second person or the third person. Cēṇāvaraiyar, on the other hand, states two points:—(1) Even though the word meaning ‘to give’ is not found in such examples as ‘*Māṇākkarkkū nūr-poruḷ uraittāṇ*’ (he explained the work to his pupils), the fourth case-suffix is used after the word *māṇākkar*. (2) There are two elements in gift:—one is *sva-svatva-nivṛtti* or the abandonment of the right of one’s ownership and the other is *para-svatva-āpādana* or the transferring of the right of ownership to another. But in examples like ‘*māṇākkarkkū aṇivu koṭuttāṇ*’ (he gave knowledge to pupils),

*arivu* or knowledge, though it goes to pupils, does not leave the teacher. Still in such cases the fourth case-suffix may be used. That such usages are sanctioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār is inferred by the expression '*e-p-poruḷ-ūyiyum*' in the sūtra. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar repeats what has been said by Cēṇāvaraiyar.

*Note. 2.*—It is worthy of note that Cēṇāvaraiyar's statement '*māṇākkarkkū arivu koṭuttāṇ*' and the explanation under it has its parallel in the statement of the commentator of Vākyapadīya — '*Tyāgō dānam, dīyamānasya svatvanivṛtīyā aparasvatvāpā-dānam | 'Śūdrāya matim dadāti' ityatrāpi malisanlānasya ca ēkadēśas-tyajyamāna iti svatva-nivṛtya aparasvatvāpādāna-lakṣa-ṇē mukhya ēva dadātyarthaḥ | Anyē tu matēḥ dāna-sambandhā-navagamāt gauṇa ityāluḥ*' (Vākyapadīya, Kāṇḍa 3, Kārikā 262). Cēṇāvaraiyar seems to have adopted the *gauṇārtha* of the fourth case-suffix.

76. அதற்குவினை யுடைமையி னதற்குடம் படுதலின்  
அதற்குப்படு பொருளி னதுவாகு கிளவியின்  
அதற்குயாப் புடைமையி னதற்பொருட் டாதலின்  
நட்பிற் பகையிற் காதலிற் சிறப்பினென்று  
அப்பொருட் கிளவியு மதன்பால வென்மனார்.  
*Atarku-vinai y-uṭaimaiyi n-atarkuṭam paṭutalin*  
*Atarku-p-paṭu poruḷi n-atuvūku kilaviyin*  
*Atarku-yāp puṭaimaiyi n-atar-poruṭ tātalin*  
*Naṭṭir pakaiyir kātalin ciṇappin-enṇu*  
*A-p-poruṭ kilaviyu m-ataṇ-pāla v-enmanār.*

They say that the dative case denotes the object for which an action is done, the object to which one subjects himself, the object to which another is apportioned, the object of transformation, the object which is suited to another, the aim of an action, the object of friendship, enmity, love, superiority etc.

*Atarku-vinai-y-uṭaimai.*

Ex. Piṇikku maruntu pira. (Kural, 1102.)

(Others serve as medicine to diseases.)

Vari-maṇar puṇai-pāvaikku-k kuḷavi-c-cīṇaip pū-k-  
koytu. (Pura. 11.)

(Having plucked flowers from bent branches for the  
image made in sand-heap.)

*Atarkuṭampāṭutal.*

Cāṇrōr kolaikku uṭampattār.

(The great fell victims to slaughter.)

*Atarku-p-paṭu-poruḷ.*

Peru-mita-p pakatṭukku-t turai-y-u m-uṇṭō. (Pura. 90.)  
 (Is there any landing place (not suited to) a fat bull ?)  
 Oru-nī y-āyinaḷ...niṟ perriṇṇōrk-kē. (Pura. 125.)  
 (You have become the only resort for those who came  
 to you.)

Porunarkku...cēy. (Pura. 14.)

(You are God Murukan to those who attack you.)

*Atu-v-āku-kilavi.*

Vaḷaikku-p poṇ vāṇku.  
 (Purchase gold for bracelet.)

*Atarku-yāppuṭaimai.*

Pāṭiṇi pāṭum vaṇcikkū  
 Nāṭal cāṇra maintiṇōy. (Pura. 15.)  
 (Oh King ! who possesses valour which fits with the  
 song sung by the lady-minstrel.)

*Atarporuṭṭātal.*

Kūlirku-k kuṟṟēval ceyyum.  
 (He does menial service for his food.)

*Naṭṭu.*

Vilunark kiṟaicci. (Kalit. 8.)  
 (The desired object to those who desire.)  
 Keṭṭārkkku naṭṭār il. (Kuraḷ, 1293.)  
 (There are no friends to bad men.)

*Pakai.*

Cemmai-y-i ṇ-ikantorī-p poruḷ-ceyōrk k-a-p-poruḷ  
 Immai-yu maṟumaiyum pakai-y-āva t-aṟiyāyō.  
 (Kalit. 14.)

(Do you not know that the wealth acquired by  
 unrighteous means serves as the source of enmity to  
 him both in this world and in the next ?)

*Kātal.*

Nummoṭu

Tuṇpan tuṇai-y-āka nāṭṇ ṇ-allatu  
 Inṇam-u m-uṇṭō v-emakkū.  
 (How can there be happiness for me unless I follow  
 you though we would be attended upon by misery ?)

Tantaiyar-k-ku

Aruḷ-van taṇa-v-ār putalvar-tam maḷalai. (Pura. 92.)

(The indistinct words of children gave pleasure to their parents.)

*Cirappū.*

Yām numakku-c cirantaṇam. (Kalit. 5.)

(We are superior to you.)

*Note.*—‘*In*’ in words like *atarḷku-viṇai-y-utaimaiyīn* is explitive.

77. ஐந்தா குவதே

இன்னெனப் பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி

இதனி னிற்றிது வென்னு மதுவே.

*Aintā kuvatē*

*In-n-ena-p peyariya vēṇṇumai-k kiḷavi*

*Itaṇi n-irritu v-ennu m-atu-v-ē.*

The fifth case called ‘*in-vēṇṇumai*’ denotes the nature of an object in its relation to another. Comparison, contrast, separation, limit, cause etc. form the meanings of this case.

*Comparison.*

Ex. Kuḷavi koḷpavari n-ōmpumati. (Pura. 5.)

(Protect like those who tend children.)

*Contrast.*

Payan-rūkkār ceyta v-utavi nayan-rūkkīn

Naṇmai kaṭaliṇ peritū. (Kuraḷ, 103.)

(The good deeds of those who do them without expecting any return are bigger than sea.)

*Separation.*

Niṇṇiṇ viṭāa niḷar-pōl. (Kalit. 61.)

(Like the shadow which is never separated from you.)

*Limit.*

Kumariyīn terḷkū. (Pura. 6.)

(That which is south of cape comorin.)

*Cause.*

Aru-viṭar-c ciru-neri y-ēraliṇ varunti. (Pura. 135.)

(Having suffered on account of the ascent though the narrow path of the steep valley.)

78. வண்ணம் வடிவே யளவே சுவையே

தண்மை வெம்மை யச்ச மென்ற

நன்மை தீமை சிறுமை பெருமை

# THE VṚTTIS.

BY

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(Continued from Vol. VII, part I, page 52).

## *The number of Vṛttis.*

We already referred to a possibility of holding Vṛttis to be only two in number. Abhinava actually refers to a view that held so and refutes it. We are not able to know the author of that view. Says Abhinava :

‘तेन पञ्च वृत्तयो द्वे वृत्ती’ इत्यादयो सं(असं)विदितभरतामिप्राय-  
पण्डितसहृदयं मन्यपरिकल्पितसद्भावाः प्रवादा निरस्ता भवन्ति ।’

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS, Vol. III, p.4.

Earlier, while commenting on the enumeration of four Vṛttis in chapter six, he says :

‘द्वे, तिस्रः, पञ्चेति निराकरणाय चतस्र इत्युक्तम् ।’

Gaek. edn. p. 271.

The author of the view of Vṛttis being only two must have held the two Vṛttis to be either the Bhāratī and the Sāttvatī referring to Vāk and Ceṣṭā or the Kaiśikī and the Ārabhaṭī referring to Lālitya and Auddhatya. In the second quotation from Abhinava given above we have a view of Vṛttis being three in number. Its author might have held the three Vṛttis to be respectively the Vyāpāra or activity of Vāk (speech), Kāya (body) and Manas (mind). Or this view of three Vṛttis in Abhinava may refer to Udbhaṭa's view which we shall consider presently.

Udbhaṭa propounded a theory of three Vṛttis, which is set forth with its refutation by Lollaṭa in the Abhinavabhāratī. Udbhaṭa first demolished Bharata's four Vṛttis and then set up his own view. He first questioned the sufficiency of the four Vṛttis. He advanced two arguments against Bharata's Vṛttis. He took the drama called Utsrṣṭikāṅka which Bharata<sup>1</sup> has

1. *Vide* Bharata XX, 98—100. करुणरसप्रायकृतः \* \* \* \*  
सात्त्वत्यारभटीकैशिकीहीनः.

described as a drama of Karuṇa Rasa and as devoid of the Kaiśikī, Ārabhaṭī and Sāttvatī. That is, it is a drama of the Bhārati-Vṛtti. Udbhaṭa asks how Karuṇa which is a Ceṣṭā is referred to by Bharata by the Bhārati which is speech? Speech however is a chief accessory in the shape of wailings to Karuṇa. But the real Vṛtti in Karuṇa in the type called Utsrṣṭikāṅka is 'फलसंवित्तिः'. What is this new Vṛtti? It is the depicting of the realisation of the effect or fruit of both speech and action. This new Vṛtti must be accepted and it is necessary. Otherwise in swoon, death, etc., where there can be neither speech nor any action, there will be no Vṛtti at all. Stopping with this criticism of Udbhaṭa alone, we are likely to form the idea that Udbhaṭa, besides holding the four Vṛttis of Bharata, created and held, for places not covered by those four, a new fifth Vṛtti called Phala-Sarṁvitti or briefly Phala Vṛtti. That is what the Daśarūpaka and the Bhāvaprakāśa do.

The second criticism of Udbhaṭa is this : There is no need for Kaiśikī which can be included in Sāttvatī since it also refers only to action. If it is said that the special recognition of it is for the fact that it is most charming and is the Vṛtti of the chief Rasa called Śṛṅgāra (Kāma), then, to be scientific, the scheme should be changed and two more Vṛttis must be recognised for Dharma and Artha. Kāma alone, among the Puruṣārthas cannot be selected and patronised. Thus, the scheme of four Vṛttis is also deficient. That is, the scheme of the four Vṛttis of Bharata is firstly insufficient and secondly deficient.

So, Udbhaṭa proposes his new theory of three Vṛttis. He divides all situations into two—action and non-action. In the latter there is no Ceṣṭā or Vyāpāra but there is the effect of some Ceṣṭā or Vyāpāra. In it man enjoys the fruit of his Ceṣṭā and accordingly non-action or enjoyment or realisation of fruit is the Vṛtti called फलसंवित्ति. This field of action is called चेष्टावृत्ति and is primarily of two kinds, righteous and sinful, न्यायवृत्ति and अन्यायवृत्ति. For, an act may be right or wrong. As for instance Rama's love for Sītā is righteous and is Nyāya Vṛtti whereas Rāvaṇa's passion for Sītā is wrong and is Anyāya Vṛtti. It would have been better a little if we had in the text here न्यायवृत्ति and अन्यायवृत्ति. These two, Nyāya and Anyāya Vṛttis, are again, at first, two fold. They can be either vocal or physical Ceṣṭā, i. e., वाक् and चेष्टा. The word चेष्टा should be taken in

a wider sense as well as in a narrower sense. The reference of these Vṛttis to each of the four Puruṣārthas multiplies them by four. Phala Vṛtti is the Vṛtti of the realisation of the fruit and is of many kinds according to the Rasa and situation. This is the meaning of the following verse of Udbhaṭa :

‘आद्ये वाक्चेष्टाभ्यां पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयेनाष्टविधे ।

षोडशधा तद्द्वयतः फलवृत्तिर्नैकधा तु रसभेदात् ॥’<sup>1</sup>

(वाक्चेष्टाभ्यामाद्यो भेदो द्विधा । मौलो भदोऽयम् । वाक् चेष्टा च चतुर्भिः पुरुषार्थैः प्रत्येकम् अष्टधा भवतः । ता अष्टविधाश्च वृत्तयः प्रत्येकं न्याय्या अन्याय्या चेति षोडशधा भवन्ति । फलवृत्तिस्तु तदसप्रकरणवशात् अनेकधा ।)

Firstly Vṛtti is of two kinds : Vāk and Ceṣṭā ; they become eight by relation to the four Puruṣārthas which again, by being Nyāyā and Anyāyā, become sixteen. Phala Vṛtti is varied according to situation. Leaving the sub-divisions, he postulates three Vṛttis, Nyāyā and Anyāyā (of the Ceṣṭā class) and Phala-Saṁvitti (of the nature of realising the fruit of Ceṣṭā).

Lollaṭa criticised this view of Udbhaṭa. First he took up the second criticism that there is no need for the Kaiśikī. He said that though Kaiśikī could be included in Sāttvati, it was enumerated specially because it appealed to the audience more. ‘रञ्जकत्वातिशयात् पृथगुपात्ता.’ This is a very weak reply to Udbhaṭa’s criticism. As regards the first criticism of Udbhaṭa that in Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, unless a new Vṛtti called Phala Saṁvitti is recognised, there is a danger of निर्वृत्तिकत्व, the danger of that drama being devoid of any Vṛtti, Lollaṭa refutes the very conception of Phala Vṛtti. All Vṛtti is defined as Vyāpāra and if there is no Vyāpāra there is no Vṛtti. In Phala Saṁvitti there is no activity and consequently there is no Vṛtti at all. If there is some activity in it, it must be either vocal or physical activity. Such vocal or physical activity may be subtle and imperceptible. But beyond Vāk and Ceṣṭā, no other Vyāpāra is known. In the acting of the process of dying or swoon, there is really any amount of activity. On thinking or remembering of death or swoon the actor sings. Thus, though not in death, मृतावस्था,

1. This verse must be a Parikara Śloka in Udbhaṭa’s commentary on the N. S.

itself, in dying—मरण, there is activity. That in मूर्च्छा there is activity need not be proved at length. The very activity of subtle breathing, which cannot be absent in these states, is a recognisable activity and is the Sāttvati Vṛtti. Even assuming that these states do not have any Vyāpāra, there is little need for postulating any new Vṛtti. For, if there is no activity, nothing, how is it, asks Lollaṭa, that the character is said to have the realisation of the fruit of his action, फलानुभव. The state of dying may be presented in subtle emotional acting and as such may be in the Sāttvati Vṛtti but, asks Udbhata again, that none can postulate any Vyāpāra in a dead body, which must necessarily bring in the need for his new Vṛtti of Phala, if one wants to avoid leaving a certain portion of the drama as devoid of any Vṛtti. Lollaṭa replies that no doubt Bharata has said that drama is Vṛttimaya but it means that drama taken as a whole is of the form of Vṛtti. It does not really matter if one particular situation like the dead-state—मृतावस्था—is devoid of Vṛtti. The drama, as a whole, can be shown to be based on Vṛttis.

Lollaṭa criticises also the scheme of Nyāya and Anyāya Vṛttis of Udbhata. To say that in sinful activities there is Puruṣārtha is contradiction in terms. For there can be no achievement of Puruṣārtha if the activity is sinful. But this is not good criticism of Udbhata's position. Udbhata does not mean by his righteous and sinful activities that the Puruṣārthas are achieved or not achieved but only the Aucitya and Anaucitya of one's Pravṛtti. That is, Rāma's love is, he says, Nyāya Vṛtti and Rāvaṇa's Kāma, Anyāya Vṛtti. Rāvaṇa need not have attained Kāma, the third Puruṣārtha. But take the case Agni-varṇa's debauchery. It is surely अन्यायवृत्ति and the Kāma is realised there. Therefore a more proper criticism of Udbhata's Nyāya and Anyāya Vṛttis will be thus: Just as it is Śṛṅgāra or Rasa in the case of the Nāyaka like Rāma and is Śṛṅgāra-Ābhāsa or Rasa-Ābhāsa in the Pratināyaka like Rāvaṇa, the former being Ucita and the latter Anucita, so also it is Vṛtti in Rāma and Vṛtti-Ābhāsa in Rāvaṇa. Thus in the cases of sinful Pravṛtti we need not resort to a classification of Vṛttis into righteous and sinful, we can cast away the terms Nyāya and Anyāya and apply here also the term Ābhāsa. We need not call the sinful Vṛtti as a separate Vṛtti but as the Ābhāsa of a Vṛtti.<sup>1</sup>

1. Anyāya is a stronger word than Anucita. Udbhata when he wrote his K. A. S. S. had a similar idea of improper Pravṛtti



Śakaligarbha, a hitherto unknown writer on Nāṭya, who must have come between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa, (As re. this writer, *Vide* J. O. R. M., Vol. VI, Part 3. My article on 'Writers quoted in the Abhihava Bhārati) propounded another theory of Vṛttis. He realised Udbhaṭa's point as regards the problem of finding a Vṛtti in Maraṇa, Mūrcchā etc. but rejected his solution. Another difference between Udbhaṭa and Śakaligarbha is that the latter did, not attack the four old Vṛttis. Accepting them, he added a fifth a substitute for Udbhaṭa's Phala Vṛtti. So it is his view that Abhinava refers to as the view of five Vṛttis. Taking the view that the last Vyāpāra that can be accepted in swoon or in the state of dying is breathing or प्राणपरिस्पन्द, Udbhaṭa says that it is absent in dead-state and therefore fears the total absence of any Vṛtti there. Śakaligarbha asks this question: Is प्राणपरिस्पन्द the only Vyāpāra possible? He says that Vyāpāra can also be ज्ञानात्मक. In मरण, मूर्च्छा etc., there certainly is present a certain kind of Vṛtti. It is not the Sāttvatī of breathing—सूक्ष्मप्राणनात्मक-कायिकवृत्ति. Śakaligarbha was perhaps an Advaitic scholar. He said that in मरण, मृतावस्था, मूर्च्छा etc. there is a Vṛtti called आत्मसंविद्धि, i.e., a Vyāpāra of the shape of Jñāna. How is it known that there is such a Vṛtti and what is this new Vṛtti itself? Ātma Sarivitti is the Ātman itself, the स्वप्रतिष्ठा of Ātman, the self-knowledge of Ātman by itself, when there is no activity of the outward senses. Such is the case in stupour. That such a Vṛtti existed in Mūrcchā is laterly made out by the remembrance of the person that he was in a swoon, the argument being analogous to the Advaitin's based on the remembrance—सुखमहमस्वाप्सम्. Since Ātman is eternal, indestructible and cognisant there is no denying its own Sarivitti even in cases of death. This is the view of Śakaligarbha

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reating an Anaucitya in Bhāvas resulting in the Urjasvi-Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha's Urjasvi is रुदाहंकार but Udbhaṭa defines it thus:

अनौचित्यप्रवृत्तानां कामक्रोधादिकारणात् ।

भावानां च रसानां च बन्ध ऊर्जस्वि कथ्यते ॥

He illustrates it by Śiva's extreme passion for Pārvatī which made him disregard decorum and made him try to get her even forcibly. Śiva's Pravṛtti, though slightly and apparently improper cannot be Anyāya Vṛtti. Therefore, Ruyyaka illustrates Urjasvi by Rāvaṇa's passion for Sītā.

who definitely holds five Vṛttis, viz., the old four plus Ātma Saṁvitti, which is criticised by Abhinava in the Vṛtti-chapter. It is this view that Śāradātanaya records with the word 'परे' after giving Udbhaṭa's new view.

अर्थवृत्तेरभावात्तु विश्रान्तां पञ्चमीं परे । Bhā. Pra. p. 12.

Here Śāradātanaya says that there is no additional Artha Vṛtti, i.e., the Phala Vṛtti, which Udbhaṭa wants to hold and that in its stead others hold a fifth Vṛtti called Viśrāntā. The word 'Viśrāntā' is evidently an error for विश्रान्ति which means आत्मविश्रान्ति or आत्मसंविद्धि. 'परे' refers to Śakaligarbha.

This Śakaligarbha also has been refuted by Lollaṭa. There is no quarrel with his view that Vyāpāra can also be ज्ञानात्मक. But the criticism of Lollaṭa is that Śakaligarbha has been straying away from the fact of drama and stage into logical or philosophical extremes. The stage depicts emotions and the concrete world of objective things perceptible to the outer senses. The Ātma Saṁvitti which is अन्तरिन्द्रियग्राह्य or in which the subject and object and the means of perception are the same Ātman itself, has no place on the stage. So there is neither Udbhaṭa's Phala Vṛtti nor the more pedantic Ātma Saṁvitti. Vṛttis are only four as given by Bharata.

Abhinava has little to add to the remarks of Lollaṭa who has done the criticism-work. Abhinava says that Udbhaṭa need not fear that part of the drama will become devoid of Vṛtti. It is not necessary that the whole should have Vṛttis. The stage, platform, pillars etc. have no Vṛttis and similar is the case of the dead body. Vṛtti is man's activity in the direction of achieving the four Puruṣārthas which is the theme of all literature. So it is that Bharata has said that Vṛttis are the 'Mothers of Kāvya'. In Marañā, Mūrcchā etc. also there is activity and the Vṛtti there is Sāttvati. In Karuṇā, the Rasa of the Utsṛṣṭikāṅka<sup>1</sup>, since there is incessant wailing, Bharata gave the Vṛtti as Bhāratī. If it is said that it is devoid of the other three Vṛttis, it does not mean that

1. The chief character of Utsṛṣṭikāṅka is that it is an one act play, in which one or more women, the wife or wives, wail over the death of their husband or husbands killed perhaps in a battle. Finally some miracle must unite them. The Rati Vilāpa in Kālī-dāsa's K. S., if it is separately presented in stage technique, may thus be a good example of this Utsṛṣṭikāṅka.

other Vṛttis are totally absent. Only they cannot be prominent. Further there cannot be drama without some Vyāpāra of mind, body or speech. Practically speaking, the case of a certain part of a play becoming devoid of Vṛtti, Nirvṛttika, can never occur. For though a dead body has no Vṛtti, its presence is Vibhāva for the grief of another which is the Vṛtti of that portion of the drama. If however Udbhaṭa does not mean the dead state but only the action of death-pangs, surely he loses his case for there is Vyāpāra there and the Vṛtti is Sāttvatī. If Udbhaṭa means the dead-state, there are two answers. Firstly Abhinava says—  
न तस्य वृत्तिकथनेन किञ्चित्. We must accept that the dead have no Vṛtti and need not have any Vṛtti, even as the stage-paraphernalia. It helps as Vibhāva to the Rasa of another. The second answer is not one given by Abhinava but what we can suggest. It is a general criticism of Phala Vṛtti, which Udbhaṭa gives as the Vṛtti of Phala-Anubhava, *i.e.*, the climax of a Rasa like संप्रयोग in Śṛṅgāra, death elsewhere and so on. Such Phala which he says is manifold according to the situation can and should never be shown on the stage. Udbhaṭa has forgotten Bharata's stage rules one of which is that the Phala is not shown on the stage. Maraṇa, *i. e.*, dead body and not the acting of the pangs of dying, which is the case under discussion, is expressly prohibited on the stage by Bharata. Even in Mahākāvya the description of certain Phalas like संप्रयोग is poetic sin. So at least in Nāṭya there is no need for Phala Saṁvitti and Ātma Saṁvitti. There is another confusion in Udbhaṭa's position. The Phala Vṛtti starts and comes into being for the special case of मरण etc. but laterly is given as the Vṛtti of फलानुभव, realisation of the fruit of either Vāk or Ceṣṭā. If cases of फलानुभव other than मरण and मूर्च्छा are meant, surely फलानुभव will be of the shape of some Vṛtti of Vāk or Ceṣṭā and will never require a new explanation.

The following<sup>1</sup> is the text of the Abhinava Bhāratī where Abhinava gives Udbhaṭa's and Śakalīgarbha's views with Lollaṭa's and his own refutations thereof :

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1. The text reproduced here with corrections was decided with the help of my Prof. Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Śāstriyar. The text is that available in the MS. of the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library.

“तथा हि—उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क्षे ति (तु) वृत्तित्रयं तावत् वचसा निषिद्धम् । भारती चात्र कथं वृत्तिः, चेष्टा हि करुणः ; प्रधानं तदुपकरणं तु परिदेवितात्मकभारती । तस्मात् फलसंवृ(वि)त्याख्या वृत्तिः । वाक्चेष्टयोः फलानुभव इति यस्या लक्षणम् । सा अभ्युपगन्तव्या ; अवश्यं चैतत् । अन्यथा मूर्च्छा-मरणादौ वाक्चेष्टयोरभावे निवृ(वृ)त्तिकतैव स्यात् ।

किं च, यदि तावत् पुमर्थकामोद्देशेन कैशिक्यमिधीयते, धर्ममर्थं चोद्दिश्य वृत्तिद्वयं वक्तव्यम् ।

तस्मात् चेष्टात्म(त्ति)का न्यायवृत्तिः अन्यायवृत्तिर्वा, तत्फलरूपा फलसंविक्तिः इति वृत्तित्रयमेव युक्तम्—इति भट्टोज्झटो मन्यते । यदाह—

‘आद्ये वाक्चेष्टाभ्यां पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयेनाष्टविधे ।

षोडशधा फलवृत्तिस्तद्द्वयतो नैकधा तु रसभेदात् ॥

(षोडशधा तद्द्वयतो फलवृत्तिर्नैकधा तु रसभेदात् )

This is criticised by Lollaṭa and finally by Abhinava thus :

तदत्र केचिदाहुः—सात्त्वत्यां कैशिकी शक्यान्तर्भावा । तथापि रञ्जकत्वातिशयात् पृथगुपात्ता [ त् ] स्वरवत् मुखाभिनयश्च(यवच्च) । न चान्यायवृत्तौ पुमर्थचतुष्कयोगोपपत्तिः(ः), विप्रतिषेधात् । फलवृत्तौ च वृत्तिसामान्यलक्षणं व्यापाररूपत्वं यदि नास्ति, तत् कथं वृत्तित्वम् ? अस्ति चेत् वाक्चेष्टातिरिक्तो मानसो व्यापारः न कश्चिच्छोकसिद्ध इति सूक्ष्मो वाक्चेष्टागत एवोपेत्यः(यः) । ततश्च मरणमूर्च्छादावपि प्राणात्म(प्राणनात्म)कायीयव्यापारसम्भव एव, यदनुस्मरणे लयतालगानादि प्रवर्तते । सदेवन(यद्येव)मपि च मूर्च्छादौ नास्तीति शक्यं वक्तुमिति, फलवृत्तिरपि तत्र कथम् ? तस्मात्तत्र सात्त्वत्येव वृत्तिः । यदि बाहुल्यापेक्षया वृत्तिमयं काव्यमिति व्यवहारः (सः) रूपकसमुदायापेक्षा(क्षया) ; खण्डस्यावृत्तिकत्वेऽपि समुदितस्य रूपकस्य वृत्तिमयत्वात् ॥

यत् शकलीगर्भमतानुसारिणो मूर्च्छादावात्मसंविक्तिलक्षणां पञ्चमीं वृत्तिं सकलकार्यनिवृत्त्यनुमाया(मेय)मूर्च्छादनाकर्मिणा(दशकर्मिणा) अनुभवेन च फलेन अविच्छिन्न-आत्मव्यापार-रूपां मन्यन्ते, न च परिस्पन्द एवैको व्यापार इति मनसिकृत्य—

तन्मतं भावानां बाह्यग्रहणस्वभावत्वमुपपादयद्भिः भट्टोल्लुटप्रभृतिभिः पराकृतमिति (न फलवृत्तिर्वा आत्मसंविक्तिर्वा) काचिदिति चतस्र एव वृत्तयः ॥

वयं तु ब्रूमः<sup>1</sup>—कोऽयमस्थानसन्त्रासः ? यत्किञ्चिदिह नाट्ये समस्ति तच्चेदू वृत्तिष्वन्तर्भाव्यम्, तदा भवेदेतत् । न चैवम् । रङ्गो हि नाम का वृत्तिः ? मृदङ्गपणववंशाद्याः तद् वृत्तिरपि हि भवेत् । तस्मात् व्यापारः पुमर्थसाधको वृत्तिः । स च सर्वत्र वा वर्ण्यते इत्यतो वृत्तः(त्तिः) काव्यस्य मातृका इति, न किञ्चिद्व्यापारशून्यं वर्णनीयमस्ति । मदमूर्च्छादिवर्णनायामपि मनो-व्यापारस्य सात्त्वत्याख्यस्य संभवात्, करुणादावपि च मनोदेहव्यापारसंभवेऽपि बाहुल्येन वाग्व्यापारसंभवात् भारतीवृत्तिरुच्यते । वृत्त्यन्तरनिषेधस्तु तदङ्गानामपरिपूर्णत्वात् । न च कायवाङ्मनसव्यापारं तद्वैचित्र्यं वा अन्तरेण अन्यत्(न्यः) कश्चित् व्यापारः संभवतीत्यसकृदुक्तम् । तस्मात् करुणप्रधाने भारतीवृत्तिः परिदेवितबाहुल्यात् ॥ \* \* \* \*

एवं प्रहसनभाणयोरपि वाग्व्यापारप्राधान्यादेव भारतीवृत्तिः । मूर्च्छादौ तु व्यापाराभावे वृत्त्यभाव एव । न हि सर्वं नाट्यं वृत्तिब्रह्मतया समर्थनीयमिति अलमतिप्रसक्त्या ॥

Abhi. Bhā., Mad. MS., Vol. II, pp. 479-481.

Elsewhere he says as regards this same discussion :

“मृतस्तु ताम्रपाषाणप्रख्यः, न तस्य वृत्तिकथनेन किञ्चित् । स परमन्यस्य शोकादिविभावनां ( or तां ) प्रतिपद्यमानः काव्याङ्गतामेति । \* \* \* तेन ‘पञ्च वृत्तयो, द्वे’ वृत्ती, इत्यादयो सं(असं)विदितभरताभि-प्रायपण्डितसद्वदयमन्यपरिकल्पितसद्भावाः निरस्ता भवन्ति । एतच्च पूर्वमेवास्माभिः प्रदर्शितम् ।”

*Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 4.

The real position of Udbhaṭa, therefore, as set forth above is that he recognises only three Vṛttis and those three altogether new, *viz.*, न्यायचेष्टावृत्ति, अन्यायचेष्टावृत्ति and फलवृत्ति or फलसंवित्ति. But it seems in course of time, writers forgot the first two, the reason being that the analysis from the point of view of Vāk and Ceṣṭā which Udbhaṭa first gives is available in Bharata's scheme of four Vṛttis itself. The additional, *i.e.*, the third Vṛtti, the curious Phala Saṁvitti alone was long remembered by later writers. Udbhaṭa was known to have been the author of a new Vṛtti

1. The previous paragraph referred to Śaṅkarabhaṭa, his view and Lollaṭa's refutation of it. This paragraph contains Abhinava's criticism of Udbhaṭa and Śaṅkarabhaṭa. 'Vayam' refers to Abhinava.

called Phala Vṛtti. Later writers make a division in Bharata's four Vṛttis that Bhāratī is Śabda Vṛtti and stands apart while the other three are Artha Vṛttis. The additional Phala Vṛtti was classed in the latter list of Artha Vṛttis. Further there seems to be also this slight confusion. The additional Vṛtti of Udbhaṭa, his third Vṛtti, which alone was remembered, was handed down as the fifth Vṛtti which circumstance places Udbhaṭa's position on a par with Śakalīgarbha's. Further 'Artha' seems to have been used as synonymous with 'Phala' in addition to being used in contrast with Śabda and thus Dhanañjaya says that the Āudbhaṭas recognise a fifth Artha Vṛtti meaning thereby the Phala Samvitti Vṛtti but which is not actually the fifth. Says the Daśarūpaka :

एभिरङ्गैश्चतुर्थेयं नार्थवृत्तिरतः परा ।<sup>1</sup>  
चतुर्थी भारती चापि वाच्या नाटकलक्षणे ॥  
कैशिकीं सात्त्वतीं चार्थवृत्तिमारभटीमिति ।  
पठन्तः, पञ्चमीं वृत्तिमौद्भटाः प्रतिजानते ॥

Dhanañjaya, strictly speaking, is wrong in calling Udbhaṭa's Artha or Phala Vṛtti as belonging to the class of Artha Vṛttis as distinguished from the Śabda Vṛtti, Bhāratī. For Phala Vṛtti is the Phala of Śabda as well as of Artha or Ceṣṭā according to Udbhaṭa. Secondly it is not correct to say that Udbhaṭa held it as the fifth Vṛtti. As elaborately set forth above, Udbhaṭa recognised only three Vṛttis.

Śāradātanaya repeats the mistake and says—

भारती सात्त्वती चैव कैशिक्यारभटी च ।  
औद्भटाः पञ्चमीम् अर्थवृत्तिं च प्रतिजानते ॥  
अर्थवृत्तेरभावात्तु विश्रान्तां(न्ति) पञ्चमीं परे ॥ Bhā. Pra. p. 12

The statement of Udbhaṭa's view here exactly corresponds to that in the Daśarūpaka with the same mistakes. There is an additional value in Śāradātanaya who, after referring to Udbhaṭa, refers to others, which has been above shown to refer to Śakalī-

1. 'Artha' in the word Artha Vṛtti here must be taken in two senses: (1) Artha or action as distinguished from the speech which is Bhāratī, the Śabda Vṛtti and (2) Artha or object, i.e., fruit, Udbhaṭa's Phala. Dhanañjaya does not explain the reference to Udbhaṭa here.

garbha, who held instead of Udbhaṭa's Artha or Phala Vṛtti, a fifth Vṛtti called Viśrānti meaning Ātmasamvitti.<sup>1</sup>

Bhoja must separately be considered for his treatment of Vṛtti. He wrote after the Daśarūpaka and before the Bhāva-prakāśa which latter work refers to him more than once. Mr. K. S. Ramasvami Sastri, in his Sanskrit Introduction to his edition of Udbhaṭa's K. A. S. S. with Tilak's commentary in the Gaek. series,<sup>2</sup> says that Bhoja, in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa recognises five Vṛttis following the view of Udbhaṭa ; that the fifth Vṛtti of both Udbhaṭa and Bhoja is called Miśra or Artha Vṛtti, which has not been mentioned by Bharata but has been refuted by Dhanañjaya and that Śāradātanaya reproduces the combined view of Dhanañjaya and Bhoja as regards Udbhaṭa's fifth Vṛtti in his Bhā. Pra. Now every part of this statement is wrong. Firstly Udbhaṭa does not recognise five Vṛttis ; secondly, as will be clearly seen presently, the Miśra Vṛtti of Bhoja, who recognises it as the fifth in addition to Bharata's four, is totally different from Udbhaṭa's new Vṛtti called Phala Vṛtti ; Śāradātanaya does not refer to Bhoja's Miśra at all.

Coming to Bhoja's treatment of Vṛtti, he recognises only the old four Vṛttis in the last chapter of his S. K. Ā. In the Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa however, the number of his Vṛttis increases by one. He holds five Vṛttis but his fifth Vṛtti is not that of Udbhaṭa or of Śakaligarbha or of any other writer, nor any new and original one, but is only his usual jumble of मिश्र. His fifth Vṛtti is called the विमिश्रवृत्ति, having the features of all the four Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc., which he also holds like Abhinava as covering the activities of Manas, Vāk and Kāya.

“मुख्यादिसन्धिषु व्याप्रियमाणा(नां) (नाय)कोपनायकादीनां मनो-  
वाक्कायकर्मनिबन्धनाः पञ्च वृत्तयो भवन्ति; भारती, आरभटी, कैकिकी, सात्वती,  
विमिश्रा चेति ।”

Śṛṅ. Pra., Mad. MS., Vol. II, p. 459.

The fifth, Vimiśrā, is thus described :

यत्रारभस्यादिगुणाः समस्ताः

मिश्रत्वमाश्रित्य मिथः प्रयन्ते ।

1. Ref. J. O. R., Vol. VI, Part II, p. 168.

2. Vide pp. 14 and 15.

मिश्रेति तां वृत्तिमुशन्ति धीराः  
साधारणीमर्थचतुष्टयस्य ॥

*Ibid.* p. 459.

The *Miśra* or *Vimiśra* *Vṛtti* has the features of all the other *Vṛttis* and is applicable to a case full of all the four *Vṛttis*. Thus Bhoja's *Miśra* *Vṛtti* will resemble the *Naiyāyika*'s separate colour called *चित्रवर्ण*. 'Artha catuṣṭayasya' at the end of the above verse refers to the contents of all the four *Vṛttis* and has nothing to do with the word 'Artha' in the *Artha* *Vṛtti* in the *Daśarūpaka*. There are certain situations like that wonderful crematorium-scene in the *Mālatī Mādhava* of *Bhavabhūti* where the action passes from *Adbhuta* to *Vipralambha*, from *Vipralambha* to *Bibhatsa*, from *Bibhatsa* to *Karuṇa*, from thence to *Vīra* and *Raudra* and again passes into *Vipralambha*—which necessitate the recognition of a *Citra* or *Miśra* *Vṛtti*. Further, a drama as a whole, with all its infinite and varied incidents, can be held to be only in the *Miśra* *Vṛtti*. It is really the variety and complexity of the dramatic texture that is most relishable. Says Bharata—

न होकरसजं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोगतः ।  
भावो वापि रसो वापि प्रवृत्तिर्वृत्तिरेव वा ॥  
सर्वेषां समवेतानां रूपं यस्य भवेद्बहु ।  
स मन्तव्यो रसः स्थायी शेषाः सञ्चारिणो मताः ॥

\* \* \* \* \*  
चित्राणि न विरज्यन्ते लोके चित्रं हि दुर्लभम् ।

विमर्दो रागमायाति प्रयुक्तमपि यत्नतः ॥ N. S. VII, 118-122.

The *Miśra* *Vṛtti* of Bhoja is for such cases as are praised by Bharata in the last verse above quoted. This point, this fact of our having in drama always only a complex texture of all the four *Vṛttis* is recognised by *Abhinava* also, as we saw above. But *Abhinava* will not create a mixed *Vṛtti* for this but will abide by the age-long rule of naming a thing by *Prādhānya*. *Śiṅga-bhūpāla*, in his *R. A. S.*, accepts only the traditional four *Vṛttis*, and following the same argument as *Abhinava*'s, criticises Bhoja's fifth *Miśra* *Vṛtti*. He says first that Bharata has not sanctioned such a new *Vṛtti* and secondly, that *Bhāratī* etc. have their well-defined places, that when one tries to find out the *Vṛtti* of a situation, he can have one of the four there and that a whole scene or



play is not said to have the Miśra Vṛtti but only to have that one Vṛtti among the old four which stands out prominently. The case is similar to that of finding the Rasa of a play. Many Rasas may be introduced in subsidiary themes like the Sañcāri Bhāvas but the main Rasa is only one in a play and never a मिश्ररस, Thus even as there are Sañcāri Rasas and one Sthāyi Rasa, so also there are Sañcāri Vṛttis and one Sthāyi Vṛtti.

“ननु मिश्रा वृत्तिः सर्वरससाधारणीति चेत्, न ; भारतीप्रभृतीनां नियतविषयत्वात् मूलप्रमाणाभावेन स्वोक्तिमात्रत्वाच्च ।

“—यत्र यद्वृत्तिप्रत्यभिज्ञाहेतुभूता बहवो गुणा लक्ष्यन्ते, तत्र सैव वृत्तिरिति निश्चयात् ।” p. 86. R. A. S. Triv. edn.

There is a work called Sañgīta Sudhākara written by one Haripāladeva, in the Mad. Govt. Ori. Mss. Library (R. 3082). This work, which, though rather late, is yet very independent, gives the Vṛttis as five, the old four of Bharata, plus a new one created by Haripāla, viz., the Brāhmī Vṛtti. This Vṛtti is created by Haripāla for the new Rasa which he has introduced, viz., the Brāhma Rasa, which he distinguishes from Śānta. Śānta is the development of the Sthāyin called Nirveda whereas Brāhma Rasa's Sthāyin is Ānanda, this being the Rasa of Mokṣa, par excellence. Haripāla recognises on the whole thirteen Rasas and of the peculiarities regarding these Rasas I have spoken in a separate paper on the Number of Rasas to be published later.

शान्तो ब्रह्माभिधः पश्चात् वास्तव्याख्यस्ततः परम् ।

etc. p. 16, Chap. 4, Mad. Ms.

On p. 19, he gives his Vṛttis and their explanation thus:—

अधिष्ठाय रसानेतान् पञ्चाजायन्त वृत्तयः ।

कैशिक्यारभटी ब्राह्मी सात्वती भारती तथा ।

\* \* \* \* \*

ब्राह्मी नाम भवेद्वृत्तिः ब्राह्मशान्ताद्भुताश्रया ।

ब्राह्मी ब्रह्मोद्भवा तत्र शेषा नारायणोद्भवाः ॥

In the story of the origin of the four Vṛttis in Chap. XXII of Bharata all the four Vṛttis rose out of the actions of Viṣṇu while Brahmā was a spectator of Viṣṇu's fight with the two demons. Now Haripāla creates the Brāhmī Vṛtti out of this spectator,

Brahmā. Brahmā was first fed up with the Bhārati and got Nirveda. Then he enjoyed as *spectator* (Ānanda) Viṣṇu's Kaiśikī etc. While seeing he was also struck with wonder. So Haripāla says that the Brāhmī Vṛtti is for the three Rasas' Śānta, Brāhma and Adbhuta. (*Vide also* J. O. R. M., Vol. VI, Part. IV, p. 348.)

*The history of Vṛtti in Kāvya.*

Above has been given a survey of the concept of Vṛtti in the realm of Nāṭya where it originated. But like many other things it passed into Kāvya also, experiencing many vicissitudes which form the subject of this section. If the concept is studied in relation to Kāvya, *i.e.*, Śravya Kāvya, in Alaṅkāra Śāstra, this is what we must logically expect. The whole field of Śravya Kāvya, even though it is not recited, is Bhārati Vṛtti. Descriptions of love, evening, moonlight, seasons etc., must be Kaiśikī and of war etc., Ārabhaṭī. Sāttvatī, if we accept it as the name of action, is as absent from Kāvya as Bhārati is present. Bhārati or the text of the whole Kāvya will be modified, according to the situation by Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī, producing two main varieties of Bhārati going by the names Vaidarbhī Rīti and Gouḍiyā Rīti. The concept of Guṇa must here be related to these. The two and the only two Guṇas necessary for classification are Mādhurya and Ojas, as characterising the two extremes of Śṛṅgāra and Raudra. The Mādhurya Guṇa, the Kaiśikī Vṛtti and the Vaidarbhī Rīti will go together on the one hand as distinguishing certain Rasas, Iti-Vṛttas and verbal expressions and similarly the Ojas Guṇa, the Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti and the Gouḍī Rīti will go together as characteristics of a different aspect of poetry. Guṇa will be the nature of the Rasa ; Vṛtti, the nature of Vastu or ideas or Itivṛtta ; and Rīti, the nature of the expression of the first and the second in suitable words. This, in brief, must be the simple and strictly logical position of Vṛtti in Kāvya. But, in actual history, its career is not so easily or so simply seen.

In poetics we have many concepts having the name Vṛtti. The only one Vṛtti with which we have nothing to do here is the शब्दवृत्ति, the significative capacities of words. The other concepts called Vṛtti are three, *viz.*, (1) Varieties of alliteration, अनुप्रासजाति (2) Varieties of compounded collation, समासजाति, and (3) the old Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc. of Nāṭya.

Bhāmaha, in K. A. II. Śls. 5-8, speaks of three kinds of Anuprāsa. He first gives Anuprāsa as the repetition of the same or similar sound—सरूपवर्णविन्यास and illustrates it by an alliteration with the sounds 'न्त' repeated. (Śl. 5.) In Śl. 6, he gives another variety of Anuprāsa as being held by others. It is called ग्राम्यानुप्रास and is illustrated by the liquid alliterations of 'ल'. In Śl. 8, Bhāmaha says that still some others speak of another variety of Anuprāsa called लाट्यानुप्रास which is illustrated by a repetition of syllables. Thus it is clear that Bhāmaha mentions three kinds of Anuprāsa, the first nameless, the second ग्राम्यानुप्रास and the third लाट्यानुप्रास. When this is so, we are not able to understand how, to point out the addition made by Udbhaṭa, both his commentators say that Bhāmaha recognised only two kinds of Anuprāsa.

‘भामहो हि ग्राम्योपनागरिकावृत्तिभेदेन द्विप्रकारमेवानुप्रासं व्याख्या-  
तवान् ।’ P. I. Rāja's L. Vr.

‘भामहो हि द्विविधं रूपकं चानुप्रासं च अवादीत् ।’

Tilaka on K. A. S. S.

Udbhaṭa gives three kinds of Anuprāsa (I-1 and 3-20), viz., छेकानुप्रास, अनुप्रास, i.e., वृत्त्यनुप्रास and लाट्यानुप्रास. Of these the last is the same as mentioned by Bhāmaha; first is new and as regards the second, it is partially available in Bhāmaha. The second is given as having three varieties in the K. A. S. S., the varieties being called by Udbhaṭa, Vṛttis from which this second Anuprāsa is named laterly as Vṛtṭyanuprāsa. He names the varieties or Vṛttis as Paruṣā, Upanāgarikā and Grāmyā. The last is the same as the Grāmyānuprāsa in Bhāmaha and is illustrated by a similar verse of 'ल—alliteration'. The Upanāgarikā is illustrated by an alliteration with the soft and nasal sound combinations like न्द. This is perhaps the same as the first 'न्त' variety of Bhāmaha. The Paruṣā is newly mentioned by Udbhaṭa as a case of Anuprāsa with Śa, ṣa, repha, ṭa etc., i.e., harsh sounds. Perhaps Pratihārendurāja and Tilaka take Anuprāsas one and two, corresponding to the Upanāgarikā Vṛtti and Grāmyā Vṛtti of Udbhaṭa, together as one Vṛtṭyanuprāsa and hence hold Bhāmaha to have given only two kinds of Anuprāsa, viz., Vṛtṭyanuprāsa and Lāṭyanuprāsa. Now, the appropriate manipulation of alliterating sounds helps Rasa certainly. The repetition of harsh sounds and the Paruṣā Vṛtti produced by their Anuprāsa

help Vīra, Raudra and Bībhatsa Rasas. The Upanāgarikā, using conjunct consonants with nasals and the Grāmyā also to some extent, help Śṛṅgāra. Therefore Pratīharendurāja explains Vṛtti as the use of such sounds as suit and suggest Rasa.

‘अतस्तावत् वृत्तयो रसाभिव्यक्त्यनुगुणवर्णव्यवहारात्मिकाः, प्रथममभिधीयन्ते । ताश्च तिस्रः, परुषोपनागरिकाग्राम्यत्वभेदात् ।’

The first Vṛtti is so called because of its harshness, the second because of its being rather refined like the City-bred damsel and the third, because it is soft like an unsophisticated country-bred damsel. The third Vṛtti, Grāmyā, is also called कौमला, signifying the other extreme of the first, viz., परुषा.

Ānanda is very well acquainted with these Vṛttis. He considers them as the result of the Guṇas, Mādhurya etc. in the collocation. (I. pp. 5-6.) In Uddyota three he again mentions the Vṛttis, Upanāgarikā etc. as such use of words as will promote the realisation of Rasa. He takes the Vṛtti in a double sense, in the sense of the Vṛttis of Nāṭya, Kaiśikī etc. which are to be considered in Kāvya also and in the sense of Upanāgarikā etc. The former he describes as ideas suitable or appropriate to Rasa and the latter as words suitable to Rasa (Vide Dhva. Ā. III, p. 182).

“रसाद्यनुगुणत्वेन व्यवहारोऽर्थशब्दयोः ।

औचित्यवान् यस्ता एव वृत्तयो द्विविधाः स्थिताः ॥ III. 33.

व्यवहारो हि वृत्तिरित्युच्यते । तत्र रसानुगुण औचित्यवान् वाच्याश्रयो व्यवहारस्ता एताः कैशिक्याद्या वृत्तयः । वाचकाश्रयाश्च उपनागरिकाद्याः । वृत्तयो हि रसादितात्पर्येण सन्निवेशिताः कामपि नाट्यस्य काव्यस्य च छायामावहन्ति ।”

Laterly also Ānanda makes the same distinction and mentions the two Vṛttis together.

“शब्दतत्त्वाश्च याः काश्चिदर्थतत्त्वयुजोऽपराः ।

वृत्तयोऽपि प्रकाशन्ते ज्ञातेऽस्मिन् काव्यलक्षणे ॥ III. 48.

अस्मिन् व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावविवेचनमये काव्यलक्षणे ज्ञाते सति, याः काश्चित् प्रसिद्धाः उपनागरिकाद्याः शब्दतत्त्वाश्रया वृत्तयो याश्चार्थतत्त्वसंबद्धाः कैशिक्यादयः ताः सम्यक् प्रतिपत्तिपदवीमवतरन्ति ।”

Thus Ānanda states more clearly that in Kāvya there are two Vṛttis, the Kaiśikī etc. being the same as in Nāṭya and the Upanāgarikā etc. which from being varieties of Anuprāsa in Udbhaṭa became रसानुगुणवर्णव्यवहार and thence in Ānanda became more generally रसानुगुणशब्दव्यवहार.

Abhinava also takes Vṛttis as not different essentially from Guṇas. He considers them as Anuprāsa varieties closely adhering to Udbhaṭa. He explains the word Vṛtti thus :—

‘वर्तन्तेऽनुप्रासमेदा आस्विति ।’ p. 5, Locana, N. S. Edn.

He calls the Paruṣā as Nāgarikā<sup>1</sup> and Dīptā ; the Upanāgarikā as Maṣṇā or Lalitā and the Grāmyā as Madhyamā and Komalā. Leaving aside the metaphors in the names, one can see that the Paruṣā suits Vīra, Raudra and Bībhatsa Rasas and can go with the Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti ; the Upanāgarikā and Komalā suit Śṛṅgāra and Hāsyā and can go with the Kaiśikī Vṛtti. Abhinava says:—

“नागरिकया ह्यपरमते (ह्युपमिता) अनुप्रासवृत्तिः शृङ्गारादौ विश्राम्यति ।  
परुषेति दीपेषु रौद्रादिषु । कोमलेति हास्यादौ । तथा—‘वृत्तयः काव्यमातृकाः’  
इति यदुक्तं मुनिना तत्र रसोचित एव चेष्टाविशेषो वृत्तिः ।”

p. 232, III. Locana, N. S. Edn.

Thus Abhinava considers both the Vṛttis as Rasa-ucitavyavahāra, the one, Kaiśikī etc., of Artha or ideas and the other, Upanāgarikā etc., of Śabda, words or letters. Therefore in Kāvya we will not have a classification of शब्दवृत्ति and अर्थवृत्ति among Kaiśikī etc. themselves. Bhāratī will not be a शब्दवृत्ति. It also becomes an Artha Vyavahāra or Artha Vṛtti. All the four are Artha Vṛttis and as distinguished from them, the Śabda Vṛttis are the three, Upanāgarikā etc.

If Śabda and Artha are thus distributed between Upanāgarikā etc. on the one hand and Kaiśikī etc. on the other, what shall Rīti stand for ? Ānanda does separately mention Rīti in Uddyotas

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1. Udbhaṭa knows their names only as Paruṣā, Upanāgarikā and Grāmyā or Komalā. Pratihārendurāja does not call Paruṣā as Nāgarikā. On the other hand, he compares the Upanāgarikā to a Nāgarikā damsel. Abhinava distinguishes Upanāgarikā from Nāgarikā, and calls the latter as Paruṣā. *Vide* Locana pp. 5 and 6.

one and three. In Uddyota one, he, as interpreted by Abhinava (*Vide* pp. 5-6), holds Ritis also as dependent on Guṇas like the Vṛttis, Upanāgarikā etc. But strictly speaking there is no room for Rīti in either Ananda's scheme or Abhinava's. For, Rīti can be रसोचितशब्दव्यवहार —such use of words as are appropriate to Rasa but that place has been given to the Vṛtti, Upanāgarikā etc. which have come to mean not exactly varieties of Anuprāsa but use of words suitable to Rasa. Therefore it is no wonder that we soon see in Mammaṭa the equation of the three Ritis, Vaidarbhī, Gouḍī and Pāñcālī with the three Vṛttis, Upanāgarikā, Paruṣā, and Komalā. Mammaṭa says that Anuprāsa is firstly of two kinds, Ccheka and Vṛtti Anuprāsa and that the latter is the arrangement of letters suitable to Rasa.

‘वृत्तिर्नियतवर्णगतो रसविषयो व्यापारः ।’ K. Pra. IX.

It is of three kinds, Upanāgarikā which is the use of letters suggestive of Mādhurya, Paruṣā which is the disposition of letters suggestive of Ojas, and Komalā which is the name of the use of other letters. Finally Mammaṭa says that it is these three Vṛttis that are respectively called the Vaidarbhī Rīti, the Gouḍiyā Rīti and the Pāñcālī Rīti according to some.

‘माधुर्यव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णैरुपनागारिकेष्यते ।

ओजःप्रकाशकैस्तैस्तु परुषा—कोमला परैः ॥

केषाञ्चिदेता वैदर्भीप्रमुखा रीतयो मताः । IX. 3-4.

एतास्तिष्ठो वृत्तयो वामनादीनां मते वैदर्भी गौडीया पाञ्चाल्याख्या रीतय उच्यन्ते ।”

K. Pra. IX.

‘एतेन रीतयो वृत्त्यात्मका इत्यर्थः ।”

Māṇikyacandra.

Hemacandra quotes and completely follows Mammaṭa. K. A. p. 204. He however does not treat of these three Vṛttis which are the same as the three Ritis, in the Śabdālaṅkāra section, but, with a slight improvement treats of them in the Guṇa section. Therefore he does not consider those three Vṛttis as Anuprāsa Jātis but merely as three kinds of Varṇa Saṅghaṭanā.

Jagannātha goes even a step further. After elaborately examining the letters suggestive of or suitable to the various Rasas, he describes the Racanā suggestive of Mādhurya. Here he actually makes Vṛtti as another name for Rīti and calls ‘Vaidarbhī Vṛtti’.

“एभिर्विशेषविषयैः सामान्यैरपि च दूषणै रहिता ।  
 माधुर्यभारभङ्गुरसुन्दरपदवर्णविन्यासा ॥  
 व्युत्पत्तिमुद्गिरन्ती निर्मातुर्या प्रसादयुता ।  
 तां विबुधा वैदर्भी वदन्ति वृत्तिं गृहीतपरिपाकाम् ॥”

\* \* \* \*

अस्याश्च रीतेर्निर्माणे कविना नितरामवहितेन भाव्यम् । R. G. p. 73.

In the history of this Vṛtti in Poetics, Bhoja occupies a noteworthy place. For he says that some have given this Vṛtti as of twelve kinds though mainly they are of three kinds, distinguished by three Guṇas, *viz.*, सौकुमार्यम्, प्रौढिः and मध्यमत्वम्. Bhoja does not call these by the old names Upanāgarikā etc. He applies those names to varieties of Śrutyanuprāsa, (*Vide* p. 196. S. K. Ā. II). He gives new varieties of this Vṛtti-Anuprāsa of old.

काव्यव्यापी स सन्दर्भो वृत्तिरित्यभिधीयते ।  
 सौकुमार्यमथ प्रौढिमध्यमत्वं च तद्गुणाः ॥  
 गम्भीरौजस्विनी प्रौढा मधुरा निष्ठुरा श्लथा ।  
 कठोरा कोमला मिश्रा परुषा ललितामिता ॥  
 इति द्वादशधा भिन्ना कविभिः परिपठ्यते ।  
 कारणं पुनरुत्पत्तेस्त एवासां विज्ञानते ॥ S. K. Ā. II. Śls. 84-86.

We see here, that though Bhoja does not here use the names Upanāgarikā, Nāgarikā and Grāmyā, he uses still the names Lalitā, Paruṣā and Komalā and to these three adds nine more. After illustrating these he refutes them all. He opines that such Vṛttis are unnecessary since they are not separate from either the Guṇas or the Vṛttis, Kaiśikī etc.

इति द्वादशधा वृत्तिः कैश्चिदा कथितेह सा ।  
 न गुणेभ्यो न वृत्तिभ्यः पृथक्त्वेनावभासते ॥ S. K. Ā. II. 87.  
 ‘समतासौकुमार्यादिगुणेषु भारतीप्रभृतिषु वृत्तिषु यथायथमन्तर्भावोऽव-  
 गन्तव्यः ।’ Ratneśvara.

Having cast away this Vṛtti, (*i.e.*, the old Anuprāsa Jātiś increased into twelve) Bhoja holds another set of twelve Anuprāsa Jātiś as being called Vṛtti or Vṛttiyanuprāsa. They are named on a geographical basis. They are not heard of elsewhere and have

little reality or propriety as regards their names. The names of these twelve Vṛttis are कर्णाटी, कौन्तली, कौङ्की, कौङ्कणी, बाणवासिका, द्राविडी, माथुरी, मात्सी, मागधी, ताम्रलितिका, औण्डी and पौण्डी. We don't know why Bhoja satisfied himself with twelve provinces, while, ancient India is traditionally described as having comprised fifty-six provinces.

Fortunately these Vṛttis disappear in later literature. Even the old Vṛttis Upanāgarikā etc. pass into obscurity and Hema-candra is perhaps the last to mention them. Writers laterly completely forget the name Upanāgarikā etc. as Vṛttis standing for such use of words as are suggestive of Rasa. They keep the concept of the four ancient Vṛttis derived from Nāṭya, Kaiśikī etc. and hold them, as Ānanda did, as the name of the development or delineation of such ideas, Artha, as are in consonance with Rasa. They are held as सोचित अर्थसन्दर्भ. Side by side with them are held the Rītis for रसोचितशब्दसन्दर्भ. Certain writers are satisfied with four Vṛttis and four Rītis while others increase their number. Bhoja has raised the number of both to six and has held both as two Śabdālankāras. He adds मध्यमकैशिकी and मध्यमारभटी to the four old Vṛttis of Artha Sandarbha and Āvantikā and Māgadhī to the four Rītis, Vaidarbhi, Goudī, Pāñcālī and Lāṭiyā. (*Vide* S. K. Ā. II. pp. 133-139.) Among the six Vṛttis, it happens as we expect that Bhārati and Sāttvatī have not got the meaning they have in Nāṭya. They are respectively put between the softness and sweetness of the Kaiśikī and the force and blaze of the Ārabhaṭī. Bhārati is Komala and Prauḍha and Sāttvatī is the same with more प्रौढि. In Vidyānātha we find that Bhārati leans to Kaiśikī as ईषन्मृद्वर्थ and Sāttvatī to the Ārabhaṭī as ईषत्प्रौढार्थ.<sup>1</sup> Vidyānātha also assigns these four to the Rasas thus: Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa are Kaiśikī; Raudra and Bībhatsa are Ārabhaṭī; Hāsya, Śānta and Adbhuta are Bhārati and Vīra and Bhayānaka are Sāttvatī. Vidyānātha accepts Bhoja's two additional Vṛttis also and considers them as the Vṛttis of all Rasas. (*Vide* pp. 43-45. Pra. Y. Bhū. Bālamānoramā edn.).

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1. Such change in their import could not be avoided; for these two cannot come into Kāvya with as much ease and propriety as Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī.



The Kaiśikī Vṛtti goes with the Vaidarbhī Rīti; the Ārabhaṭī with the Gouḍī; the former pair is characterised by sweetness and delicacy while the latter, by force and energy. Murāri thus couples the Kaiśikī Vṛtti and the Vaidarbhī Rīti:

बिभ्रतीं कैशिकीं वृत्तिं सौरभोद्गारिणीं गिरः ।

दूराधानोऽपि कवयः यस्य रीतिमुपासते ॥

A. K. VII, 101.

Coming to the last concept of Vṛtti in poetics, *viz.*, Vṛtti as meaning varieties of compounded collocation—this appears only in Rudraṭa. He says—

नाम्नां वृत्तिर्देवा भवति समासासमासभेदेन ।

वृत्तेः समासवत्यास्तत्र स्यू रीतयस्तिस्रः ॥ etc. K. A. II. 3-6.

Collocation of words are of two kinds or Vṛttis, uncompounded and compounded, असमासा वृत्तिः and समासवती वृत्तिः. The former is of only one kind and is called the Vaidarbhī Rīti.

वृत्तेरसमासाया वैदर्भी रीतिरेकैव ।

II. 6.

The समासवती वृत्तिः or the collocation with compounds is of three kinds. If the compounds are as long as possible, then it is called the Gouḍīyā Rīti. If there are compounds only of two or three words, the resulting Rīti is Pāñcālī which comes nearest to the Vaidarbhī. When the compounds are of five or seven words the Rīti resulting from them is Lāṭīyā. We hear of the study of compounded or uncompounded collocation as suggestive of Rasa under various circumstances, under the name सङ्घटना in the third Uddyota of Dhv. Ā. But there we do not hear of compounded collocation varieties or the uncompounded as being called Vṛtti or as directly producing the four Rītis. Above, in the preceeding section, we saw how a concept of Vṛtti, developing from Anuprāsa, soon called itself as the Rītis. Here we are given a relation of the Rītis to the fact of a collocation having compound words or uncompounded words. This fact lights up the history of the Rīti before Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha. As we find it in Daṇḍin, we see that Anuprāsa, Samāsa, Mādhurya, Pāruṣya, Komalya or some Guṇas corresponding to these two last Guṇas enter into the differentia of the Rītis.

Rudraṭa knew also the Vṛttis which are Anuprāsa Jātis. He gives, not three, but five kinds of them.

मधुरा प्रौढा परुषा ललिता भद्रेति वृत्तयः पञ्च ।

वर्णानां नानात्वात् अस्तेति यथार्थनामफलाः ॥

II. 19.

Namisādhū while commenting on this, mentions one Hari as having held these Vṛttis to be eight in number.

‘तथा ह्यष्टौ हरिणा उक्ताः—

“मद्वरं फरुसं कोमलमोजस्मिं निद्वरं च ललितं च ।

गंभीरं सामण्यं च अद्धमणिती उनायच्चा ॥”

The three Vṛttis added by Hari are ओजस्विनी, निष्ठुरा and गम्भीरा and perhaps from Rudraṭa and Hari it is that Bhoja makes a set of twelve Vṛttis which we noted above. Who this Hari is, is not known. He does not seem to be an Ālaṅkārika. This verse is from a Prākṛt Poem of Hari in the introductory portion of which, as many other writers do, Hari speaks of some topics of Ālaṅkāra. These Vṛttis, as Ānanda laterly said, are to be used, not with a vengeance but with discrimination, taken and often cast away with an eye on the Aucitya of Rasa.

एताः प्रयत्नादधिगम्य सम्य-

गौचित्यमालोच्य तथार्थसंस्थम् ।

मिश्राः कवीन्द्रैरघनाल्पदीर्घाः

कार्या मुहुश्चैव गृहीतमुक्ताः ॥

Rudraṭa, K. A. II. 32.

Thus the four Vṛttis of Nāṭya live in Kāvya as रसोचितार्थसन्दर्भ and as such stand in close relation to the Guṇas. They are on a par with Ritis which are रसोचितशब्दसन्दर्भ. Of the four Vṛttis, the Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī have had least or no change at all in Kāvya. As can be expected, Bhāratī and Sāttvatī, when they swam into Kāvya had to cast off their old meanings of speech and action of subtle Bhāvas of the mind. Even the Śabda Vṛtti, Bhāratī, became an Artha Vṛtti leaning towards the Kaiśikī as having less Saukumārya. Sāttvatī, as having less Prauḍhi, was made to mean a weak variety of Ārabhaṭī.

(Concluded.)

# HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

BY

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*NĪR* and *NĪRKAL* are mentioned by the author of *Viracōliyam*. *Nīr* is only the contracted form of *nīyir* or *nīvir*, and *nīrkal* is evidently double plural. Its commentator mentions that, sometimes, *nīyirkal* and *nīvirkal* also are used.<sup>1</sup>

*NĪM* is found in *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and it is stated in its commentary that it is a *ticaī-c-col*. It may have been borrowed from Canarese or may have been formed from *nī* through analogy with *nām*, *tām*, etc. This form is not found in any work written before *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*.

*NĪYIR*, *NĪVIR* and *NĪR* are mentioned by the author of *Naṇṇūl*. *Nīvir* may have been formed by the substitution of *v* for *y* between *ī* and *i* in *nī + ir* through analogy with *ivviṭam* (*i-v-v-iṭam*), etc. Since it is not mentioned by *Tolkāppiaṇār* and it is not found in the earlier *Sangam* works, it may have been of later origin.

*NĪNKAL* is a double plural formed from the plural *nīm*. This form is not found in works written before *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. It is the only form that is now very largely used not only as honorific singular like *nīr* but also as plural.

The following quotations may serve as examples for the forms mentioned above :—

*Nīyō peruma* (you are great). (P. N. 5.3.)

*Ninṇai y-inṇāturra v-aṇaiṇ kūrre* (the god of death who has unmeritoriously taken away your life). (P.N. 255.3.)

*Ninnoṭu puraiya* (to fight with you). (Pari. 11.67.)

*Ninakku irumṇu taṇmai* (your wonderful quality).  
(Pari. 23.3.)

*Ninṇiṇ ciṇanta niṇ tāṇai* (your feet which are superior to you). (Pari. 29.62.)

*Nīyiru m-irunilaṇ kaṭanta* (even you having crossed the wide tract). (Pattu. 131.28.)

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1. V. V. 9. comm. cf. f. n. under 4.1 *supra*.

*Varutu nīyirum* (you too better come). (Pattu. 100.143.)

*Nir...tolūmiṇē* (you better worship). (T. 19.1.)

*Nir tuḷaṅkal vēṇṭā* (you will not desire). (C. C. 745.)

*Aṭiyēṇ vantaṭaivanṇimē* (I, the slave, will resort to you).  
(C. C. 563.)

*Niṅkaḷ nōkkumiṇ* (you better see). (C. C. 1045.)

*Nīyir aivīrum* (you five). (Kampar. A. 725.67.)

*Uṅkaḷ kulattu tittōrkaṭhellām* (to all who are born in  
your family). (Kampar. K. 247.78.)

*What is the origin of the base 'UN' in the singular found in the medieval and modern periods?* It seems to me that it was evolved out of the base *niṇ* of the ancient period in the following way:—First of all we see the form *nun* used in the following sentences:—

*Nuṇa cīraṭi nōva* (to make your little feet suffer).  
(C. C. 1517.)

*Nunṭati-p-peyarkkum* (going to your residence). (P. K.  
i, 32.93.)

of *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and *Peruṅkatai*, respectively, works written between the 9th and 10th cent. A. D. *Nun* may have been formed from *niṇ* by changing *i* to *u* through analogy with the vowel *u* found in the plural base *num*. Then in collocations like *nuṅkō-nunṇai*, . . . (M. M. 283.100) which admit of being split up in two ways—*nuṅkōṇ + nunṇai* and *nuṅkōṇ + unṇai*, the latter alternative may have been adopted, and thus the form *un* may have come into being. Now that the first appearance of *un* is accounted for, it would scarcely be difficult to imagine how such a form may easily have become generalised. The following illustrations would make clear how such wrong splittings not infrequently serve as fruitful sources of new doublets in phrases involving sandhi between final *ṇ* and initial *n*.

For instance in *nōurru mūttu nāṇuntu kaṇṇā* (T. V. 1037.), the expression *nāṇuntu* is shown by Dr. Pope to be capable of being split in two ways as *nāṇ + nuntu* and *nāṇ + untu* though the earlier form *nuntu* appears in the sentence *nuntum paṇṭaṭṭerumai* (T. V. 6.187). From this it will be seen how the doublet *untu* arose beside the earlier *nuntu*. Similarly in '*putaḷvarāṇ polintā-nuntai*' found in the *Vipīṭaṇaṇ-āṭaikkala-p-paṭalam* of the *Yutta-kāṇṭam* in *Kamparāmāyaṇam*, the expression *polintānuntai* was wrongly split into *polintāṇ* and *untai* and the doublet *untai* arose beside the earlier *nuntai* recognised by *Tolkāppiyaṇār*. (Cf. Tol. E. 67.)

Forms with the base *un* are not at all found in the early works of Sangam period like *Puṛaṇānūṟu*, *Akaṇānūṟu* etc. They begin to appear in very few instances in *Maṇimēkalai* and are freely used in *Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam*, *Nālāyirappirapantam* and other works written between the 5th and 9th centuries and they have almost ousted the old forms with the base *niṇ* in the modern period. The following may serve as examples for the same.

*Niṇ peruntunḥam* (your great suffering). (M.M. 172.43.)

*Orutani ninṛay unṛiram aṛintēṇ* (you stood alone and I understood your power). (M. M. 50.96.)

*Unṇaṭiyēṇ unai niṇaintāl* (if I, your servant think of you). (T. 31.2.) (*unai* for *unṇai*).

*Unṇai yāṇ pirinta nāl* (the day when I gave birth to you). (C. C. 2100.)

*Unatu aṭiyē caraṇamē* (your feet are my refuge). (P. T. 150.9.)

*Unmēl āṭaram peritū* (regard for you is great). (P. T. 46.9.)

*Un maṇattāl* (with your mind). (P. T. 44.1.)

*Un aṭiyār-tāl paṇivōm* (we will worship the feet of your devotees). (T. V. 7.36.)

*Unakkē aṭaikkalam* (we are under you). (T. V. 7.73.)

*Unṇai-p-pirāṇ-āka* (thinking you a stranger). (T. V. 7.35.)

Similarly the base *num* may have been replaced by *um*. Then the particle *kaḷ* may have been added to the base *um* so that we have two bases *um* and *uṇkaḷ*. In modern times, the base *um* is used in connection with honorific singular, and *uṇkaḷ* with plural. The following may serve as examples for the same :—

*Umakku inta nāṭṭē vantu toṇṭarāṇa nāṇkaḷ* (we who have come to this country and become your devotees). (P. T. 93.7.)

*Umakkē āḷāy* (being your men). (P. T. 92.4.)

*Uṇkaḷ kulattutittōrkkellām* (to all who have been born in your family). (Kampar. K. 247.78.)

**NŌKKŪ** : The first syllable in *unakku* is dropped on the principle of economy of effort and *a* is made the guttaro-labial vowel *o* by the influence of the labial *u*, before it is dropped.

The existence of two different bases *niṇ* and *num* in the ancient period for the oblique cases respectively of the second

person singular and second person plural in Tamil is similar to that of the base *tvat* and *yuṣmat* in the singular and plural of the second person in Sanskrit. Also the element 'm' is found in the plural bases of both.

**COLLECTIVE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN:** Tolkāp-  
piyaṇār mentions that *ellīrum* is second person and should be declined as *ellīr-nummaiyum*, *ellīr-nummoṭum*, etc. (Tol.E. 192). Naṇṇūlār mentions *elīr* in the nominative case (Na. 287) and *ellīrnummaiyum*, etc. in the oblique cases (Na. 246). Besides *ellām* may be used along with the oblique cases of the second person. But at present, the use of the oblique case forms of *ellīrum* have died out and those of *ellārum*, the demonstrative form in *uyartiṇai* and its poetical form *ellōrum* are used instead. e.g. *uṇkaḷ ellāraiyum vara-c-conṇāḷ* or *uṇkaḷ ellōraiyum vara-c-conṇāḷ* (She asked all of you to come). Sanskrit does not possess a similar collective second personal pronoun.

3.213322. **DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS** are of three kinds :—(1) Remote Demonstrative Pronoun (2) Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun and (3) Intermediate Demonstrative Pronoun.

3.2133221. **REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN** assumes in the ancient period the following forms in the nominative case—*avaṇ* in masculine singular, *avaḷ* in feminine singular, *avar* in epicene plural, *atu* or *aṣṭi* in neuter singular and *avai* and *av* in neuter plural. (e.g.) *avvum piṇavum* (they and others) (Pari. 26.23). But in medieval and modern periods there are two forms *avar* and *avarkaḷ* in epicene plural and two forms *avai* and *avaikaḷ* in neuter plural. The oblique cases are formed by adding case-suffixes to the nominative forms without any change.

3.2133222. Similarly the forms of the **PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN** in the nominative case are *ivaṇ*, *ivaḷ*, *ivar* and *ivarkaḷ*, *itu* or *iṣṭi* and *ivai*, *iv* and *ivaikaḷ*. (e.g.) *ivvum uvvum* (these and those) (Pari. 26.23). The oblique cases too are formed in the same manner as in the Remote Demonstrative Pronoun.

3.2133223. Similarly the forms of the **INTERMEDIATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN** in the nominative case are *uvaṇ*, *uvaḷ*, *uvar*, *utu* or *uṣṭi*, *uvai* and *uv*. These forms are gradually going out of use.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar<sup>1</sup> says, 'Old Tamil usage, however, clearly indicates that, in its inception, *u* was a far demonstrative and it is used as such in the Oldest Tamil works.' He derives *u* from *ava* through the intermediate stages *ō* and *ū*. Then he says that 'the demonstrative element *u* is of comparatively late origin.' The examples he quotes where *u*, according to him, is far demonstrative are from works which are later than Tolkāppiyam. In Tolkāppiyam, *uvaṇ*, *uval*, *utu* and *uvai* are mentioned along with *avaṇ*, *aval*, *atu* and *avai*. If both the demonstrative elements *a* and *u* had had the same function at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, one of them would have died out even at his time. 'U' may have been used in his time to denote objects at a distance and *a* to denote objects at remote distance.

*Avar* and *ivar* were used as honorific singular and *avarkaḷ* and *ivarkaḷ* as plurals at the time of the author of Vīracōḷiyam (V. V. 9.). But now *avar*, *avarkaḷ*, *ivar* and *ivarkaḷ* are all used both as honorific singular and plural. The *a* in Tamil *avaṇ*, *aval*, etc., and *i* in *ivaṇ*, *ival*, etc. respectively have their parallels in Sanskrit, in *a* of *tat* and *i* of *idam*.

There was a collective third person plural pronoun which had the form of *ellāruni* in the nominative case and *ellārtammai-yum*, *ellārtammoṭum*, etc. in the oblique cases. The insertion of *tam* is almost extinct in modern speech. Similarly, *ellām* in the nominative case and *ellānammai-yum*, *ellānammoṭum*, etc. and *ellāvarrai-yum* and *ellāvarroṭum*, etc. in the oblique cases were used along with pronouns of the epicene plural and neuter plural respectively. (Tol. E. 190 and 191.) Even in ancient period the forms *ellārai-yum* and *ellāroṭum*, etc. were used in place of *ellānammai-yum*, *ellānammoṭum*, etc. e.g. *kaṭavulaḷ ellārkkum* (to all gods). (Ka. T. ii, 559.36.) In the later periods if they are used along with the nouns in oblique cases which they qualify, the nominative form itself is used. e.g. *uyirkkelām* (to all living beings). (Kampar. B. 3312.)

3.213323. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS are respectively *tāṇ* and *tām* in the nominative singular and plural. They are shortened to *taṇ* and *tam* in the oblique cases before they take case-suffixes. *Tām* also takes *kaḷ* in the modern period as other pronouns. The form *tāṇkaḷ* is now used as an honorific second

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1. "Āryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronoun" read in the Third All India Oriental Conference, Madras, p. 7.

person singular also, when it is followed by a verb of the second person plural.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar says that "*tan* was in its inception merely a pronoun of the third person, and that a reflexive meaning has come to be superimposed so as to overshadow its original sense to such an extent that it has now come to be called the Reflexive Pronoun"<sup>1</sup> From the examples he has quoted it seems to me that the reverse may have been the case; for since there were the demonstrative pronouns *avan*, *aval*, *atu*, etc., there would be no need for another kind of pronoun of the third person in *tān*. Tolkāppiyaṇār states that *tān* and *tām* are respectively used in the singular and plural. He has not mentioned that they should be used only in the third person; besides, from the context of the sūtras dealing with *tān* and *tām*, it is clear that he thinks that they could be used along with the pronouns of all persons and genders. Since the examples quoted by R. Swaminatha Aiyar are from works later than Tolkāppiyam, it seems to me that *tān* and *tām* were originally reflexive in origin and their use has been so extended that they are used even as demonstrative pronouns.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar traces *tān* to R. V. *tanu* and *tām* to *tman*<sup>2</sup> but in the present state of my knowledge, I cannot agree with him.

3.213324. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN: The forms of Interrogative Pronouns that are found in Tolkāppiyam are *yāvan*, *yāval*, *yāvar*, *yāar*, *yār*, *yāvatū*, *yā*, *yāvai*, and *evan*. Tolkāppiyaṇār says that *yāar* can be used as the logical predicate of masculine singular noun, feminine singular noun and epicene plural nouns,<sup>3</sup> and that *evan* may be used along with neuter singular and neuter plural<sup>4</sup> and also when the gender of the object that is questioned is not clear.<sup>5</sup> The oblique forms too

1. *Ibid.* p. 45.

2. *Ibid.* p. 47.

3. *Yāa r-ennum viṇāvū kilavi*

*A-t-tinai maruṅkiṇ mu-p-pārku m-urittē.*

(Tol. Col. 219.)

4. *A-t-tinai maruṅki n-iru-pār kilavikkum*

*Okku m-enṇa v-evan-en viṇāvē.* (ibid. 219.)

5. *Yātu-eva n-enṇu m-āyiru, kilaviyum*

*Ariyā-p poruḷ-vayir ceriya-t tōṇrum.* (ibid. 31.)



at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār had the base *yā*. In the medieval period *evaikaḷ* and *evarkaḷ* also were used. In the modern period the forms, *evan*, *eval*, *evan*, *etu* and *evai*, *evanai*, *evalai*, *evarai*, *etai* or *etanai*, *evarrai* have almost taken the place of *yāvan*, *yāval*, *yāvar*, *yāti*, *yāvai*, *yāvanai*, *yāvalai*, *yāvarai*, *yātai* or *yātanai*, *yāvarrai*, etc. Hence the original interrogative root was *yā*. But Tolkāppiyaṇār himself mentions an interrogative form *evan* and takes *ē* as one interrogative root and makes use of such words as *e-p-poruḷ*, *e-p-peyar*, etc. Hence it seems to me that, before the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār, *yā* may have been the base of the forms in the nominative case e.g. *yāvarum piṇarum*—(Pari. 55.8.) and *e* the base of forms in the oblique cases and that, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār, the base *yā* was generalised throughout e.g. *yāvarkkum cāyal niṇatu*—(Pari. 9.55.) and at the later periods *e* began to be generalised throughout e.g. *evanum itai-c-ceyvān* (any one can do this), *evarkkum itu eḷitū*, (this is easy for any one to do) etc.—(Colloq.)

Dr. Caldwell thinks that *yā* was the original form and that *ē* must have been corrupted from it. But since the root *e* is found in the form *evan* mentioned by him and *ē* is used as syntactic interrogative from the earliest times, it is also probable that *e* or *ē* may have been the original and *yā* may have been formed from it through analogy with *yān*, which may have been formed from the oblique base *en*.

In addition to these interrogative pronouns, there are three interrogative roots, *ā*, *ē* and *ō* which serve as syntactic interrogatives and are added at the end of nouns or verbs. e.g. *Avanā vantān* ? (did he come). *Avan vantānā* ? (did he come). *Avanē vantān* ? (did he come). *Avanō vantān* ? (did he come). *Avan vantānō* ? (did he come). Some of these as *ā* and *ō* denote mere question and the third *ē* denotes doubt etc.

3.213325. *RELATIVE PRONOUNS*: Tolkāppiyaṇār and other grammarians have not stated anything about relative pronouns. The purpose of the relative pronouns is served by the participles e.g.

*Uṇṭi-koṭuttōr uyir-koṭuttōrē* (food-givers are life givers).  
(P.N. 18.19.)

*Ceyvinai-k-k-etiṇṇa tevvar* (enemies who were against  
the actions done). (P.N. 6.11.)

*Nirayan kolḥavarōṭū* (with those who go to hell). (P.N.  
5.6.)

*Cērvāṇa i-k-kaṇṭāl* (if you see him who will mix with you). (T. 25.2.)

But in Maṇimēkalai and some of the later works the interrogative pronouns began to be used in certain instances as relative pronouns. This, it seems to me, is due to the adaptation of Sanskrit sentence form in Tamil. For instance, sentences like 'yātonṟu yātonṟu mūrttam atu aṇittam' (whichever is *mūrta* is *anitya*) are found in plenty in Maṇimēkalai. This sentence is exactly the translation of the Sanskrit sentence 'yat yat mūrtam, tat tat anityam'. The same idea may be expressed in Tamil as 'mūrttam ānatu aṇittam'.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar says that "the Sanskrit masculine *yāvān* appears to have been one of the earliest relative interrogative forms adopted in Tamil and other Dravidian languages". Two points are to be noted here :—(1) *Yāvān* is only a relative pronoun in Sanskrit and is never an interrogative, and it exists from a very ancient period; while the relative pronoun in Tamil is a recent introduction and *yāvaṇ* in Tamil was originally an interrogative pronoun; (2) Besides, if *yāvaṇ* was derived from *yāvān*, why should the second 'a' be shortened in Tamil? Again he says, "the interrogative *e* which appears initially in composition as in Tamil *e-p-peyar* . . . has apparently arisen from the imitation of such Sanskrit compounds and combinations as *yat-kāma* . . . *yatkarāṇa*, etc. This *e* is another of the earliest relative interrogative forms adopted in the Dravidian languages. It is possible that the base *yad* has also given rise to the Dravidian pronouns, *edu*, *edi*." This appears to me to be an extreme view. The form *etu* in Tamil is only of later origin. The corresponding form is *yāvatū* in Tolkāppiyam. The *e* of *e-k-kālam* is formed in the same way as *a-k-kālam*, *i-k-kālam*, since, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'the Demonstrative and Interrogative bases are built up on those bases in precisely the same manner and obey one and the same law.'

### 3.213326. PRONOUNS DERIVED FROM NUMERALS:

They are of two kinds, viz., *oruvaṇ*, *oruvar*, *iruvar*, *mūvar*, etc. which belong to *uyartiṇai* and *onṟū*, *iraṇṭū*, *mūṇṟū*, etc., which belong to *aṣṟiṇai*. The oblique cases of the former set of words are formed by adding the case-suffixes directly to them. In the modern period the forms *iruvarkaḷaiyum*, *iruvarkaḷālum*, etc. which are formed by adding the suffix *kaḷ* to *iruvar*, *mūvar*, etc., before adding the case-suffixes are also in use. The oblique cases

of the latter set of words are generally formed by adding the flexional increment *aṇ* between them and the case-suffixes. e.g. *onṛṇaiyūm*, *iraṇṭanaiyūm*, etc. The form *oruvar* was used at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār when the speaker was not sure whether the person he spoke of was a man or a woman. 'R' in *oruvar* does not denote plural number.

3.213327. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS: *ṭalla*, *ṭala*, *cila*, *ulla*, *illa*—these words which correspond to indefinite pronouns are included by Tolkāppiyaṇār in the list of *aṣṛiṇai* words. Evidently they are plurals. Their oblique cases are formed by adding the flexional increment *varṛu* after them and before case-suffixes. e.g. *ṭalla-varṛai*, *cila-varṛai*, etc.

*Palar* and *cilar* are not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār in the list of *uyartiṇai* nouns; yet he makes use of *palar* in the sūtra '*palararī collē* (Tol. Col. 7). They are found freely used in Puraṇānūṛu and other works later than Tolkāppiyam. e.g. *māynticiṇḍor ṭalarē* (many have died). (P.N. 27.6.) *ṭāṭṭum uṭaiyōṛ cilarē* (there are a few who have songs composed on them). (P. N. 27.5.)

The word *ṭira* also may be placed on a level with *ṭalla*, *ṭala*, etc. In the medieval period, *kaḷ* came to be added to it. e.g. *ṭoypporuḷ ṭirakaḷ* (other unreal objects). (C. C. 468.) *cilai-kaḷum ṭirakaḷum* (and other stones). (C. C. 2158). From *ṭira*, the form of *ṭirar* may have been evolved. e.g. *ṭirar vēṇṭu ṭulam* (land desired by others). (Pattu. 197.80): *ṭirarum kūṭi* (even others having joined). (Pattu. 232.518.) This too got the addition of *kaḷ* in the medieval period. e.g. *ṭiranta-v-akkulavikaḷ ṭirarkaḷ yāvarum* (those born infants and others). (C. C. 2834.)

3.214. NUMERALS: 3.2141. CARDINALS: According to Tolkāppiyaṇār, *onṛṇu*, *iraṇṭu*, etc. are considered *ṭeyar* when they mean one person or object, two persons or objects, etc.<sup>1</sup>. The number corresponding to *seven* is *ēḷ* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār, while *ēḷu* has displaced it in the later periods. There is a tendency at the present day to use the word *orupatū* in place of *ṭattū*. It seems this tendency existed even in the ancient period (cf. Tol. E. 471 and 472) and in the 12th century since it is found in the inscriptions of that period. e.g. *nūṛṛoru-*

1. cf. *Inaittena-k kiḷakku m-ennu-k-kuri-p-ṭeyarum* in Tol. Col. 168. cf. F. N. 10 in p. 87.

*pattēlum* (one hundred and seven). (S. I. I. iii, i. 72.13 :) *irunūṛ-rorupattum* (two hundred and ten). (S. I. I. iii, i. 78.5.)

The substantive numerals, except *onṛi* are sometimes used as numeral adjectives. e.g. *iraṇṭu maṇitarkaḷ* (two men). When they are used as adjectives, they are not declined as in Sanskrit, i.e., whatever be the case of the noun that it qualifies, only the nominative form is used. e.g. *iraṇṭu maṇitarai*, *mūṇṛu makkaḷāl* etc.

3.2142. *ORDINAL NUMBERS* are formed in Tamil directly from the cardinal numbers by adding *ām*, the shortened form of the verbal participle *ākum*. Hence we get the forms *onṛām*, *iraṇṭām*, etc. Similarly *āvatu* is added in place of *ām*. Hence we get the forms *onṛāvatū*, *iraṇṭāvatū* etc. Besides there is another form *mutal* for the first ordinal.

3.22. *VERBS*: 3.221. *DEFINITION*: Tolkāppiyaṇār states that *viṇai* does not take the case-suffix but is found generally denoting the tense also<sup>1</sup>. This is taken to be the definition of verb by his commentators; but it seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṇār did not intend it to be so, since the word *kālamotu* in the above sūtra suggests that the verb denotes something else besides time, and the word *niṇaiyunkālai* suggests that it is not compulsory that the verb should always denote time. This is borne out by the fact that the *kuṛippu-viṇai* or appellative verb like *kāṇakanāṭṭai* (you are the lord of jungle tract) (P. N. 5.3.) does not denote time. Hence, in my opinion, Tolkāppiyaṇār does not intend this sūtra to be the definition of *viṇai* or verb. Then one may ask what its definition is. I think that he suggests it by the name *viṇai* itself which means action. In choosing that term he may have had in his mind the statements '*tad ākhyātam yēna bhāvam*' (R. V. P. 12.5.) and *kriyāvācakaṁ ākhyātam* (S. Y. V. P. 8.46).

The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* also does not attempt to define *viṇai*, but suggests it by his word '*toḷiṛpaṭam*' in V.K. 1. The author of *Nēminātam* repeats '*viṇai-y-eṇa-p-paṭuṇa . . .*' (Tol. Col. 198.) But Naṇṇūlār seems to define *viṇai* as that which denotes *ceypavaṇ* or doer, *karuvi* or instrument, *nilam* or place, *ceyal* or action, *kālam* or time and *ceyporuḷ* or object<sup>2</sup>. This

1. *Viṇai y-eṇa-p paṭuvatu vērrumai kollātu*  
*Niṇaiyunkālai-k kālamotu tōṇṛum*. (Tol. Col. 198.)
2. *Ceypavaṇ karuvi nilaṇ ceyal kālam*  
*Ceyporuḷ āṇṇu taruvatu viṇaiyē*. (Na. 320.)

cannot be its definition since a verb cannot denote all the above six things but generally only action and time and person. It is almost certain that this sūtra is only an adaptation of the sūtra

*Viṇai-y-ē ceyvatu ceyā-p-paṭu poruḷē*

*Nilan-ē kālan karuvi y-enṛā*

*Inṇatar k-itu-paya ṛ-āka v-enṇum*

*Anna maraṇi ṇ-iraṇṇoṭu-n tokaii*

*Ā-y-eṭ ṭ-enṇa toḷin-muta nilaiyē.* (Tol. Col. 112.)

where it is said that, generally, eight things precede an action, i.e., *viṇai*<sup>1</sup> or *kṛti* mentioned by Sanskrit logicians, *ceyvatu* or doer, *ceyappaṭuporuḷ* or object, *nilam* or place, *kālam* or time, *karuvi* or instrument, *inṇatar* or the recipient of the result of the action and *itu payan* or the purpose of the action. Tol-kāppiyanār does not seem to intend this sūtra as a definition of the verb.

The author of Ilakkaṇaṭṭaṭṭam seems to have seen this defect in Nannūlar's definition of *viṇai* and also seems to have noted that the sūtra '*viṇai y-enā-p-paṭuva* (Tol. Col. 198) is also defective owing to his mistaken notion that it deals with the definition of *viṇai*. So he makes the addition '*poruṭṭuṭai peyarcci pulappaṭup paṭuvē*' to Tol. Col. 198. Hence according to him *viṇai* is that which denotes action and time and which does not take case-suffixes after it.

3.222. CLASSIFICATION : Verbs are primarily divided into two classes, viz., *kurippu-viṇai* and *viṇai*<sup>2</sup> (latterly known as *terinilai-viṇai*).

1. It is worth noting that *viṇai* in this sūtra alone evidently means *kṛti*. *Kṛti* is quite different from *kriyā*. *Kṛti* denotes the volitional effort of mind and *kriyā* denotes the activity that follows volition. All the commentators mistake the word *viṇai* for *kriyā* or *toḷil*, as may be seen, for example, from the statement of Cēṇāvaraiyar '*vaṇaimān enṇavāḷi, vaṇaitarṇoḷilum, vaṇainta karuttāvum*, etc.' and the repetition of the same by the author of Ilakkaṇa-ṭṭaṭṭam (I. V. 226, Comm.). According to their interpretation the meaning of the sūtra becomes, *viṇai* or *toḷil* etc., precedes *toḷil*. How can *toḷil* precede *toḷil*? It may be noted here that the same word *viṇai* is used in other places to denote verb and the word *toḷil* also is used in the same sense.

Cf. *Peyarun toḷilum pirintoruṇ k-icaippa*... (Tol. E. 133.)

2. *Kurippinūm viṇaiyinu neri-p-paṭa-t touṛi-k*

*Kālamōṭu varūm viṇai-c-col l-ellām*

3.2221. *KURIPPUVINAI* or appellative verbs are in the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār, those that are formed from the words denoting qualities as *ārralēṇ* (I possess strength) (Pattu. 346. 29), from compounds made up of a word denoting quality and a word denoting any limb as *neṭuñceviyaṇ*, (he has sharp ears) from words made up of a noun and a particle denoting comparison as *ponnannannam* (we are like gold in colour). (P. N. 84.2.), and the verbs *inrū*, *ila*, *uṭaiya*, *anrū*, *uṭaittū*, *alla* and *uḷa*,<sup>1</sup> the forms like *kuṇṭukattū*, etc., and *illai* and *vērū*<sup>2</sup> which are common to all genders and numbers.

The author of *Vīracōliyam* seems to mention in V.K. 11 that *vinaiikkurippū* corresponds to the *bhāvēprayōga* in Sanskrit. Since the *bhāvēprayōga* in Sanskrit is used only in the third person singular to denote the action alone as *sthīyatē* for *sthiti* and the *vinaiikkurippū* is used in both the numbers of all the persons and denotes not only the action but also the person and the number, his view does not seem to be correct.

Nannūlār adds to the list of appellative verbs given by Tolkāppiyāṇār the words formed from those denoting the time and place as *ōṇattāṇ*, *kāṇakanāṭaṇai* (P.N. 5.3.) and the word *uṇṭū*, and says that *uṇṭū* is common to all genders and numbers<sup>3</sup>. He also defines *kurippuvinaṭai* as that which can take only a

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*Uyartinaṭai-k k-urimaiyu m-a. rinaṭai-k k-urimaiyum*  
*Ā-y-iru tinaikkum-ō r-anna v-urimaiyum*  
*A-m-mū v-urupina tōṇra l-ārē.* (Tol. Col. 201.)

1. *Inrila v-uṭaiya v-enṇuṇ kiḷaviyum*  
*Anrūtait- tilla v-enṇuṇ kiḷaviyum*  
*Paṇṇu-koḷ kiḷaviyu m-uḷa-v-eṇ kiḷaviyum*  
*Paṇṇi n-ākiya cinaṭai-mutar kiḷaviyum*  
*Oppoṭu varuṇ kiḷaviyoṭu tokai*  
*Appār pattuṇ kurippōṭu koḷḷum.* (ibid. 220.)
2. *Munṇilai viyaṇkōḷ vinai-y-eṇcu kiḷavi*  
*Inmai ceppal vēreṇ kiḷavi*  
*Ceymmaṇa ceyyuṇ ceyta v-enṇum*  
*A-m-murāi nūrā v-ā-y-eṇ kiḷaviyum*  
*Tiripū-vēru paṭṭuṇ ceytiya v-āki*  
*Iruṭinaṭai-c corakumō r-anna v-urimaiya.* (ibid. 222.)
3. *Vēṇillai y-uṇṭaim pāl-mū v-iṭattana.* (Na. 339.)  
*Evaṇ-eṇ vināvinai-k kurippu ili y-iru-pāl.* (ibid. 350.)

subject before it and is not governed by any word in the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth or the seventh, case<sup>1</sup>.

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and other grammarians except the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* have followed the author of *Naṇṇūl*.

It seems to me that the form *uṇṇū*<sup>2</sup> (from the root *u*!) which may have been used only as the neuter singular like *iṇṇū* and *aṇṇū* at the time of *Tolkāppiaṇār* was generalised throughout so that it began to be used with all persons, genders and numbers from about the time of *Naṇṇūlār*.

The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* seems to think that the *kuṛiṇṇuvinai* which are formed from nouns correspond to the *nāmadhātus* (denominatives) found in Sanskrit. For instance, the Tamil appellative verbs, *ṭāmpaṇaiyāṇ*, *aṇṇṇū* are similar in nature to the *nāmadhātus* *puttrīyati*, *kṛṣṇāyatē*, etc. But it seems to me that they (*kuṛiṇṇuvinai*) are not so, though both are derived from nouns; for, *puttrīyati* means either he wishes to have a son or he wants to act like a son; similarly, *taṇṇu* means he wishes to perform penance; *mālāti* means it acts like a garland and so on; but *maṇṇē* in Tamil (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 722, 7), means 'I am the son'. Hence there is a great difference in *sense*, between *nāmadhātus* in Sanskrit and appellative verbs in Tamil. Besides there is a difference in the *form* too. Generally, one of the particles *kyac*, *kyan* etc. is added between the noun and the verbal terminations in Sanskrit denominatives, and such verbs are used in all tenses and moods. But in Tamil appellatives, the verbal termination is invariably added directly to the nouns and they have no tense-element in their forms.

Hence I may say that the appellative verbs form a special feature of the Tamil Language. Originally, they may have been participial nouns and later on used as logical predicates. Afterwards, they may have been included under verbs.

3.2222. *VINAI OR TERINILAIVINAI* : 3.22221. *CLASSIFICATION INTO SIMPLE AND CAUSAL VERBS* : *Terinilaivina* may be divided under two heads—*taṇ-vinai* or simple verb and *ṭira-vinai* or causal verb. It should be clearly understood here that *taṇ-vinai* and *ṭira-vinai* do not at all correspond to

1. *Poruḷ-muta l-āriṇṇuṇ tōrri-muṇ n-āraṇuḷ*

*Vinai-mutal mātṭirai viḷakkal vinai-k-kuṛiṇṇu*. (ibid. 321.)

2. cf. *Itai-p-ṭaiṇ kuruku m-iṇṇu mār-uṇṇē*. (Tol. E. 37.)

*ātamanēpada* and *parasmaipada* respectively as stated by Dr. Caldwell.<sup>1</sup> For, *tan-viṇai* denotes an action done by the person or thing denoted by its subject, while *ṭira-viṇai* denotes an action done by one other than the agent denoted by the subject. But in Sanskrit if a root can take both *ātmanēpada* and *parasmaipada* terminations, the former are used when the result of the action goes to the doer and the latter when it goes to some one other than the doer.

*Tan-viṇai* is transitive (*ceya-p-ṭaṭu-ṭoruḷ-kunṛāviṇai*) or intransitive (*ceya-p-ṭaṭu-ṭoruḷ-kunṛiya-viṇai*) according as it takes an object after it or not. In the sentence '*vaṛumai nōkkinṛū*' (noted the poverty) (P.N. 141.15.) *nōkkinṛū* is transitive since *vaṛumai* (the accusative sign 'ai' is elided here) is its object, and in the sentence '*cellāmōṭil cilvalai viṛali*' (oh *viṛali* with a few bracelets, shall we go?) (P.N. 64.2.), *cellāmō* is intransitive. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that the *tan-viṇai*.....are all necessarily as well as formally, intransitives<sup>2</sup> is not accurate.

The terms *tan-viṇai* and *ṭira-viṇai* are suggested by Tol-kāppiyaṇār by the words *tanpālāṇum* and *ṭiraṇpālāṇum* respectively in the sūtra

*Itu-ceyal vēṇṭu m-enṇuṇ kilavi*

*Iru-vayi nilai-y-um ṭoruṭṭ-ā kummē*

*Tan-pā l-āṇum ṭiraṇ-pā l-āṇum.* (Tol. Col. 243).

Peruntēvaṇār, the commentator on Viracōliyam respectively calls them *kēvalatātu* and *kāritatātu*<sup>3</sup>, while the author of Naṇṇūl uses the term *ēvalviṇai* for *ṭiraviṇai*<sup>4</sup>, perhaps not liking the Sanskritic denomination *kāritatātu*.

The statement of Dr. Caldwell that 'these verbs (causals) have been classed with transitives both by the native grammarians and by Europeans, and Beschi alone places them in a class by themselves and calls them *ēvalviṇai*'<sup>5</sup> is therefore incorrect.

1. C. D. G. 449.

2. *Ibid.* 450.

3. *Āṭinān kēvala-t-tātu; āṭtinān kārita-t-tātu.* (V. Tāt. 6, Comm.)

4. *Cey-y-en viṇai-vali vi-p-pi taṇi-varin*  
*Ceyvi-y-en n-ēva l-inai-y-i n-irēval.* (Na. 138.)

5. C. D. G. 455.



3.222211. *HOW ARE CAUSAL VERBS FORMED?*  
Tolkāppiyāṇār has not stated how causal verbs are formed. But in the literature of the Saṅgam period, the following forms of causals are found :—

Examples :	Quotations :
1. <i>uyarkkuvai</i>	<i>naṭṭavar-kuṭi-y-uyarkkuvai</i> (Pattu. 217. 131) (You will raise the fallen families).
2. <i>peyarkkuvai</i>	<i>ceṇṇavar aracu peyarkkuvai</i> (Pattu. 217. 132) (You will displace the sovereignty of the enemies).
3. <i>pōkki</i>	<i>kaivēl kaṭirroṭu pōkki</i> (K. 774) (Having sent the hand-trident with elephants).
4. <i>tolaicci</i>	<i>kaṭikāvinilai tolaicci</i> (Pattu. 218.153) (Having spoiled the guarded state of forests).
5. <i>kalippī</i>	<i>marrai yāmam pakal ura-k-kalippī</i> (Pattu. 236.653). (Having spent the remaining part of the day).
6. <i>tirutti</i>	<i>kōl tirutti</i> (P.N. 17.5) (Having reformed the scepture [rule]).
7. <i>cērtti</i>	<i>paṇṇuvali-c-cērtti</i> (Cilap. 337.108). (Having attuned it to a song called <i>paṇṇu</i> ).
8. <i>uruṭṭi</i>	<i>āli-tirappaṭa-v-uruṭṭi</i> (M. M. 61.76) (Having rolled the wheel so that it may become firm).
9. <i>ōṭṭi</i>	<i>alittōṭṭi</i> (Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII. V. G. 95) (Having driven after routing them).
10. <i>vāḷṭṭi</i>	<i>atan tāḷ vāḷṭṭi</i> (Pattu. 220.222) (Having praised its feet).

From these it is seen that causals are formed from *tan-vinai* (1) by the doubling of the consonant of the formative as in examples 1 to 5 noted above, (2) by the doubling of the initial consonant of the signs of tense as in examples 6 and 7, (3) by the doubling of the final consonant of the root as in examples 8 and 9 or (4) by adding the particle 'tu' to the root as in example 10.

In addition to such forms, the following forms are found in a few instances in Kuraḷ and in large numbers in the literature

written after the 5th century A.D. and in inscriptions of the same period.

<i>ulaṣṣikkum</i>	<i>ulaṣṣikkun cūtu</i> (K. 938).
<i>nayaṣṣittār</i>	<i>nayaṣṣittār nalkāmai</i> (K. 1190).
<i>āṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>āṭṭuvittālār oruvar āṭṭātārē</i> (T. 1229. stanza. 3).
<i>aṭṭakuvittāl</i>	<i>aṭṭakuvittālār oruvar aṭṭāṅkātārē</i> Do.
<i>ōṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>ōṭṭuvittālār oruvar ōṭṭātārē</i> Do.
<i>urukuvittāl</i>	<i>urukuvittālār oruvar urukātārē</i> Do.
<i>pāṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>pāṭṭuvittālār oruvar pāṭṭātārē</i> Do.
<i>paṇivittāl</i>	<i>paṇivittālār oruvar paṇiyātārē</i> (T. 1229.3).
<i>kāṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>kāṭṭuvittālār oruvar kāṇṭātārē</i> Do.
<i>ceyvittāṇ</i>	<i>tāmra śāsanaṅ-jeyvittāṇ</i> (I.A. Vol. 22, p. 71 M.M.P.).
<i>murruvikka</i>	<i>vēlvi murruvikka</i> (Ep. I. Vol. XVII. Part VII. V.G. 36).

*aruṣṣippānai kattaruṣṣippānai* (T. 17.4).

Here two points may be noted :—(1) In words like *paṇivittāl*, *ceyvittāṇ*, *aruṣṣippānai*, *vi* or *pi* is added direct to the root and (2) in words like *ōṭṭuvittāl*, *āṭṭuvittāl*, etc., *vi* is added to the causal forms *ōṭṭu*, *āṭṭu*, etc., of the roots *ōṭu*, *āṭu*, etc. Hence *ōṭṭuvittāl* *āṭṭuvittāl*, etc., may be considered as double causals. Perhaps, seeing such examples, the author of *Viracōliyam* said in V. Tāt. 6 that the forms like *āṭṭu*, *ārru*, are *kāritam* or causals and if *vi* or *pi* is added once after them, they become *kāritak-kāritam* or double causals and if *vi* or *pi* is added twice after them as *āṭṭuvippāṇ*, they become *kāritakkāritakkāritam* or triple causals. But he has failed to note that *vi* or *pi* may be added direct to roots to make them causals even though examples like *ulaṣṣikkum* and *ceyvittāṇ* were found before him.

Possibly to remove this defect Nannūlār says that *ēval* or causals are made by adding *vi* or *pi* to the root and *irēval* or double causals, by adding either of them twice or both once<sup>1</sup>, and does not mention triple causals.

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, though he agrees with Nannūlār that *ēval* or causals are formed by adding *vi* or *pi* to the root<sup>2</sup>, feels that the mention of *irēval* is absolutely

1. *Cey-y-eṇ vinai-vali vi-p-pi taṇi-varin*  
*Ceyvi-y-eṇ n-ēva l-inai-y-i n-ir-ēval.* (Na. 138.)
2. *Munṇa r-ōtiya mutanilai y-irutiyyin*  
*Vi-p-pi y-eṇ pavar roppatu taṇi-varin*  
*ēval vinai-mutar rerinilai vinaiyyin*  
*Mēvaru pakuti yām-eṇa molīpa.* (I. V. 44.)

unnecessary<sup>1</sup>.

The author of Pirayōkavivēkam prefers the Sanskritic term *kāritam* to denote *ēval* like the author of Viracōliyam and mentions, in P.V. 35, that causals are formed by adding *vi* or *pi*, and, in the commentary on the same sūtra, says that they are also formed by the doubling of the consonant of the formative. In the same place he imports the Sanskritic grammatical term *ñijanta* and composes a small sūtra '*vip̣pi ñicantañ kāritam ākum*'. He calls the forms *āṭṭū*, *ūṭṭū*, etc. '*sahaja-ñijanta*'. When the ordinary form like *eṭutta* is used for the casual form *eṭup̣pitta*, as in '*aracan eṭutta-v-ālayam*', he says it is a case of '*antarbhāvitani*'.

From this it is evident that the ordinary forms of verbs are also used in causal sense. The word '*taṭpu*' mentioned by Iḷampuraṇar under Tol. E. 76 which means 'die or make another die' is a fitting example of this.

The introduction of the terms *ñijanta* and *antarbhāvitani* by the author of Pirayōkavivēkam in Tamil grammar does not seem to be appropriate, since the term *ñic* denotes the causal pratyaya *i* in Sanskrit, while the causal elements in Tamil are of varied nature.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that, in the indeclinable participial forms like *koḷi*, *niṇi*, where the roots are *koḷ* and *ni*, the element *i* is considered by the present day Tamil Pandits to be the elongated *i* and to convey the causal sense. In order to determine whether it is exactly so, I give below a brief analysis of all the indeclinable participial forms found in Puranānūṟu and Pattup̣pāṭṭu.

Root.	Indeclinable participial form in which it appears.	No. of times in Puṛa-nānūṟu.	No. of times in Pattu-p-pāṭṭu.
(a) <i>ari</i>	<i>aṛi</i> (causal)	...	1
<i>aṛi</i>	<i>aṛi</i> (simple)	1	...
<i>kaḷi</i>	<i>kaḷi</i> do.	...	1
<i>kuḷi</i>	<i>kuḷi</i> do.	2	7
<i>taḷi</i>	<i>taḷi</i> do.	9	10
	(causal)	...	2
	(passive sense)	...	1

1. *Irukāl-ēvutal kūriyatū kūral-ām-ākalin*.... (I. V. 44, Comm.)

	Root.	Indeclinable participial form in which it appears.	No. of times in Pura-nānūrū.	No. of times in Pattu-p-pāttū.
	<i>paṭi</i>	<i>paṭī</i> (causal)	1	...
	<i>muṭi</i>	<i>muṭī</i> (simple)	3	2
		(noun)		
	<i>muri</i>	<i>murī</i> do.	1	...
(b)	<i>iru</i>	<i>irī</i> (simple)	...	1
		(causal)	2	5
	<i>uṭu</i>	<i>uṭī</i> (simple)	...	3
		(causal)	...	2
	<i>uru</i>	<i>urī</i> (simple)	...	2
		(causal)	...	1
	<i>uru</i>	<i>urī</i> do.	1	...
	<i>oru</i>	<i>orī</i> (simple)	4	1
	<i>keḷu</i>	<i>keḷī</i> do.	1	4
		(causal)	...	1
	<i>ceruku</i>	<i>cerī</i> (simple)	1	1
	<i>taru</i>	<i>tarī</i> do.	...	5
	<i>maru(vu)</i>	<i>marī</i> do.	...	1
	<i>veru(vu)</i>	<i>verī</i> do.	...	5
	<i>poru(vu)</i>	<i>porī</i> do.	...	1
(c)	<i>acai</i>	<i>acaii</i> do.	2	10
	<i>aḷai</i>	<i>aḷaii</i> do.	...	4
		(passive sense)	...	1
	<i>urai</i>	<i>uraii</i> (simple)	...	1
	<i>kaṭai</i>	<i>kaṭaii</i> do.	...	2
	<i>kavai</i>	<i>kavaii</i> do.	...	2
		(causal)	...	1
	<i>kuvai</i>	<i>kuvaii</i> do.	...	3
	<i>kai</i>	<i>kaii</i> (simple)	...	1
	<i>taṭai</i>	<i>taṭaii</i> do.	...	1
	<i>tuḷai</i>	<i>tuḷaii</i> (causal)	...	1
	<i>tai</i>	<i>taii</i> (simple)	1	1
	<i>nacai</i>	<i>nacaii</i> do.	1	3
	<i>nirai</i>	<i>niraii</i> (causal)	..	1
	<i>nilai</i>	<i>nilaii</i> (simple)	...	1
	<i>ninai</i>	<i>ninaii</i> do.	...	1
	<i>muṇai</i>	<i>muṇaii</i> do.	2	2
	<i>vaḷai</i>	<i>vaḷaii</i> (simple)	1	2
		(causal)	1	6
		(passive sense)	1	...

Root.	Indeclinable participial form in which it appears.	No. of times in Pura-nānūrū.	No. of times in Pattu-p-pāṭṭū.
<i>virai</i>	<i>viraii</i> (simple)	2	4
	(causal)	...	1
(d) <i>koḷ</i>	<i>koḷi</i> do.	8	7
<i>niḷ</i>	<i>niṟi</i> do.	2	3

This list shows that *aḷaṭṭai* is found in the indeclinable participles of roots ending in the vowels *i*, *u* and *ai* and in the consonants *l* and *ḷ*. It seems to me that it may occur even in roots ending in consonants other than *l* and *ḷ* since the form *uṇṇi* (meaning *uṇṇū*) is found in Ainkurunūṟū. But of the roots ending in vowels only those that end in *i*, *u* or *ai* take it.

Besides, it is seen from the list that their usage as *tan-viṇai* or simple verbs to their usage as *ṭira-viṇai* or causal verbs is roughly in the ratio of 2 : 1. Since the active form itself is capable of giving passive sense in Tamil, we need not discuss the cases where the passive sense is conveyed in some of the examples noted above.

In the examples under (c) and (a), we should carefully consider whether the final *i* is the element showing the elongation of the previous *ai* or *ī*, or is a separate element by itself. My opinion is that it is the latter; and it is the element that is added to roots to form indeclinable participles as it is in the forms *uraṅki*, *pāṭi*, etc. Thus, in the forms of the roots ending in *ai* as *acaii*, *ai* is the final element of the root, and *i*, the sign of the indeclinable participle. If that be so, one may ask, whether it is not necessary to have the intervocalic *y* between *ai* and *i*. The sūtra:

*Ellā molikku m-uyir-varu valiye*

*Uṭam-paṭu mey-y-i n-uruvu-koḷal varaiyār.*

(Tol. E. 141.)

clearly says that the insertion of the intervocalic element is only *optional*. Then what is the element in such cases that makes them causal? It is the context that makes the ordinary forms of verbs convey a causal sense.

The forms *koḷi*, *niṟi* of the roots ending in consonants mentioned under head (d) may have been formed thus:—*koḷ* (root) + *ī* (auxiliary verb, meaning to give) + *i* (sign of the indeclinable participle) and *niḷ* + *ī* + *i*. Here the root *ī* is added as an auxiliary to give causal sense. Thus *koṇṭū* means 'having taken' and *koḷi* means 'having given to take' i.e. having allowed

another to take. The cases where the root *ī* is used as an auxiliary are largely found in works of Sangam period, especially in Kalittokai. (e. g. *vantiṅku collukuttivāyē* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 420.19.): *pākaṇ vantiyāṇ kol.* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 429.10.) In these two examples, *collukuttivāyē* and *vantiyāṇ* only mean *colluvāyē* and *vantāṇ* respectively. Though *ī* generally gives causal sense, yet here it does not denote it like the *nic* in the root forms *cōrayati*, etc. of the 10th conjugation in Sanskrit. That such usage is common is seen from the statement in P. V. 35 Comm. that the word *tērrātavar* in the sentence '*naṭpātarērrātavar*' means only *tēṇātavar* and hence *tērrātavar* is a *kārita* denoting '*svārtha*.'

In this context it may be seen that other roots also like *taru varu* are largely used as auxiliaries without any special sense. (e.g.).....*tiritaru*.....(Pattu. 1.1) *cilaitara* (Pari. 76.48.): *tuyal-varūum* (Pattu. 7.86). Besides both *ī* and *taru* are used as auxiliaries in the same word. (e. g.) *inṅku vantittantāy* (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 583.4).

Then as regards *ī* in the forms *arīi*, *irīi*, etc. derived from the roots ending in *i* and *u* mentioned under (a) and (b), I may say that the auxiliary *ī* was added to them, when their final vowel disappeared.<sup>1</sup> In the later periods the forms *kalīi*, *uṭīi*, etc., have given place to *kalittu*, *uṭuttu*, etc. (e.g.) *kalittar karumaiyāl* (N. 56.): *tukilum uṭuttu* (N. 264), and *urīi*, etc. to *uruvi*, etc. so that the root is now considered as *uruvu*, etc.

Again the forms with *vi* or *pi* are not found, as far as I see, in the Sangam works earlier than Kuṛaḷ. What could have been the reason for the introduction of *vi* or *pi*? *Pi* and *vi* in such examples as *kalippi* (Pattu. 236,653.) and *koḷuvi* (Pattu. 353,324) where *p* and *v* are intervocalics may have been mistaken to be similar to *pi* and *vi* in the Sanskrit forms *dāpitaḥ*, *māpitaḥ*, *sphāvitaḥ* even though *p* or *v* is considered in Sanskrit not as a causal suffix, but the element added before the causal suffix *i*, and then such forms as *kuravittu* (T. 2.81.), etc. may have been used.

1. This point suggested itself to me in the following circumstances:—The addition of syllables to increase the quantity is allowed by Tolkāppiaṇār in verse and also in the use of vocatives. He has nowhere said that it is used to give the sense of indeclinable participle. The insertion of intervocalic *y*, *v* etc. is, according to him, optional. The roots *taru*, *varu* and *ī* are found in large numbers as auxiliaries in the literature of the Sangam

In colloquial Tamil, words like *pāṭa-c-ceytēn* and *kaṭṭa-p-panṇinēn* are used instead of *pāṭuvittēn* and *kaṭṭuvittēn*.

The formation of double and triple causals is a peculiar development in Tamil. It is not seen in Sanskrit.

3.22222. MOODS, VOICES AND TENSES: *Terinilai-vinai* has four moods, indicative, *ēval* or imperative, *viyaṅkōḷ* or optative and *eccam* or infinitive, and two voices—active affirmative and active negative—in the ancient period, and four voices—active affirmative, active negative, passive affirmative and passive negative—in the medieval and modern periods. There are three tenses in the indicative and infinitive moods, while there is only one in the imperative and the optative moods.

3.22221. INDICATIVE MOOD : 3.222211 ACTIVE AFFIRMATIVE VOICE: The verbs in the indicative mood of the active affirmative voice denote three points;—*action*, *time* and *person*. The element denoting action is evidently the root like *pō*, *niḷ*, etc.; the element denoting person is the verbal termination, *aṇ*, *āṇ*, etc., which will shortly be dealt with in detail; the element denoting time is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār; but the fact that he recognises such an element is seen from his statement that the past tense is sometimes used for the future and so on.<sup>1</sup> The later grammarians like the authors of *Viracōḷiyam*, *Naṇṇūḷ*, etc. make mention of them. What they are will be indicated after a detailed examination of personal terminations.

3.2222111. PERSONAL TERMINATIONS (ANCIENT PERIOD).

	Singular:	Plural:
1st person	<i>eṇ</i> , <i>ēṇ</i> , <i>al</i> , <i>kū</i> , <i>ṭū</i> , <i>tū</i> , <i>ṛū</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>aṁ</i> , <i>ām</i> , <i>eṁ</i> , <i>ēm</i> , <i>kum</i> , <i>ṭum</i> , <i>tum</i> , <i>ṛum</i> <sup>3</sup> .

period, and *i* is found as the sign of the indeclinable participles in *uraṅki*, *pāṭi* etc.

1. *Vārāk kālattu nikaḷuñ kālattum*  
*Ōrāṅku varūm vinai-c-coṛ kiḷavi*  
*Iṛanta kālattu-k kurippotu kiḷattal*  
*Virainta poruḷa v-eṇmaṇār pulavar.* (Tol Col. 241.)
2. *Ka-ṭa-ta-ra v-eṇṇum*  
*A-n-nāṇ k-ārnta kunṛiya lukaramoṭu*  
*Eṇ-ṇ-ē ṇ-al-l-eṇa varūu m-ēḷun*  
*Taṇ-vinai y-uraikkun taṇmai-c collē.* (ibid. 203.)
3. *Avaitām*  
*Am-m-ā m-em-m-ē m-eṇṇuñ kiḷaviyum*  
*Um-m-oṭu varūuñ ka-ṭa-ta-ra v-eṇṇum*

	Singular :	Plural :
2nd person	<i>i, ai, āy, ōy</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>ir, īr.</i> <sup>2</sup>
3rd person		
(a) masculine	<i>aṇ, āṇ, ōṇ</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>ar, ār, ōr, pa and mār.</i>
(b) feminine	<i>aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ</i>	epicene plural. <sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup>
(c) neuter	<i>tu, lu, ru</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>a, ā, va.</i> neuter plural. <sup>7</sup>
(MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIODS.)		
1st person	<i>eṇ, ēṇ, al, aṇ</i>	<i>am, ām, em, ēm, eṇkaḷ,</i>
	<i>kū, tū, tū, rū</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>ōm, kum, tum, tum, rum.</i> <sup>9</sup>

*A-n-nār kilaviyo t-ā-y-en kilaviyum*

*Paṇmai y-uraikkun taṇmai-c collē. (ibid. 202.)*

1. *Avarruḷ*

*Muṇṇilai-k kilavi*

*I-ai āy-eṇa varūu mūṇrum*

*Oppa-t tōṇru m-oruvarkku m-onrarkum. (ibid. 223.)*

*Āy-eṇ kilaviyu m-avarroṭu kollum. (ibid. 212.)*

2. *Ir-ir miṇ-n-eṇa varūu mūṇrum*

*Pallōr maruṇkinum paḷavarru maruṇkinuṇ*

*Collōr-aṇaiya v-eṇmaṇār paḷavar. (ibid. 224.)*

3. *Aṇ-āṇ al-ā leṇnu nāṇkum*

*Oruvar maruṇkiṇ paṭarkkai-c collē. (ibid. 205.)*

4. *Ar-ār pa-eṇa varūu mūṇrum*

*Pallōr maruṇkiṇ paṭarkkai-c collē. (ibid. 206.)*

*Mārai-k kilavi-y-um pallōr paṭarkkai*

*Kāla-k kilaviyoṭu muṭiyu m-eṇpa. (ibid. 207.)*

5. *Pāl-ari maraṇi n-am-mū v-irrum*

*Ā-v-ō v-ākuṇ ceyyu l-ullē. (ibid. 211.)*

6. *Onraṇ paṭarkkai ta-ra-ṭa v-ūrnta*

*Kuṇriya lukara-t t-iruti y-ākum. (ibid. 217.)*

7. *A-ā va-eṇa varūu m-iruti*

*Appāṇ mūṇrē paḷavarru-p paṭarkkai. (ibid. 216.)*

8. *Tāy-āy-un-tir-iruṇ cārriya-tirkaḷ-o t-irkaḷ-um-āṇ*

*Cāyāta muṇṇilai y-in-n-irappān-taṇmai taṇ-n-irappir*

*Rēyāta-tēṇ-eṇ-un tēm-ēm-un-tōm-ōm-umu m-ākum-eṇpa*  
*Vēyār-poṭiyat t-akattiyāṇār-conṇa mey-t-tamīkkē.*

(V. K. 6.)

*Kirāy-ninrāy-kirir ninrīr-kirīrkaḷ-ninrīrkaḷ-um-āy*

*Irā-ninraṇa-muṇṇilai-y-in-nikaḷcci y-itan-kattāṇmai*

*Kirē eṇ-ninrēṇ-kirē (m) ninrōṇ-kirōm-u*

*ninrōm-um-eṇrān*

*Terā-ninra-kaṭ-pava laṇ-tikaḷ-vāy-nar rirntilayē.*

(ibid. 7.)



	Singular :	Plural :
2nd person	<i>i, ai, āy, ōy</i>	<i>ir, īr, īrkaḷ,</i>
3rd person		
(a) masculine	<i>aṇ, āṇ, ōṇ</i>	<i>ar, ār, ōr,</i> epicene
(b) feminine	<i>aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ</i>	<i>ārkaḷ, pa, mār.</i> plural.
(c) neuter	<i>tū, rū</i>	<i>a &amp; ā.</i> neuter plural.
		( <i>ā</i> in the negative mood.)

*Eṇ* and *Ēṇ*: Of these two terminations, *eṇ* is more frequently used in the ancient period than *ēṇ*, and whenever it is used, it is preceded by a *cāriyai aṇ*. (e.g.) *kaṇṭaṇeṇ* (I found) (P. N. 23.17.): *vantaṇeṇ* (I came) (P. N. 158.20.): in the later

*Vāy-pāy-vīr-pīr-vīrkaḷ pīrkaḷ-ivai-maṇṇu munṇilaiyir*  
*Cāypāyvitum-etir kālam-itaṇṇuḷi-t taṇmaicollin*  
*Vēy-pāviya-toḷi vēṇ-pēṇ-vēm pēmoḷu vōm-pōm-um-āṇ*  
*Cey-pāviya-celum pōti-p-pīrāṇ-raṇ rirunturaikkē. (ibid.8.)*  
*Ku-tu-tu-rū eṇṇuṇ kurriya lukaramōṭu*  
*Al-aṇ eṇ-ēṇ āku m-irra*  
*Iru-tinai mu-k-kūr r-orumait-t taṇmai. (Na. 331.)*  
*Am-ām eṇṇaṇa munṇilai y-ārai-yum*  
*Em-ēm ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-ārai-y-um*  
*Um-ūr ka-ṭa-ta-ra iru-pā l-ārai-y-um*  
*Tannoṭu paṭukkun taṇmai-p paṇmai. (ibid. 332.)*  
*Ai-āy ikara v-irra mūṇṇum*  
*Evaḷin varū m-ellā v-irravum*  
*Muppā l-orumai munṇilai mōḷiyē. (ibid. 335.)*  
*Ir-ir irra irāṇṭu m-iru-tinaiṭ*  
*Paṇmai munṇilai miṇ-avar r-ēval. (ibid. 337.)*  
*Ku-tu-tu-rū v-eṇṇuṇ kunriya lukaramo*  
*Ṭal-l-aṇ n-eṇ-ē n-āku m-irra*  
*Iru-tinai mu-k-kūr r-orumai-t taṇmai-yum*  
*Am-m-ā m-irra munṇilai y-ārai-y-um*  
*Em-m-ē m-ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-ārai-y-um*  
*Um-m-ūr ka-ṭa-ta-ra v-iru-pā l-ārai-y-um*  
*Tannoṭu paṭukkun taṇmai-p paṇmai-y-um. (I. V. 237.)*  
*Ai-y-ā y-ikara vīrra mūṇṇu*  
*Mēvaḷin varū m-ellā v-irrō*  
*Ṭ-al-lā l-ēl-kā n-eṇṇu m-irravum*  
*Muppā l-orumai munṇilai viṇaiyum*  
*Ir-ī r-irra v-irāṇṭu m-irutiṇai-p*  
*Paṇmai munṇilai-y-u miṇṇu m-irra*  
*Aṇṇavar r-ēvalu m-ām-ēna mōḷipa. (ibid. 238.)*  
*Tāṇ-āṇ-un-tāl-āl-un tār-ārun-tārkaḷ-o t-ārkaḷ-eṇṇu*  
*Menām-uraitta pīrattiyam-ākun tātu-v-atu-v-un*

period *ēṇ* is more frequently used. (e.g.) *ukantēṇ nāṇ* (I praised) (P. T. 169.4): *ninnaṭāintēṇ nāṇ* (I went to you) (P. T. 169.5). These two are used in all tenses. *Eṇ* is used even without the *cāriyai*. (e.g.) *kāppēṇ* (I will protect) (Kampar. A. 232.28).

*AL*: The commentator on *Vīracōliyam* says that *al* is used to denote the determination of the speaker.<sup>1</sup> *Cēṇāvaraiyar* says in his commentary on the *sūtra*

*Ka-ṭa-ta-ra v-eṇṇum*

*A-n-nāṇ k-ārnta-kurriya l-ukaramōṭṭu*

*Eṇ-ṇ-ē ṇ-al-l-eṇa varūṇ m-ēḷum*

*Taṇ-ṇai y-uraikkum taṇmai-c-collē.* (Tol. Col. 203.)

*Tēṇ-ār-kulali taṇa-v-um-aṇa-v-un tikaḷ-ṭaṭarkkai*

*Āṇā-v-iṭappir roḷirpatam-ārirkku m-āyuta-riyē.* (V. K. 3.)

*Ninṇrāṇ kiṇrāṇ-oṭu ninṇrāl-kiṇrāl-ivai ninṇrār-kiṇrār*

*Ninṇrārkaḷ-oṭu-kiṇ rārkaḷu-ninṇratuṇ kiṇratu-v-un*

*Tēṇrāta-cir-niṇ raṇa-kiṇraṇa-v-un tikaḷ-ṭaṭarkkai-p*

*Piṇṇānikalkai tolir-patam-ārirkum pērttariyē.* (ibid. 4.)

*Vāṇ-pāṇ-um-vāḷ-pāl-um vār-pār-um-vār kaḷ-um*

*pārkaḷ-uñ-cir*

*Tāṇ-pāviya-v-atu v-um-patu-v-un-tattai y-attai-v-eṇṇa*

*Tēṇ-pāvūñ-collī vana-v-um-paṇa-v-un tikaḷ-ṭaṭarkkai*

*Vāṇ-pāṇ-maliyu m-etirvir-roḷirpata m-ārirkumē.* (ibid. 5.)

*Āṇ-ā niṇu-moli āṇpār ṭaṭarkkai.* (Na. 325.)

*Al-ā ḷ-iru-moli peṇpār ṭaṭarkkai.* (ibid. 326.)

*Ar-ār pa-v-v-ū r-akara mā r-irra*

*Pallōr ṭaṭarkkai mār viṇai-y-oṭu muṭimē.* (ibid. 327.)

*Tu-ru-ṭu-k kurriya lukara v-irra*

*Onṇaṇ ṭaṭarkkai tu-k kurippi ṇ-ākum.* (ibid. 328.)

*Aā v-irra palaviṇ ṭaṭarkkai*

*Ā-v-ē etirmaraiḷ kaṇṇa t-ākumi.* (ibid. 329.)

*Āṇ-ṇ-ā ṇ-iru-moli y-āṇpār ṭaṭarkkaiyum*

*Al-ḷ-ā ḷ-iru-moli peṇpār ṭaṭarkkaiyum*

*Ar-ār pa-v-v-ū r-akāra māriṇṇa*

*Pallōr ṭaṭarkkaiyum pakaru-man ṇ-avarṇuṇ*

*Mārai-k kiḷavi viṇaiyoṭu muṭiyiṇum*

*Mēlaiḷ kiḷaviyoṭu vērupā ṭinṇrē.* (I. V. 232.)

*Tu-ru-ṭu-k kurriya lukara v-irra*

*Onṇaṇ ṭaṭarkkaiyum a-ā viṇṇu*

*Palaviṇ ṭaṭarkkaiyum pakaruman ṇ-avan-uṭ*

*Tu-v-v-iru kiḷavi kurippir k-ērralum*

*Ā-v-i r-etirmarai-k k-ākalu m-uriya.* (ibid. 234.)

1. *Tuṇivu-p-poruḷiṇ-kaṇ taṇmai-y-orumaiyil vaṇ, paṇ eṇṇum irantu pirattiyum-ām.* (V. K. 10, Comm.)

that *al* is preceded by *p* or *v* and is used only in verbs denoting the future tense. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar adds in his commentary on the same sūtra that it is sometimes used in the verbs denoting present tense also as in the word *unnā-niṣpal* (I eat). The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar.<sup>1</sup> In the literature of the Sangam period, though *al* is generally used in verbs denoting future tense, yet there are instances where it is found in verbs denoting past tense also. (e.g.) *kaṇṭaṇṇ varuval* (I came to see) (P. N. 23.17) and *uvakaiyoṭṭu varuval* (I came eagerly) (P. N. 165.14). But in all the instances, the *determination of the speaker* is implied. Hence the opinion of the commentator of *Viracōḷiyam* seems to me to be more satisfactory. This may perhaps be the reason why *Tolkāppiyaṇār* has not mentioned the element that denotes tense signs and the particular terminations that are used after them.

*AN* : This is not mentioned by *Tolkāppiyaṇār* as a termination of the first person singular. But there are instances in *Puraṇānūru* '*uraittaṇṇ yāṇ*' (I said) (P. N. 136.22.) *yāṇum... vantaṇṇ* (even I came) (P. N. 154.7.) where *aṇ* is so used. Similar examples are found in later literature also. (e.g.) *ceykuvaṇ tavam eṇa* (that I will do penance) (M. M. 50.182.). These examples may have induced the author of *Viracōḷiyam* to state that *aṇ* along with *p* or *v* as *paṇ* or *vaṇ* is the first person singular termination.<sup>2</sup>

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* says that *aṇ* is used in verbs denoting future tense.<sup>3</sup> But the example *uraittaṇṇ* cited above denotes only past tense. Hence the opinion of the author of *Viracōḷiyam* seems to me to be more satisfactory.

*WHAT MAY BE THE ORIGIN OF THIS AN* ? This may be identical with *aṇ* of the third person singular masculine. Since there is sometimes a tendency to use third person to denote the speaker himself possibly out of modesty, this may have been originally used to denote first person in *sense* though, in *form*, it may have been taken as third person singular masculine, and afterwards the form itself may have been mistaken for that

1. *Unpal, varuval eṇa varum al-i-irru-t : taṇmai-y-orumai-murru-c-collum...* etirkālam-parri varum. (I. V. 237, Comm.)

2. *Taṇmai-t-tuṇivā m-orumai-vaṇ-pana...* (V. K. 10.)

3. *Kūruvaṇ eṇa varum aṇ-n-irru-t taṇmai-y-orumai-murru-c-collum* etirkālam-parri varum. (I. V. 237, Comm.)

of the first person. Or the third personal termination *an* itself may have been used originally both for the third and the first person at the beginning of the formation of the language and these instances may be the survivals of such pre-historic usage; for, if we observe the growth of language in children, it is seen that it takes a long time for them to grasp the idea of 'I' and so they generally refer to themselves only in the third person. Or *al* mentioned above may have been metamorphosed into *an* as the case-suffixes *ān* and *in* to *āl* and *il* respectively. cf. 3.213233 and 3.213234 *supra*.

*Kū, Ṭū, Tū, Rū* : Of these four *ṭū, tū* and *rū* belong not only to the first person singular, but also to the third person neuter. Wherever these are used, they are not preceded by the tense signs unlike the terminations *en, ēn*, etc. Hence it seems to me that these forms may have come into existence by cutting off *ēn, ān, ar*, etc. from *unṭēn, tantēn, cenṛēn, unṭān, tantān, cenṛān, unṭār, tantār, cenṛār*, etc. as in Malayālam, since the meaning of *ēn, ān*, and *ār* are expressed by their subjects *yān* or *nān, avan* and *avar* respectively and may have been at some time used in all the persons and numbers, but later on restricted to the first person singular and the third person neuter singular. Similarly the form *unḱū* may have been evolved out of *unḱēn* and may have been restricted to the first person singular.

Ḵampūraṇar thinks that the forms *unḱū, unṭū, vantū* and *cērū* (Tol. Col. 203, Ḵam.) are used only in the future tense. Naṇṇūlār says in Na. 145 that *rū* and *tū* denote the past and the future, *ṭū*, the past and *kū*, the future tense. Cēṇāvaraiyar agrees with Ḵampūraṇar. Naccinārkkiniyar states with caution that all the four *mostly* denote the future tense. The author of Ḵakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Ḵampūraṇar. (I. V. 50.)

*Am, Ām, Em, Ēm, Ēṅkal, Ōm* : Of these, the first four are generally used in all periods, while the fifth, which is evidently a double plural termination, in the medieval period and the last in the medieval and modern periods. *Ōm* may have sprung from *ām* by changing *ā* to *ō* through analogy with the formations *vanṭōn, vanṭōl, vanṭōr* and *vanṭōy*.

The following may serve as examples for most of the terminations mentioned above:—*unḱuvam* (we will eat) (P. N. 136,26.): *ēttukam* (we will praise) (P. N. 161,32.): *kūrurām* (we will narrate) (Kampar. B. 26,1.): *uṭai-y-ēm* (we have) (P. N.

112,2): *uṇṭēṇkaḷ* (we ate) (C. C. 1795.): *tantōm* (we gave) *vēṇṭōm* (we do not pray for) (P. T. 195, 5).

These terminations are like *eṇ*, *ēṇ*, etc. preceded by the tense signs.

Ḵampūraṇar, Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar mention that *ām* and *ōm* are used when the subject denotes the speaker and the person spoken to, or the speaker, the person spoken to and a third person, and *em* and *ēm* when it denotes the speaker and a third party.<sup>1</sup> Naṇṇūlār says the same, but adds *ōm* also to the latter list.<sup>2</sup> The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with Naṇṇūlār.<sup>3</sup> The author of *Vīracōliyam* mentions only *ēm* and *ōm*. The following may serve as examples for the same :—

*Payil pūntaṇṭalai-p-paṭarkuvam* (Cilap. 258,67.); here *paṭarkuvam* means 'let her, you and me go'.

*Ēval ceytuṇaiivarēm yāṇkaḷ* (Kampar. K. 175.14.); here *ēval-ceytuṇaiivarēm* means 'let me and others serve you'.

*Varikku-k-kūru ceyvārkaḷukkum conṇōm* (S. I. I. iii, i, 44-5); here *conṇōm* does not include the person spoken to.

In colloquial speech of the modern days, only the terminations *ōm* and *ēṅga* or *ēṅgō*, the modified forms of *ēṇkaḷ* are used. *Ēṅga* or *ēṅgō* are used only by uneducated people. M. J. Vinson mentions only the latter form. (J. A. Dixie Serie Tome 17, p. 189.)

*Kum, Ṭum, Tum, Rum*: Whatever is said of *kū*, *ṭū*, *tū*, and *rū* applies to these four. Evidently, these are formed from *kū*, *ṭū*, *tū* and *rū* by the addition of the pluralising particle *m*; (e.g.) *kāraṇaṇ kūrutum* (we shall state the reasons) (T. 3.3).

*I, ai, āy, ōy*: Of these terminations, *i* and *ai* are more frequently used in the ancient period, while *āy* in the later periods; the form *ōy* is generally used in literature. In colloquial speech only the termination *āy* is now frequently used. (e.g.) *varaiti*

1. *Am ām eṇpaṇa munṇinṇārai uḷappaṭukkum; tamar-āya-vali paṭarkkai-y-ārai-y-um uḷappaṭukkum. Em ēm eṇpaṇa paṭarkkaiyārai uḷappaṭukkum.* (Tol. Col. 202, Cēṇā.)

2. *Am-ām eṇpaṇa munṇilai y-ārai-yum*  
*Em-ēm ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-ārai-yum.* (Na. 332.)

3. ....  
*Am-m-ā miṇṇa munṇilai y-ārai-yum*  
*Em-m-ē m-ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-ārai-yum....* (I. V. 237.)

(you classify) (P. N. 8,8): *varuti* (you come) (P.N. 8.8.): *paṭiyimai* (you made them rest) (P.N. 15.10.): *eri ūṭṭimai* (you set fires (P.N. 16,17.): *ollāy* (you will not desire) (P. N. 31.6.): *ūlāy* (you will blow) (P.T. 160.6 to 10.): *koṭuttōy* (you gave) (P.N. 2,16). [The author of Viracōḷiyam mentions only *āy*.]

*Ir, īr, īrkaḷ*: *Ir* and *īr* are generally used in the literature of all periods. In the medieval and modern periods, the double plural terminations began to be used. (e. g.) *celkuvīr* (you will go) (Cilap. 295,91.): *paṭarīr* (you traverse) (Cilap. 295,87.): *vantīrkaḷ* (you have come) (colloq.) *ir* is practically extinct. [The author of Viracōḷiyam mentions only *īr* and *īrkaḷ*.] In the colloquial speech at the present day, *īr* is used in the honorific singular alone and *īrkaḷ*, *īnga* and *īngō* are used in honorific singular and plural. The forms *īnga* and *īngō* are used only by uneducated people. They are evidently the modified forms of *īrkaḷ*. The substitution of *ṇ* for *r* may be due to the principle of economy of effort, since it is easier to pronounce *ṇ* before *g* than *r*; or it may be through analogy with *ṇ* in *vantēnga* or *vantēngō*. The latter form is mentioned by M. J. Vinson. (J. A. Dixieme Series, Tome 17, p. 189.)

*Aṇ, āṇ, ōṇ*: *Aṇ* is generally preceded by the *cāriyai aṇ* as *aṭṭaṇaṇ* (he killed) (P.N. 78,12). But it is used by itself after the roots (*uḷ, il*, etc.) (e.g.) *uḷaṇ* (he is) (P.N. 86,3). *Ōṇ* is used only in literature. (e.g.) *urantaiyōṇē* (he belongs to *urantai* (P.N. 68,18.) [The author of Viracōḷiyam mentions only *āṇ*. (V.K. 3,4, etc.)] but the later grammarians follow Tolkāppiyaṇār. In colloquial Tamil only *āṇ* is used.

*Aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ*: Whatever has been said about *aṇ*, *āṇ* and *ōṇ* holds good for *aḷ*, *āḷ*, and *ōḷ*. (e. g.) *alutaṇaḷ* (she bewailed) (P. N. 143.15). [The author of Viracōḷiyam mentions only *āḷ*] but the later grammarians follow Tolkāppiyaṇār.

*Ar, ār, ōr, pa, mār, ārkaḷ*: The first five are used in all periods, while the last is found only in the medieval and modern periods. *Ōr* is used only in literature. *Ārkaḷ* is evidently a double plural termination. As regards *mār*, I quite agree with M. J. Vinson that it is also a case of double plural termination. (J. A. Dixieme Serie Tome, 17, p. 189.) Verbal forms with *ārkaḷ* are very frequently used in Tēvāram and Nāḷāyirappirapantam. (e.g.) *pukalvārkaḷ* (they will praise) (T. 32,9). Hence it seems to be that the author of Viracōḷiyam

has mentioned *ārkaḷ* side by side with *ār*. But it is difficult to understand why he has not mentioned the terminations *ar*, *ōr*, *pa* and *mār*. The other grammarians have followed Tolkāppiyaṇār. In the colloquial speech of the present day, the termination *ār* is used in honorific singular and *ārkaḷ* both in honorific singular and plural. Uneducated people use *āṅga* and *āṅgō*, the modified forms of *ārkaḷ*. They may have had the same origin as *iṅga* or *iṅgō*.

*Tū*, *rū*: Naṇṇūlar states that *tū* and *rū* denote the past and the future tense.<sup>1</sup> Cēṇāvaraiyar's opinion is that *tū* is used after the sign of all the three tenses, and *rū* after that of the past.<sup>2</sup> Naccinārkkkiṇiyar agrees with the latter.<sup>3</sup> [*Tū* is not included here since Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkkiṇiyar think that it is used only in the appellative verbs.]

*A*, *ā*, *va*: Whenever *a* is used, it is generally preceded by the cāriyai *aṇ*. (e. g.) *paraintaṇa* (they have been scraped, (P.N. 4.3); *maruṭṭu-p-pōṇraṇa* (they are like horns (P.N. 4.4); but there are examples where it is used without it. (e. g.) *tōṇruva* (they will appear) (P. N. 4.5). *Ā* is used in the negative sense. Tolkāppiyaṇār himself has used it so. (e.g.) *uyirmey allaṇa molimuta lākā* (Tol. E. 60); but he has not expressly stated in any of his sūtras that it has negative sense. Naṇṇūlar, seems to be the first grammarian to mention it,<sup>4</sup> and the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam follows him.<sup>5</sup>

[The author of Viṇacōliyam mentions *aṇa* which evidently shows that he takes the termination and the cāriyai *aṇ* together as termination. He does not mention *ā* or *va*.]

A NOTE ON *KAL* in *ENKAL*, *IRKAL*, *ĀRKAL*: According to Tolkāppiyaṇār, *kaḷ* is optionally used as the pluralising

1. Ra-v-v-o ṭu-kara v-ummai-nikaḷ p-allavum  
Ta-v--o ṭ-iṇṇu m-etirvum.... (Na. 145.)
2. Takara-v-ukaram mūṇru-kālattiṇkum urittū;  
Rakara-v-ukaram iṇanta-kālattiṇku urittū.  
(Tol. Col. 217, Cēṇā.)
3. *Ibid.* (Tol. Col. 217, Nac.)
4. *Aā irra palavin paṭarkkai*  
*Ā-v-ē* etir-marai-k kaṇṇa tākum. (Na. 329.)
5. *Turu-tu-k kurriya lukara v-irra*  
*Oṇraṇ paṭarkkaiyum a-ā v-irra*  
*Ā-v-i ṇ-etir-marai-k k-ākalu m-uriya.* (T. V. 234.)

particle of *asṛiṇai* nouns. Its use may have subsequently been extended to *uyartiṇai* nouns also. (e.g.) *maṇṭarakaḷ* (men). In such cases it is added mostly to plural forms, thus making them double plurals. Verbal forms like *pōṇār* may be used as nouns also in Tamil in the sense of persons who went, and declined as *pōṇārai*, *pōṇāroṭi*, etc. To the latter type of forms like *pōṇār*, *kaḷ* may have been added and thus forms like *pōṇārkaḷ* may have come into being, in the sense of persons who went. (e.g.) *col-mḍalai colluvārkaḷ...neṭuṇkālam vālvārē* (those who compose songs will live for a long time) (P. T. 135. 10); here *colluvārkaḷ* means those who will say. Such forms were, perhaps, through confusion, treated as verbs. From such instances, *kaḷ* should have become generalised as a pluralising particle in verbs also. Thus *pōṇārkaḷ*, *pōṇīrkaḷ*, etc. are cases of double plurals. Double plurals of this kind are found frequently used in Tēvāram and Nālāyirappirapantam, the literature written between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D. But in the later literature they are not so frequent.

Here it would be very useful to bear in mind that ancient Canarese *gaḷ* and modern Canarese *gaḷu* which correspond to Tamil *kaḷ* are not used in Canarese verbs and that likewise Telugu *lu* (=Tamil *kaḷ*) is not used in Telugu verbs.<sup>1</sup> It would not be difficult to infer from this that the use of *kaḷ* as a pluralizing particle of verbs should have been developed as a special feature of Tamil during the course of its separate development, and that, prior to its separation from Telugu and Canarese, during what might be called the primitive Dravidian period, *kaḷ* did not find any place in the *formation of verbs*. It would also be interesting to observe that Canarese *gaḷ* or *gaḷu* and Telugu *lu* which correspond to Tamil *kaḷ* are occasionally used as the plural suffix in Canarese and Telugu, of rational nouns and pronouns<sup>2</sup> corresponding to *uyartiṇai* nouns and pronouns in Tamil, and that, in Cilappatikāram for the first time, the form *yāṇkaḷ* occurs with *kaḷ* in *uyartiṇai*, though no verbal form with *kaḷ* is found there. Such *verbal forms* with *kaḷ* are found for the first time in the works of the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries A. D. like Tēvāram, and Nālāyirappirapantam. This induces me to suggest that Canarese Telugu and Tamil may have been separated from one another

1. C. D. G. pp. 555 to 563.

2. *Ibid.* 224.



between the age of Cilappatikāram (5th cent. A.D. circa.) and the age of Tēvāram and Nālāyirappirapantam (6th to 8th cent. A.D.).

**IMITATION OF PĀṆINI BY THE AUTHORS OF VĪRACŌLIYAM AND PIRAYŌKAVIVĒKAM:** The author of Vīracōliyam does not mention the verbal terminations separately but mentions them along with tense elements as *tān*, *tāl*, *ninrān*, *kirān*, *kirāy*, *kirēn*, etc. He has done so, perhaps because he thought that they should correspond to *ti*, *si*, *mi*, etc. the terminations in Sanskrit, which generally denote both tense and person.

The author of Pirayōkavivēkam has gone too far in importing unnecessarily the terms *ātmanēpada* and *parasmaipada* and explaining them with reference to the Tamil terminations. He states that *paraṣṣaiṣatam* (*parasmaipada*) is used at the end of finite verbs in *kartari* or active voice, the *tan* or *ārpaṇēṣatam* (*ātmanēpada*) is used in *kartari* or active voice, *karmaṇi* or passive voice or *bhāvē* or impersonal form. According to him *paraṣṣaiṣatam* is the termination which ends in a short vowel or has a penultimate short vowel. (e.g.) *kū*, *aṇ*, *a!*, *ar*, etc.; *ārpaṇēṣatam* is that which ends in a long vowel or has a penultimate long vowel. (e.g.) *mār*, *ai*, *āy*, etc. Both the above terminations are *ārpaṇēṣatam* when they are used in the passive voice. The roots which take both the above terminations are called *uṣayaṣati* (*ubhayapadi*). Thus the root *camai* (to cook) which has forms *camaikkinṟaṇaṇ*, (he cooks) *camaipṣāṇ*, (he will cook) *camaikkinṟilaṇ*, (he does not cook) *camaikkinṟāṇ*, (he cooks) *camaipṣāṇ*, (he will cook) *camaiyāṇ* (he will not cook) is *uṣayaṣati*; the root *uṇ* with reference to the forms *uṇkirāṇ* *uṇmār*, *uṇṭaṇai* *uṇṭāy* is *ēkaṣati* in *ārpaṇēṣatam* and the same root with reference to the forms *uṇkū*, *uṇṭū*, etc. is *ēkaṣati* in *paraṣṣaiṣatam*.

It is clear that this classification of terminations is quite against the nature of Tamil language and is done solely in imitation of Sanskrit Grammar. Even here it may be noted that in Sanskrit, if a root takes *ātmanēpada* terminations, it takes them in all persons in its conjugation in one tense or mood. (e.g.) *karōmi*, *karōṣi* and *karōti* in the singular of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons present, respectively; but in Tamil, *uṇṭū*, the first person singular past tense, is *paraṣṣaiṣatam*, *uṇṭāy*, the 2nd person singular in the same tense is *ārpaṇēṣatam* and *uṇṭū*, the 3rd person neuter singular in the same tense is *paraṣṣaiṣatam*. Besides, he says that the verbal form '*camaikkinṟaṇaṇ*' is used when one cooks for

another and *camaikkinrāṇ* is used when one cooks for himself. Nowhere else is it said so; nor do I see any example in literature in support of this distinction.

Besides, he mentions that the form '*cāttanāl varappatum*' as an example for *bhāvēprayōga*. This is exactly the translation of the Sanskrit sentence '*cāttēna āgamyatē*'. Such a sentence, though made up of Tamil words does not seem to me to be a Tamil sentence.<sup>1</sup> His importation of *bhāvēprayōga* too is most inappropriate.

Another most curious point mentioned by him is that 'a' following 'ṇ' in the form *uṇṇappatum*, 'ā' following 'ṇ' in *uṇṇāninrāṇ*, 'u' following 'l' in *colluka*, 'i' following 'r' in *venṇika*, *ta* in *pukutaka*, *lai* in *irintaikka*, *ku* in *arai kuvan* are *conjugational signs*.<sup>2</sup> Is this not in direct imitation of Sanskrit?

By the way he mentions that he has imported the Sanskritic terms *tiṇ* and *taṇ* in Tamil to make up for the want of Tamil words ending in 'ṇ'.<sup>3</sup> By such importation he does more harm than good. The terms *tiṇ* and *taṇ* may be quite intelligible in Sanskrit grammar, but, in Tamil, they are not so, since the Tamil grammarians have not resorted to the devise of using *pratyāhāra* as in Sanskrit.

3.2222112. *TENSE AND TENSE-SIGNS*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that there are three tenses past, present and future.<sup>4</sup> He does not mention any suffix denoting tense. This fact is noticed by the commentators Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar and they make mention of the same under the last sūtra of Collatikāram in Tolkāppiyam. But at the same time Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions that the past tense is used to denote either the present or the future when such actions take place immediately,<sup>5</sup> and that the past and the present tenses are used to denote the

1. P. V. 36 & its comm.

2. P. V. 41, comm.

3. P. V. 36, comm.

4. *Kālan tāmē mūnṇena molīpa*. (Tol. Col. 199.)

*Irappi nikaḷvi n-etirvi n-enrā*

*A-m-mu-k kalamuṇ kurippotuṇ koḷḷum*

*Mey-n-nilai y-utaiya tōṇra l-ārē* (ibid. 200.)

5. *Vārā-k kālattu nikaḷuṇ kālattum*

*Or-āṅku varūm viṇai-c-cor kiḷavi*

*Iranta kālattu-k kurippotu kiḷattal*

*Virainta poruḷa v-enmanār pulavar*. (ibid. 241.)

future for the sake of clearness.<sup>1</sup> If distinct tense formations were definitely current in Tolkāppiyaṇār's time, it would be difficult to account for his omission to deal with the distinctive signs for such formations. He mentions, however, three tenses and adds that one may be used for another under certain circumstances as stated above. It is impossible to see how he could speak of one tense form being used for another if it were true that in his days tense formations were not at all differentiated on the morphological side. I am inclined to suggest a solution for this difficulty. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that perhaps, Tolkāppiyaṇār was only thinking of different *tense-values* when he mentioned three tenses; that some of his contemporaries may have begun to associate particular *verbal forms* with particular tense values through the frequency of particular use; and that, with reference to such forms, Tolkāppiyaṇār was probably indicating the circumstances under which overlapping in tense values might be recognised.

The author of Vīracōliyam states that *ta*, *na* and *ya* are added to roots to form the past participle, *kiṛa*, *āninṛa* and *cu* to form the present participle and *kum*, *um*, *m*, to form the future participle.<sup>2</sup> Its commentator gives the following as examples under the same stanza for the past participles:—*piṛanta*, *pōṇa* and *āya*.

The author of Naṇṇūl seems to have analysed the above into *t* and *a*, *kiṛu* and *a*, etc. where *t*, *kiṛu*, etc. were taken as tense signs and *a*, the participial sign. According to him, *t*, *t*, *r* and *iṇ* denote the past tense, *kiṛu*, *kiṇṛu* and *āniṇṛu* denote the present tense and *pa* and *va* denote the future, *ṛu* and *ṛum*, and *tū* and *tum* denote the past and the future, *ṭū* and *ṭum* denote the past, *kū* and *kum* denote the future, *i* and *mār* denote the future, *pa* the past and the future, *um* the present and the future<sup>3</sup>. Here it

1. *Vārā-k kālattu viṇai-c-cor kiṭavi*  
*Irappiṇu nikalvinuṇ ciṛappa-t lōṇṛum*  
*Iyarkai-y-un tēlivuṇ kiṭakkuṇ kālai.* (ibid. 245.)
2. *Tātu-v-iṇ-piṇṇu ta-na-ya-v-iṛappi nikaṭci-y-id-kan*  
*Otuṇ-kiṛa-cū-v-o ṭ-āninṛa-v-ān-kum-m-um m-ōṭu-*  
*ma ∴ kāṇ*  
*Pētamaliyu m-etirin-kan-ākum piṇavum-vantal*  
*Etan-il-catiran tam-pilaiyāma l-iya-rri-k-kollē.* (V Tāt. 7.)
3. *Ta-ṭa-ra-v-or r-iṇ-r-ē y-aim-pāl mū-v-iṭattū*  
*Iranta kālan tarun-toḷi l-iṭai-nilai.* (Na. 142.)

must be noted that the verbal terminations *kū*, *tū*, *tū*, *ru*, *kum*, *tum*, *tum*, *rum* are taken to denote not only the person and the number, but also the tense.

Since *t* becomes *ṭ* and *r* respectively after *ḷ* and *ṇ*, and *l* and *ṇ*, *ṭ* and *r* may be regarded as the modification of *t* itself; and hence it seems to me that it would have been sufficient if Naṇṇūlār had mentioned only *t* and *iṇ* as past tense signs.

**ORIGIN OF THE TENSE SIGN 'IN':**—The tense sign '*iṇ*' comes after the roots ending in *ū*. It seems to me that the final *ū* of the roots was changed to *i* before *y*<sup>1</sup> so that the forms *aṭakkiya* (P. N. 6. 25.) were formed. The roots like *ṭō* took only *ṇ* as the past tense sign so that the form *ṭōṇāṇ* was current. Later on the forms like *aṭakkiya* gave place to those like *aṭakkiṇa* so that '*iṇ*' began to be considered as the past tense sign. In the indeclinable participle *i* alone is added in such cases to represent the past tense as *aṭakki*, *uṛaṅki*, etc. Thus '*i*' which was originally the modified form of *ū* in sandhi may have come to be regarded as a part of the past tense sign.

Besides, there are a few roots in Tamil, as Dr. Caldwell says, which formed their past tense in the ancient period without the addition of any tense sign, but by the reduplication of the final consonant. (e.g.) *ṭukkaṇar* (they entered) (Cilap. 342, 196). But even in the ancient period such forms began generally to be superseded by the more regular forms formed by adding tense to roots. (e.g.) *ṭukuntu* (Cilap. 574, 14).

As regards the future tense, it seems to me that it may have been in its origin later than the past, for it is possible for the primitive people to remember some of their past deeds and express them to others before they begin to think of the future.

- 
- Aniṇṇū kiṇṇū kiṇ-mū v-iṭattiṇ*  
*Aim-pāl nikaḷ-pōlu t-aṛai-vinaḷ y-iṭai-nilai.* (ibid. 143.)  
*Pa-v-va mū-v-iṭat t-ai-m-pā l-etir-pōlutū*  
*Icai-viṇai y-iṭai-nilai y-ām-ivai cila-v-ila.* (ibid. 144.)  
*Ra-v-v-o ṭukara v-ummai-nikaḷ p-alla-vum*  
*Ta-v-v-o t-iṇṇappu m-etirvum ṭa-v-v-otū*  
*Kaḷivum ka-v-v-ō ṭ-etirvum-miṇ ṇ-ēval*  
*Viyaṅkō ḷ-i-m-mā retirvum pāntam*  
*Celavoṭū varavum ceyyu-nikaḷ p-etirvum*  
*Etir-maṛai mummai-yu m-ērku m-iṅkē.* (ibid. 145.)  
 1. *Yakaram varu-vali y-ikaran kurukum*  
*Ukara-k kiḷavi tuvara-t tōṇṛātū.* (Tol. E. 411.)

This is clearly seen in the case of children. The only future that would have been possible then was that conveyed by the command which is expressed by the imperative second person.

The present tense may, in all probability, have been the last in the formation, since it is not quite necessary on the part of a speaker to express to another what is actually happening since he himself is witnessing it. The present tense forms in Tamil with the signs *kinru*, *āninru*, etc. are almost absent in the works of Sangam period. I was able to find out one form *cērkinra* in Paripāṭal (p. 163, 35). Such forms are very frequent only in the literature of the medieval period. (e.g.) *eṇkinrāl* in each of 10 stanzas in Tēvāram, pp. 25 and 26; *eṇkinrālāl* in Periyatirumoli of Nālāyirappirapantam, pp. 154 and 155; *cellāninra āṇṭu* (T. A. S. i, 14); *parāninrārai* (T. 1. 51).

The forms *uṇkirān*, *uṇkinrān*, *uṇṇāninrān*, *uṇṇākiṭantān*, *uṇṇāviruntān* appear to me to have been two words which were, later on, mistaken for one; for the commentator on Viracōḷiyam says that the forms *ninrān*, *kiṭantān*, *iruntān*, etc., are derived from the roots *nil*, *kiṭa*, *iru*, etc. and are used as the personal terminations after roots in the present tense.<sup>1</sup> Cēṇāvaraiyar, a commentator on Tolkāppiyam repeats the same thing. Hence *uṇṇā* and *ninrān* were, at one time, two words of which *uṇṇā* was a participle (modified form of *uṇṇū*) and *ninrān* was the finite verb. This may be seen from the following two examples:—*iravā ninrān* (Kampar. A. 239. 38.); *tērrā ninrān* (Kampar. A. 249. 52.) where *iravā* and *tērrā* are affirmative indeclinable participles. Later on *nil* of *ninrān* in *uṇṇāninrān* began to be taken as an auxiliary verb. *Uṇṇāninrān* should have originally meant 'he is eating', the past tense *ninrān* being used to denote the immediateness of the action. The above explanation holds good for the forms *uṇṇāninrān*, *uṇṇākiṭantān* and *uṇṇāviruntān*. But what should have been the origin of *uṇkirān* and *uṇkinrān*? The form *uṇkirēn* which is very often used in colloquial speech is said to be the later form by Naccinārkkiniyar<sup>2</sup> and it is not generally found in Tamil classics up to 12th century. Hence it may be considered to have been the modified form of

1. *Nil eṇṇun tātuviniṇrū iranta-kāla-p-paṭar-kkaiyil ninrān mutaliya pirattiyayaṅkaḷ nikaḷ-kāla-p-poruḷil varum.* (V. K. 4, comm.)

2. *Uṇkirēn-eṇa-k kiru eṇpatū nikaḷkālam uṇarttutal i-k-kāla-vaḷakkū.* (Tol. Col. 202, Nac.)

*uṅkiṇṛāṇ*. The form *ākiṇṛū* as the finite verb is found in the following lines of *Puṇanānūṛū*:—

*Peṇṇuruvu oru-tiṛaṇ ākiṇṛū* (the form of a woman is on one side). (P.N. 1.7.)

*Pirai-ṇutal vaṇṇam-ā kiṇṛū* (crescent forms a source of beauty to the forehead). (P.N. 1.9.)

This may have been formed from *ā* (root) + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṇ* (cāriyai) + *ṛū* (the neuter sign termination). Could *ākiṇṛāṇ* have been formed by adding *āṇ* to *ākiṇṛū* mistaking it to be the indeclinable participle? Or as Dr. Graul, Dr. Gundert and M. J. Vinson opine, *kiṇṛū* may have been formed from *k* a sign of the future in Tamil and *iṇṛū* meaning now.<sup>1</sup>

The author of *Naṇṇūl* plainly says that *kiṛū* and *kiṇṛū* and *āniṇṛū* are the present tense signs, though *k* of *kiṛū* and *kiṇṛū* in forms like *uṅkiṛāṇ* and *uṅkiṇṛāṇ* is the final element of the previous word, like *uṅku*, and *iṇ* is the initial element of the following word, and *ā* of *āniṇṛū* in the form like *uṇṇāniṇṛāṇ* is the final element of the affirmative indeclinable participles like *uṇṇā*, and *niṇṛū* is the initial element of *niṇṛāṇ*.

In modern times, the past perfect, the present perfect and the future perfect are used with a past participle and the finite verbal form in the past, present and future of the root *iru*. e. g. *ceytū iruntāṇ* (he had done), *ceytirukkiṇṛāṇ* (he has done), *ceytū irupṇāṇ* (he would have done). Similarly, the forms of the past perfect continuous, the present perfect continuous and the future perfect continuous are also found. e.g. *ceytukonṭṭiruntāṇ*, *ceytukonṭṭirukkiṇṛāṇ*, *ceytukonṭṭirupṇāṇ*.

The past and the future tenses may respectively correspond to the aorist and the second future in Sanskrit. The causal verbs also are used in all the three tenses in the same way as simple verbs. The latter is formed by adding to the root, the tense sign and the personal termination, while the former by adding to the root, the causal suffix *vi* or *pi*, the tense sign and the personal terminations or by adding the tense sign and the personal terminations to the causal form of the root as *ākkū*, *tiruttū*, etc.

3.2222212. **ACTIVE NEGATIVE VOICE:** Tolkāppiyaṇār has hinted about the active negative voice in his statement

1. C. D. G. 494 and J. A. Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, p. 116.

that case-suffixes will be used even after nouns qualifying a negative verb,<sup>1</sup> and also has mentioned the term *etirmaṟai* in the sūtra

*Ecca v-ummai-y-u m-etirmaṟai y-ummai-y-um*  
*Tattam-uṇ mayañku m-uṭaiṇilai y-ilavē.*

(Tol. Col. 283.)

From the literature of the Sangam and medieval periods we may infer that the negation was expressed in six ways:—

(1) By inserting the negative particle *al* between the root and the personal termination.

e. g. *cel-l-al-am* (we will not go). (P.N. 101.1.)

*ari-y-al-aṇ* (he does not know). (P.N. 239.9.)

(2) By inserting the negative particle *al* or *il* between the tense sign and the personal termination.

e. g. *ciṟantaṇṇi* (it is not desirable). (P.N. 75.5.)

*urai-t-t-il-aṇ* (he did not say). (P.T. 205.12.)

*kaṇ-ṭ-il-ēṇ* (I have not seen). (P.T. 202.2.)

(3) By inserting *il* followed by the personal terminations after the affirmative finite forms of verbs.

(e.g.) *muyaṇkiṇēṇ-allēṇ* (I was not befooled). (P.N. 19.7.)

*celvēṁ allēm* (we will not go). (P.N. 36.11)

*ollāṇ allāṇ* (he will not agree). (P.N. 97.21.)

*ṭeruvār-alar* (they will not receive). (P.T. 200.5.)

(4) By inserting the vowel *ā* between the root and the tense sign. (This is seen clearly in the third person neuter singular.)

(e.g.) *ākātū* (it will not become). (Tol. E. 71.)

*mutalātū* (it will not commence). (Tol. E. 65.)

*ṭēṇātū* (it will not agree). (T. 2.6.)

(5) By adding the personal terminations directly to the root.

(e.g.) *kāṇēṇ* (I will not see). (P.N. 71.5.)

*ollāy* (you will not agree). (P.N. 31.6.)

*ollāṇ* (he will not agree). (P.N. 78.9.)

*vaiyārkaḷē* (They will not despise). (P.T. 204.10.)

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1. *Etir-maruttu mōli-y-iṇ-un tatta maraṭṭir*  
*Poruṇilai tiriyā vēṇṇumai-c collē.* (Tol. col. 107.)

(6) By lengthening the *a* of roots like *var*<sup>1</sup> and adding the personal terminations.

(e.g.) *vārēm* (we will not come). (P.N. 145.4.)

The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* states that *āṇ*, *āl*, *ār*, *ārkaḷ*, *atū*, *ā*, *ilan*, *ilaḷ*, *ilar*, *ilarkaḷ*, *ilatū*, *ila* and others like *atōḷi* are added after roots to denote *taṭai-p-poruḷ* or negative meaning.<sup>2</sup> Its commentator adds that the verbs having the first six terminations denote the future tense, and the verbs having the next six denote the past tense when they (*ilan*, etc.) are preceded by *t*, as in *naṭantilan*, and the present tense when they are preceded by *k*, as in *naṭakkilan*. But I am at a loss to know why he did not add the first and the second personal terminations along with the first six and *alēṇ*, *alai*, *alan*, *alar*, etc. along with the next six.

The authors of *Naṇṇūl* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* have stated about the negative voice only with respect to *ā*, the termination of the neuter plural. It is the Rev. C. J. Beschi who has definitely stated that in *marai-vinai* personal terminations are *directly* added to roots without any tense sign between them and that *ātū* is the termination that is added to the root in the third person neuter singular.

At present we have certain forms of verbs which are common both to affirmative and negative voices, *ceyyāy* and *ceyyīr*, the second person singular and plural forms respectively. The indeclinable participles *ceyyā*, *unṇā* also come under that category.

The author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū* gives the following examples to illustrate the identity of *viti* or affirmative form and *marai* or negative form. (e.g.) *vallār tirai koṭuppar* (the weak will pay tribute), *vallār tirai koḷvar* (the strong will take tribute), *aruḷāṇ* (one who has the favour or one who has not the favour),

1. it seems to me that the root in *varukinrāṇ* and *varuvāṇ* was originally *var*, though in modern times *vā* is taken to be the root. cf. Tel. *rā* (come.)

2. *Ān-āl-ār-ārkaḷ-oṭ-ātu-ā-v-ilan-mar-r-ilal-ilar-um*  
*Tān-ām-ilarka-l-ilatū-ila-tātū-t taṭai-p-poruḷ-kaṇ*  
*Mēṇām-uraitta marapē-varumikka vātōḷi-muṇ*  
*Nānāvulamarrū narratai-maṇṇum pira-ttiyamē.*



*vekuḷāṇ* (one who is irritable or one who is not irritable).<sup>1</sup> C. J. Beschi says *nōvāṇ* is common to both (It means, he won't suffer or he will suffer). Similarly one of the commentators on Nannūl says that *cāvāṇ* means, either he will die or he won't die.

These examples show that the fact whether they denote negation or assertion is ascertained either from the context or *perhaps* from the difference in the position of the accent. As regards the words like *ceyyāy* and *ceyyīr*, they seem to have had the accent on the first syllable if they denoted assertion and on *ā* or *ī* if they denoted negation. Originally, they may have been respectively imperative second person singular and plural. The same may have been pronounced with such a tone as to convey interrogative sense as is done even now. From such interrogative uses, the negative meanings of such forms may have been developed.

**WHAT IS THE ORIGIN OF 'Ā' OF ĀTU IN MUTALĀTŪ?**  
*VĀRĀTŪ, Etc.* *Ā* is said by Tolkāppiyaṇār to be one of the terminations added to verbal themes to denote neuter plural, and it is not stated there that it denotes neuter plural only in the negative voice; but he uses such verbs as *ākā* in Tol. E. 60, *navilā* in Tol. E. 74, *mikā* in Tol. E. 263 only with a negative meaning. The author of Nannūl has definitely stated that *ā* is used to denote neuter plurals only in the negative voice.<sup>2</sup> Hence I think that *ā* began to be considered in the earliest times as the particle of negation in neuter plural. Afterwards, forms like *tiriyatū*<sup>3</sup>, *mutalātū*<sup>4</sup> which are found in Tolkāppiyam may have been formed by adding the neuter singular termination *tū* to the theme formed by the root with the negative particle *ā* suffixed to it. Then this particle *ā* may have been used in verbal nouns like *ceyyāmai* and then it may have given room to the idea that it (*ā*) existed even in the form *ceyyāy*.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Vallār tirai-koḷvar, vallār tirai-koḷuppar; . . . aruḷāṇ vekuḷāṇ ivai col-l-onrē viti-viṇaiyum marai-viṇai-y-um-āyina.* (I K. p. 39.)

2. *Aā irra pala-v-iṇ paṭarkkai*

*A-v-ē etir-marai-k kannā tākum.* (Na. 329.)

3. *Yā-v-en viṇā-v-u m-ā-y-ia ririyātū.* (Vol. E. 176.)

4. *A-v-ō ṭallatū yakara mutalātū.* (ibid. 65.)

5. *Etir-marai-k-kaṇ marai-y-unarttum*

*iṭai-nilai-y-u m-unmaiyaṇ.* (Vol. Col. 450, Cēnā.)

If so, how are we to account for the participial form *ceyyā* in *ceyyāninṛāṇ* which denotes affirmation. Tolkāppiyaṇār has not mentioned it. Cēṇāvaraiyar says that *ceyyū* was changed to *ceyyā*. Hence *ā* of the verbal participle *ceyyā* in *ceyyāninṛāṇ* is not a negative particle. Later on, *ceyyā* may have been used as a negative particle also.

3.222213. *PASSIVE AFFIRMATIVE VOICE*: Tolkāppiyaṇār has not stated anything about the passive affirmative voice or *viti-c-ceyappāṭṭuvinaṭi* as is called by the author of Ilakkaṇakkottu. But in connection with third case he (Tolkāppiyaṇār) states that the third case-suffix is used to denote the *kartā* or the doer of the action also. This is possible only if passive voice was current in his time. Besides he uses the expression *ēṇa-p-paṭuṇa* in Tol. E. 1. But passive forms are rare in the literature of the ancient period. (e.g.) *kaippaṭukkappaṭṭāy nī* (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 548. 15). In the literature and inscriptions of the medieval period, verbs in passive voice are frequently used.

(e.g.) *ceyyappaṭṭadu* (it was done). (Ep. I. Vol. XVII. Part VII. V. G. p. 330, line 30 & 31.)

*irakkappaṭṭadu* (it was taken down). (*Ibid.* line 112.)

*ēṇappaṭṭadu* (it was said so). (*Ibid.* line 110.)

*kuḍukkappaṭṭadu* (it was given). (I.A. Vol. 22, p. 71 M. M.P.) (for *koḍukkappaṭṭadū*.)

*ilittapperukuvatākavum* (so that it may be despised). (S. I. I. ii, 509.)

*kaṭṭappaṭṭū* (having been built). (T. 20, 6.)

On the basis of these later passive formations, the author of *Viracōliyam* has stated that in the *karmakāraka* or passive voice, the root *paṭu*, or some other one is added to the original root followed by 'a' and then the personal terminations are added.<sup>1</sup> Its commentator mentions *taku* in addition to *paṭu*. From the fifth example mentioned above, the root *peru* also may be added to the list,

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1. *Vinaṭi-k-kurippōṭṭi karumam-patarkkaiyīṇ mikka-v-onṛai*  
*Aṇaitteṇṇalām-a-v voṭu-paṭu-i-tātu-piṇṇ-ām-iyarkai*  
*Tanai-k-karumam-perun tātu-k-kaṇ-marrum paṭu-vinaṭi-*  
*pōl*  
*Ninaikka-varu-mar r-ivaiyum-peyarcco nikarttiṭumē.* (V. K. 11.)

The author of Nannūl has not mentioned anything about it. The author of Pirayōkavivēkam mentions it in the commentary on P. V. 36. The author of Ilakkaṇakkottū agrees with the author of Vīracōḷiyam and adds that the active form itself may be used for the passive.<sup>1</sup> Examples for the latter are found in the Sangam works.

*valaii* (for *valaikkappaṭṭu*) (having been surrounded).  
(P.N. 18, 1.)

*talīi* for (*taluvappaṭṭu*) (having been adhered to). (Pattu. 224. 301.)

It seems to me that, before the time of Vīracōḷiyam and even for some time after him, the expressions *aṟiyappaṭṭūn*, *aṟiyattakuvān* may have been viewed as made up of two words *aṟiya* and *paṭṭān* and *aṟiya* and *takuvān*. This is perhaps the reason why Nannūlār has not mentioned it. Besides, passive voice is also formed, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'by means of the preterite verbal participle of any neuter active verb followed by the preterite third person singular neuter of the verbs to become, to be, to go, or occasionally to end.'<sup>2</sup> (e.g.) *atu muṭintatū*, (it was finished); *atu muṭintāyirru* (it was finished). Sometimes, expressions like *aṭi unṭān* for *aṭikkappaṭṭān* also are used. I quite agree with Dr. Caldwell that in Colloquial Tamil 'the root *paṭu* is sometimes added even to intransitive roots and sometimes to denote, other than passive signification<sup>3</sup> (e.g.) *nān nanṟāy cāppiṭappaṭṭavan* does not mean 'I have been well-eaten, but I am accustomed to eat well!'

But on the whole, the genius of the Tamil language is to avoid the passive voice as far as possible. This is one of the important points where Tamil differs from Sanskrit.

3.2222214. *PASSIVE NEGATIVE VOICE* ; The passive negative voice is formed in the same way as the passive affirmative voice, except that the particles of negation are added here to the roots followed by such auxiliary verbs as *paṭu*. Hence the following forms may be had :

*ciraṅkappaṭṭatānṟū* (it is not considered advisable).

*kāṇappaṭṭilatū* (it was not found).

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1. I. K. p. p. 44 and 45.
  2. C. D. G. 464.
  3. *Ibid.* 468.

*uraikkappaṭṭinrū* (it was not said).  
*kāṇappaṭṭēṇ* (I will not be found).  
*kāṇappaṭṭān* (he will not be found).  
*kāṇappaṭṭātū* (it will not be found).  
*kāṇappaṭṭēṇallēṇ* (I will not be found).

Such a use of negative voice is not at all found in Sanskrit and is a peculiar development in Tamil language.

3.222222. IMPERATIVE MOOD : 3.2222221. AFFIRMATIVE VOICE : Tolkāppiaṇār mentions that the form *ceyyāy* of the second person singular is sometimes used as *cey*<sup>1</sup> and in such cases *ī* or *ē* preceded by a suitable consonant are added after it,<sup>2</sup> as *cenrī* (from the root *cel*) and *niṇmē* (from the root *niḷ*). This evidently holds good in the affirmative voice. He has not definitely stated the exact forms that should be used in the imperative mood. But from the literature of the Sangam period we are able to understand that the forms *ceyyāy*, *cey*, *ceyyi*, *ceyyī* and *ceyyai* were used as second person singular and *ceyyīr* and *ceymin* as second person plural in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood.

(e.g.) *aṟiyāy* (know). (A.N. 268. 1.)  
*kēḷ* (listen). (Pattu. 131. 38.)  
*cel* (go). (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 477. 32.)  
*varaiti* (allot). (P.N. 8. 7.)  
*cenrī* (go). (Ka. T. Vol. 542. 15.)  
*kaṇṭī* (find). (*Ibid.* 542, 8.)  
*kēṭṭai* (listen). (*Ibid.* 546. 23.)  
*kāṇīr* (see). (Cilap. 209. 12. & 265. 226.)  
*cērmin* (reach). (P.N. 9. 5.)

In the literature of the medieval period, the form *ceyminkaḷ* formed by adding *kaḷ* to the plural from *ceymin* is frequently used. (e.g.) *tolūminkaḷ* (T. 32. 9.) *cērminkaḷē* (P.T. 58, 1).

The author of *Viṛacōḷiyam* mentions that the root form like *cey* is used as the second person singular, the forms like *ceyyum*, *ceymin* and *ceyyāmē* as honorific singular and the forms like

- 
1. *Ceyyā y-enṇu muṇṇilai viṇai-c-cor*  
*Cey-y-en kilavi y-ākita n-utaittē*. (Tol. Col. 450.)
  2. *Muṇṇilai munṇa r-ī-y-u m-ē-y-um*  
*Aṇṇilai maraiṇ mey-y-ūrntū varumē*. (ibid. 451.)

*ceyyuṅkaḷ* and *ceymiṅkaḷ* as the second person plural in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the form *ceyyum* it was used at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār only as the third person singular and third person neuter plural in the indicative mood<sup>2</sup>. If that is so, we have to explain how the same form began to be used in honorific singular of the second person imperative mood at the time of Vīracōḷiyam. It seems to me that the latter form is not the same *ceyyum* but is the corrupted form of *ceymiṅ* or *ceymē* through the intermediate stage *ceyum*. Still the old form *ceyyum* was used in the Tolkāppiyāṇ sense by *Kampar*—*malai-k-kunṇamaṇaiyāṇ varum* (*Kampar*. A. 214. 2.), *kaiyai-k-kaiyinerikkum* (*Kampar*. A. 220. 11). In the colloquial speech of modern days *ceyyum* is used only in the honorific singular. The form *ceyyāmē* may have been originally used in the sense 'let us go' where 'us' refers to the person spoken to and the speaker and then was used as the second person honorific singular. But this form seems to be extinct now.

*Naṇṇūlār* follows the author of Vīracōḷiyam as regards the singular<sup>3</sup> but mentions the termination *miṅ* alone as regards the plural.<sup>4</sup>

At the present day the forms that are used in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood, in colloquial speech, are the same as those mentioned by the author of Vīracōḷiyam except the form *ceyyāmē*.

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1. Ōṅkāta-muṇṇilai-p pāl-ēval-āṅkā l-orum aiy-iz-cu-p  
Pāṅkā-r-cirappilā mēyu-miṅ-ka-p-panmai y-ām-iṭattu  
Nīṅkāta-miṅkaḷuṅ kaḷḷām-icai-v-iṅ-iz ka-v-v-eṇ-patāṇ  
Tāṅkā-p-parōkka-t tiṇiṇ-pōlum-ām-eṇ-par tāḷ-kulalē. (V.  
K. 9.)
  2. Pallōr paṭarkkai muṇṇilai taṇmai  
A-v-vayin mūṇru nikaluṅ kālattu-c  
Ceyyu m-eṇṇun kiḷavi-y-oṭu kollā. (Tol. Col. 227.)
  3. Naṭa-vā maṭi-cī viṭu-kū vē-vai  
No-p-pō vaṇ-v-uri ñ-un-porun tiruntin  
Tēy-pār cel-v-v vāl-kē l-a: keṇṇū  
Eyiya-v-irupāṇ mūṇṇā m-irravum  
Cey-y-e ṇ-ēval viṇai-p-pakā-p paṭamē. (Na. 137.)
  53. Ir-ir irra irantu m-iru-tinai-p  
Panmai muṇṇilai miṅ-avar rēval. (Na. 337.)

It seems to me that the form *ceyya vēṇṭum* has also been used in the imperative mood since the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār.<sup>1</sup> This form appears to be a kind of periphrastic formation made up of the gerundial form of a root followed by *vēṇṭum*—the future form of the root *vēṇṭu* primarily signifying request. Perhaps this periphrastic formation was devised to supply the gap in the first and third persons in the imperative system.

3.222222. *NEGATIVE VOICE* : Tolkāppiyaṇār has not definitely stated any form to represent the negative voice in the imperative mood, though he has used the two words *aliyal* and *añcal* in the second person singular, imperative negative voice in Tol. Poruḷ. 146. But from the literature of the different periods we may say that the following forms *ceyyal*, *ceyyāy*, *ceyyāli*, *ceyyēl* were used in the singular and *ceyyīr* in the plural. (e.g.)

*peyaral* (do not change). (P. N. 3. 14.)

*ēkal* (do not go). (Kampar. A. 225. 19.)

*nīṇkāy* (do not go away). (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 470. 21.)

*nillāti* (do not stand). (Ibid. 468. 21.)

*uḷ aliyeḷ* (do not feel sorry). (Kampar. A. 225. 18.)

*ayarēl* (do not feel sorry). (Kampar. A. 239. 38.)

*ayarīr* (Plural). (Kampar. A. 275. 87.)

Besides it seems the form *ceyyavēṇṭā* was used both in the singular and the plural. (e.g.) *nī varuntavēṇṭā* (P. N. 101. 10).

In modern times the forms that are used in colloquial speech are *ceyyāy* or *ceyyāḷē* in the singular, *ceyyātēyum* in the honorific singular and *ceyyātīr* or *ceyyātēyunkal* in the plural.

It appears that, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār and the author of Viracōḷiyam, the imperative mood expressed not only command but also request, wish, etc. more or less in the same way as the imperative in Sanskrit. This is clearly seen from the statements of Tolkāppiyaṇār<sup>2</sup> and the author of Viracōḷiyam<sup>3</sup> that the

1. *Itu-ceyal vēṇṭu m-enṇuṇ kilavi*

*Iru-vayi nīlaiyum poruḷ-t-ā kum-mē*

*Taṇṭā l-ānum piraṇ-pā l-ānum.* (Tol. Col. 243.)

2. *Avarruḷ*

*Munṇilai taṇmai y-ā-y-i-r-iṭattoṭṭu*

*Manṇā t-ākum viyāṇkōṭ kilavi.* (Tol. Col. 226.)

3. *Oṇkāta-munṇilai-p-pāl-ēval-āṇkā l-orumai-y-ir-cu-p*

*Pāṇkā-r-cirappitā mē-y-u miṇ-ka-p-ṇaṇmai-y-ām-iṭattū*

*Nīṇkāta-miṇkal-uṇ kal-l-ām-icai-v-iṇirka-v-v-eṇṇatān*

*Tāṇkā-p-ṇarōkka-t t-in-ir-pōlum-ām-eṇṇar-tāl-kulālē.*

optative mood is used only in the third person singular and plural. But at the time of Nannūlar, it seems to me that the imperative began to be restricted only to denote command and the optative began to be used to denote wish, request, etc. since he says that the optative forms like *celka*, *celliya* and *celliyar* could be used in both singular and plural of all persons.

There is one difference between the imperative mood in Tamil and that in Sanskrit; in the former, it is used only in the second person, except in the case of instances like *ceyyavenṭum* which appear to represent a type of periphrastic imperative formation as explained above, whereas in the latter, it is used in all persons.

3.222223. OPTATIVE MOOD : 3.2222231. AFFIRMATIVE VOICE : Active voice in the optative mood in Tamil verbs expresses request, injunction, wish, etc. in the same way as the Sanskrit potential and benediction as the Sanskrit benedictive. Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions that *viyaṅkōl* or optative mood is used only in the third person, both singular and plural where it has the same form in *ānpāl*, *peṇpāl*, *palarpāl*, *onṛaṇpāl* and *palaviṇpāl*.<sup>1</sup> But what its form is he does not seem to have mentioned. He uses the verbs *aṛital* and *kāṭṭal* as optative mood in Tol. Col. 458 and 463 respectively.

The author of Viracōliyam agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār in the meaning and the use of the optative mood and improves upon him by saying that its form is obtained by adding 'ka' to the roots.<sup>2</sup> Nannūlar differs from them both in its application and the form. It is used in all persons and numbers and the forms mentioned are *ceyka*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar*.<sup>3</sup> The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Nannūlar in its application, but as regards its formation he adds the forms ending in *al*, *āl*, *um*, *mār* and *ai*.<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. *Eñciya kiḷavi y-iṭattoṭu civaṇi*  
*Ai-m-pārku m-uriya tōṇra l-ārē.* (Tol. Col. 225.)  
*Avarru!*  
*Munṇilai taṇmai y-ā-yi r-iṭattoṭu*  
*Munṇā t-ākum viyaṅkōṭ kiḷavi.* (ibid. 226.)
  2. V. K. 9. See F.N. p. 156, 3.
  3. *Ka-ya-v-oṭu ra-v-v-or r-iṛra viyaṅkōl*  
*Iyalu m-iṭam-pā l-eṅku m-eṇpa.* (Na. 338.)
  4. *Ka-ya-v-oṭu ra-v-v-or r-al-āl um-mār*  
*Ai-kā nīṛra viyaṅkōṇ murravai*  
*Eytu m-iṭam-pā l-eṅku m-eṇpa.* (I. V. 239.)

## KĀLIDĀSA AND PAINTING

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A. (HONS.),

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

### INTRODUCTORY.

Fine arts find a spontaneous appeal in a civilised society. India, long reputed for her glorious traditions, has had a brilliant achievement in every sphere of knowledge. One of the marked traits of her great civilization of the past is the enthusiasm and achievement in fine arts. The sweetest bard of her mellifluous tongue, was, as a typical cultured citizen (Nāgaraka), an expert in the three well known arts—Dancing, Painting and Music; and these are given equal importance being cleverly introduced in his three dramas. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* opens us a leaf of the chapter on dancing. Painting is given sufficient importance in the *Śākuntalam*. The music of the day is preserved for us in the *Vikramorvaśiyam*.

An examination of his work shows Kālidāsa to have been very well acquainted with the art of painting—the subject of this paper. Surely one would be curious to know what pictures were executed in those far off days, how they were done, with what materials they were done, etc. It would be interesting to see from our modern standpoint what our ancestors used to do in so pleasing a field; and would be useful also as a comparative study. As a poet of original thought Kālidāsa gives us something of the philosophy of painting—the real value of the art.

From the *Citraśālās*, decorations of houses with pictures, portraits and imaginary pictures drawn on board and canvas, the painting of creepers on the human body, the colour decoration of the elephant, down to the comparatively insignificant border decoration of garments there was nothing so trivial as not to give scope for the expression of the enthusiasm of the time for this noble art. It was not the professional artist that was the only store-house of this knowledge. Painting was a part of the polite education of the day and was freely practised by both sexes. Portrait-painting appears to have been very popular; memory



and imagination were also given a stimulus by paintings being executed even in the absence of models. The latter Kālidāsa styles Bhāvagamya citra.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CITRASALA.

Citraśālās are of different kinds. There are the Citraśālās of the royal household, the public art galleries and private picture-houses. The royal art gallery is mentioned in the Mālavikāgnimitra. Citrācāryas in the employ of the king add pictures from time to time to suit the taste of the royalty.<sup>2</sup> Pictures of the royal household and incidents in the life of the kings and queens were also given a prominent place in these galleries.<sup>3</sup> Private picture-houses which correspond something to our modern private collections were also very popular and a mention of them is found in the Meghadūta.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE CITRACARYAS.

Apart from the mention of the Citrācārya in the Mālavikāgnimitra<sup>5</sup> we have many more references to them in other works. The Uttararāmacarita refers to a Citrakara by name Arjuna employed by Lakṣmaṇa, acting under the orders of Rāma, to execute the pictures of the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>6</sup> Śyāmilaka refers to a Citrācārya, a friend of the Vāravilāsini Śūrasenasundarī in

1. मत्सादृश्यं विरहतनु वा भावगम्यं लिखन्ती

Meghadūta, Can. II, Śl. 22.

2. चित्रशालां गता देवी प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखामाचार्यस्यावलोकयन्ती तिष्ठति ।

Mālavikāgnimitra, Act I.

2. ततश्चोपचारानन्तरमेकासनोपविष्टेन भर्त्रा चित्रगताया देव्याः परिजन-मध्यगतामासन्नतरां(चरां) तां प्रेक्ष्य देवी पृष्टा

Mālavikā. Act I.

तयोर्यथाप्रार्थितमिन्द्रियार्थानासेदुषोः सन्नसु चित्रवस्तु ।

प्राप्तानि दुःखान्यपि दण्डकेषु संचिन्त्यमानानि सुखान्यभूवन् ॥

Raghu. Can. XIV, Śl. 25.

4. विद्युत्स्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः

.....प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलम्

Megha. Can. II, Śl. 1.

- 5...चित्रलेखामाचार्यस्यावलोकयन्ती तिष्ठति

Mālavikā. Act I.

6. लक्ष्मणः—आर्य ! अर्जुनेन चित्रकरेणास्मदुपदिष्ट.....

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Raghu. Can. XIV, Śl. 25.

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Mālavikā. Act I.

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his Bhāṇa Pādatāḍitaka.<sup>1</sup> From this Citrācāryas appear to have been in close contact with, and perhaps very often employed by, Veśyāṅgas also. Dhanapāla the author of the Tilakamañjarī refers to Citravidyopādhyāyas and townfolk well-versed in the theory of painting as critics of art and pictures.<sup>2</sup> Nagarasvāmin was, as the Kathāsaritsāgara gives us, the painter laureate of the court of Vikramāditya.<sup>3</sup> Like the Nāṭyācāryas they appear to have held some important place in the royal courts of old.

#### PICTURES.

Of the many types of pictures the portrait is given some importance. It is not a mere conjectural or dreamy representation but a realistic figure giving out the characteristic features of the person. Portraits of both living and dead people were in vogue. We have the incidents of Rāma's life painted in Citravatsadmas (picture-houses), and the figures of the queen Dhārīṇī and her attendants painted in the Citraśālā merely for her amusement. Pictures of the dead for their memory or worship were also common. Types of this are the picture of Indumatī painted after her death to mitigate the king's great grief and that of Daśaratha kept in the Balimanniketa, perhaps for being worshipped.<sup>4</sup> There appear to have been portraits of the

1. 'जानीत एवास्मत्स्वामी—यथास्मत्सख्या कुसुमावतिकायाः प्रियवयस्यं चित्राचार्यं शिवस्वामिनं प्रति महान् मदनोन्मादः' इति ।

Pādatāḍitaka in Caturbhāṇī, p. 25.

2. मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः संनिधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनितकुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितुमागतैरालेख्यशास्त्रविद्भिर्नागरलोकैः सह विचारयन्नविचार्य चारुत्वतत्त्वं तस्याश्चित्रपटपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्नमनयत् ।

Tilakamañjarī, p. 144.

3. तस्येदृशस्य राज्ञश्च नगरस्वामिसंज्ञकः ।

बभूव ग्रामशतभुक् चित्रकृजितविश्वकृत् ॥

स द्वयहेव द्वयदेनासौ राज्ञे प्राभृतपुत्रिकाम् ।

लिखित्वान्यान्यया रूपभङ्ग्या चित्रकरो ददौ ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara, Chap. 122, Śl. 20—22.

4. तेनाष्टौ परिगमिताः समाः कथंचिद्वालत्वादवितथसूत्रतेन सूतोः ।

सादृश्यप्रतिकृतिदर्शनैः प्रियाया स्वप्नेषु क्षणिकसमागमोत्सवैश्च ॥

Raghu. Can. VIII, Śl. 92.

living rulers kept in their various mansions just as big oil portraits or photo enlargements of ruling chiefs and zemindars are to be seen today on the walls of the various palaces situated in different places as summer or winter resorts. The portraits of Agnimitra—not one, many, perhaps in different postures, hung everywhere on all sides in the big hall of the Samudragrha belong to this type.<sup>1</sup> If Philip IV could have so many portraits of his painted by Valasquez there is nothing so impossible as Agnimitra lacking a sufficient number of his portraits to adorn his palaces and mansions with so many craftsmen at his command. The special type of group—the king and his queens, of which Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya with his queens is a typical modern example, has its ancient representative in the picture of Agnimitra with his queen Irāvati.<sup>2</sup> Of the Bhāvagamyacitra type (picture from memory) we have three pictures given by Kālidāsa; the painting of the Yakṣa, the Yakṣī and that of Śakuntalā and her companions by Duṣyanta. The high realism achieved in the field of painting is best exhibited in the words of Sānumati—

अहो राजर्व्वेर्तिकानिपुणता ! जाने मे सखी अग्रतो वर्तत इति ।<sup>3</sup>

‘Painting in the first place’ says Professor Weber in his book on Sanskrit Literature, ‘appears in a very rudimentary stage. Portrait-painting for which perspective is not required, seems to have succeeded best, as it is frequently alluded to in the dramas.’ Painting and drawing are an instinct and man has possessed it from the time he came into being. Some of the finest drawings are those of the Primitives. The age of Ajanta

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बाष्पायमाणो बलिमान्निकेतमालेख्यशेषस्य पितुर्विवेश ।

Raghu. Can. XIV, Śl. 15.

1. सखि ! प्रणम भर्तारम् । यः पार्श्वतः पृष्ठतः दृश्यते ।

Mālavikā. Act IV.

The simultaneous use of the words पार्श्वतः and पृष्ठतः would give a better sense when they mean ‘on all sides’ i.e. on both sides and behind than when they are interpreted as ‘close by behind you.’ The meaning ‘on all sides’ would suggest Agnimitra’s encouragement of art to be seen in the wealth of pictures in the hall.

2. सखि ! कैषा ईषत्परिवृत्तवदना भर्त्रा स्निग्धया दृष्ट्या निध्यायते ।

नन्वियं पार्श्वगतेरावती ।

Mālavikā. Act IV.

3. Śākuntalam, Act VI.

so rich in pictures of a superior type was not a sudden jump into the page of History. What professor Weber means by the phrase 'first place' is rather puzzling. Talking as he does of painting from references to it in Sanskrit Literature it is rather difficult to know where and what he settles as 'the first place' where he has discovered painting in its 'rudimentary stage'. The rudimentary stage of painting was somewhere before the fine specimens of colour drawings in the caves and the drawings on the bone pieces were executed. The finest example of a bison and a boar in colours from the cave of Altamira in Spain, the picture of which is reproduced in the twentieth volume of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh edition), is, as Mr. G. B. Brown says, 50,000 years old belonging to the Palaeolithic age. This trait of producing such good pictures at so early an age, at the infancy of the world so to say, is universal. When in the words of Mr. Brown 'Naturalistic design of a very effective kind appears at a very early stage of human development, and is practised among the most primitive races of the actual world, such as the Australians, the Bushmen of South Africa and the Eskimo'<sup>1</sup> it is really unfair to think that a people with a refined language and literature of a high order could be so barbarous as to neglect such a universal native instinct and exhibit 'a rudimentary stage' in painting.

Though much of perspective is not an essential in portrait-painting, it does require something of it, at any rate when the model is drawn from some distance, especially when the drawing is a full figure where such knotty points as foreshortening, etc. involve the principles of perspective; more especially is it required when landscapes are introduced as backgrounds. The portrait of Śakuntalā has a background in its finished state as we gather from the verse<sup>2</sup> of Duṣyanta describing a grand scenery as work yet to be done on the canvas. The lines

"The stream of Malini, and on its sands

The swan-pairs resting; holy foot-hill lands

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1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 20.

2. कार्या सैकतलीनहंसमिथुना स्रोतोवहा मालिनी

पादास्तामभितो निषण्णहरिणा गौरीगुरोः पावनाः ।

शाखालम्बितवल्कलस्य च तरोर्निर्मातुमिच्छाम्यधः

शृङ्गे कृष्णमृगस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमानां मृगीम् ॥

Śākuntalam, Act VI, Śl. 17.

Of great Himalaya's sacred ranges, where  
The yaks are seen; and under trees that bear  
Bark hermit-dresses on their branches high,  
A doe that on the buck's horn rubs her eye"<sup>1</sup>

give us an exquisite landscape in which the river and the mountains in the distance cannot be painted without a proper knowledge of aerial perspective. In short there can be no picture that can be done properly without a knowledge of perspective. Landscape artists should necessarily be thorough in the principles of perspective; and we have many a landscape painting stated in Sanskrit Literature. The picture of the Īṅgudīpādapa near Śrīgiberapura<sup>2</sup>, of the Ganges<sup>3</sup>, of the Vaṭavṛkṣa called Śyāma on the way to Citrakūṭa,<sup>4</sup> of the Prasravaṇa mountain in all its glory,<sup>5</sup> the picture of the parleying of Śūrpaṇakhā with

1. A. W. Rider's Trans. of Śākuntalam Act VI, p. 71.

2. लक्ष्मणः—एष मन्यरावृत्तान्तः ।

रामः—(सत्वरमन्यतो दर्शयन्) देवि वैदेहि !

इङ्गुदीपादपः सोऽयं शृङ्गिबेरपुरे पुरा ।

निष्पादपतिना यत्र स्निग्धेनासीत् समागमः ॥ २ ॥

लक्ष्मणः—(विहस्य) स्वगतम् अये ! मध्यमाभ्यावृत्तान्तमन्तरितमार्येण ।

Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

3. सीता—एषा प्रसन्नपुण्यसलिला भागीरथी ।

रामः—रघुकुलदेवते ! नमस्ते । Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

4. लक्ष्मणः—एष भरद्वाजावेदितश्चित्रकूटयायिनि वर्त्मनि वनस्पतिः

कालिन्दीतटे वटः श्यमो नाम । (रामः सस्पृहमवलोकयति ।)

सीता—स्मरति वा तं प्रदेशमार्यपुत्रः ।

रामः—अयि ! कथं विस्मर्यते ?

अलसवालितमुग्धान्यध्वसंपातखेदा-

दशिथिलपरिरम्भैर्दत्तसंवाहनानि ।

परिमृदितमृणलीदुर्बलान्यङ्गकानि

त्वमुरसि मम कृत्वा यत्र निद्रामवाप्ता ॥

Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

5. लक्ष्मणः—अयमविरलानोकहनिवहनिरन्तरस्निग्धनीलपरिसरारण्यपरिणद्ध-  
गोदावरीमुखकन्दरः सततमभिष्यन्दमानमेधमेदुरितनीलिमा जनस्थान-  
मध्यगो गिरिः प्रस्रवणो नाम । Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

Pañcavaṭī as background,<sup>1</sup> of the Pampā lake and its surroundings<sup>2</sup>—all show that painting natural scenery was a common feature which necessarily implies a knowledge of perspective in the case of the artist and it is not portrait-drawing alone that the painter knew as Weber says.

Again it cannot be held that portrait-drawing is absolutely barren of perspective. The picture in Śākuntalam is a portrait of the heroine and it has a proper background as every portrait generally has; and every background to be worked requires a knowledge of perspective. The value of the portrait itself is enhanced or subdued by a proper arrangement of the horizon or the eye-level. 'Viewed from a low level an object or figure appears much more imposing than from a higher one. This fact is often turned to account in portrait-painting, especially in the works of many old masters.'<sup>3</sup> Thus the statement of Weber cannot hold good. By saying this much, there is no trying to maintain that our ancients were masters of perspective. All that is tried to be proved is that they knew something of it—at least the elements. If we compare the paragraph

"In the Florentine painting of the fifteenth century, the impulse towards naturalism, first given by Giotto, branched out in two opposite directions. One was psychic, the other

1. लक्ष्मणः—एष पञ्चवट्यां शूर्पणखाविवादः ।  
सीता—हा आर्यपुत्र ! एतावत्ते दर्शनम् ।  
रामः—अयि वियोगत्रस्ते ! चित्रमेतत् ।
2. लक्ष्मणः—अयमसौ जनस्थानस्य पश्चिमतः कुञ्जवान्नाम पर्वतो दनु-  
कवन्धाधिष्ठितो दण्डकारण्यभागः । तदिदममुष्य परिसरे मतङ्गाश्रमपदम् ।  
तत्र श्रमणी नाम सिद्धशबरतापसी । तदेतत् पम्पाभिधानं पद्मसरः ।  
सीता—यत्र किलार्यपुत्रेण विच्छिन्नामर्षधीरत्वं प्रमुक्तकण्ठं प्रवदितमासीत् ।  
रामः—देवि ! परं रमणीयमेतत् सरः ।  
एतस्मिन् मदकलमल्लिकाक्षपक्ष-  
व्याधूतस्फुरदुरुदण्डपुण्डरीकाः ।  
बाष्पाम्भः परिपतनोद्गमान्तराले  
संहृष्टाः कुवलयिनो मया विभागाः ॥

31 Uttararāmacarita, Act I.

3. Drawing and Design for craftsmen by R. S. Bowers, p. 220. Chap. XXII.



physical. The expression of intense and strong emotion, together with action and movement, was the aim of one school; and another strove after realistic probability and correctness of representation. This second school, pushed on by its love of truth, attacked and vanquished one by one various problems of technique. The approach to a closer representation of the appearance of realities involved three main enquiries : (1) the study of perspective, linear and aerial; (2) the study of anatomy, of nude bodies in repose and action; and (3) the detailed truth of facts in objects animate and inanimate.”<sup>1</sup>

with another one

“As will be seen from his *The Bewailing of St. Francis*, his backgrounds, though in a sense true to Nature, are not realistic. His buildings and his trees are far too small, being drawn neither in true perspective nor in correct proportion to the human figures. His hills are bare and jagged cliffs, his trees have only a dozen leaves for foliage; but it was an innovation for fields, trees, and animals to appear at all, and no imperfections in their rendering can rob the painter of the glory of having extended the subject matter of his art. Giotto was the first Gothic painter to depict action, to substitute the dramatic human life for the eternal repose of the divine. To his contemporaries his realism must have seemed amazing, and we can understand Boccaccio, after looking at earlier Byzantine paintings, writing enthusiastically in the *Decamerone* :

‘Giotto was such a genius that there was nothing in Nature which he could not have represented in such a manner that it not only resembled, but seemed to be, the thing itself’.”<sup>2</sup>

and if we view with a similar lenient eye the pictures of our ancients, we are bound to agree on the point of their having been conversant with at least some of the elementary principles of light and shade and perspective, though, what to them might have appeared wonderful in those days, might seem nothing so correct to our modern eyes. And today if we are able to see better than those older workers in the field we have to put ourselves in the position of the dwarf seated on the giant’s shoulder being able to see better than the giant himself and thank those hoary heads

1 The Outline of Art, p. 22—23.

2. *Ibid* p. 17.

that have grovelled almost in darkness to provide us with lights for seeing things better.

It has already been observed that natural scenes were favourite themes with the artists of India. Animal painting was also quite common. The realistic pictures of elephants painted on the walls of mansions in Ayodhyā are an example of it.<sup>1</sup> In the Vikramorvaśīya we have a reference to a monkey in a picture.<sup>2</sup> This animal was a favourite subject of study at the time and the monkeys of Ajanta given such a prominence by Dr. Vincent Smith in his *History of India* are sufficient evidence for it. Of conventional pictures the Śaṅkha and Padma painted near the doorway of the Yakṣa's mansion are examples.

#### SURFACES

Of surfaces the passage from the Encyclopaedia Britannica quoted in the article 'Painting and allied arts as revealed in Bāṇa's works' gives us a lot of information. Kālidāsa is aware of all the grounds (surfaces) that Bāṇa talks of. In the verse

त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैश्शिलायाम्

आत्मानं ते चरणपतितं यावदिच्छामि कर्तुम् ।

अनैस्तावन्मुद्गरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालुप्यते मे

क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते सङ्गमं नौ कृतान्तः ॥<sup>3</sup>

we have a rough sketch in mineral chalks—something like a pastel drawing—on a stone slab. The verse

चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः ।

नखाङ्कुशाघातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिंहप्रद्वतं वहन्ति ॥<sup>4</sup>

gives us some idea of the fresco or wall paintings of the day. Portrait-painting on board and canvas was very common and we have types of it in the pictures of Indumatī, Daśaratha, Śakuntalā, Mālavikā, Agnimitra. Irāvati, Urvaśī, the drawings of dancing girls executed by Agnivarṇa<sup>5</sup> and the like. Patralekhana i.e.,

1. चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीर्णाः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालभङ्गाः ।

2. अहो ! आलेख्यवानर इव किमपि मन्त्रयन्निभृत आर्यमाणवकस्तिष्ठति ॥  
Vikramorvaśīyam, act II.

3. Meghadūta, II, 42.

4. Raghu. XVI, 16.

5. लौल्यमेत्य गृहिणीपरिग्रहान्तर्तकीष्वसुलभासु तद्वपुः ।

वर्तते स्म स कथंचिदालिखन्नङ्गुलिधरणसन्नवर्तिकः ॥

Raghu, XIX, 19.

painting of creeper designs on the body of both man and beast—generally the elephant in the latter case—is very often stated. In the lines

रेवां द्रक्ष्यस्युपलविषमे विन्ध्यपादे विशीर्णां

भक्तिच्छेदैरिव विरचितां भूतिमङ्गे गजस्य ॥<sup>1</sup>

we have a description of Sindūra painting on the elephant's body. Śmedevasūri has a passage in his Yaśastilaka describing the Bhūti of the elephant consisting of Bhakticcheda.<sup>2</sup> Drawings of festoons (flags), conch, discus, Svastika, Nandyāvarta and the like make up the elephant's artistic decoration. Drawing designs on the arms and cheeks of both sexes was a common practice of which mention is made in the following verses

हरेः कुमारोऽपि कुमारविक्रमः सुरद्विपास्फालनकर्कशाङ्गुलौ ।

भुजे शचीपत्रविशेषकाङ्क्षिते स्वनामचिह्नं निचखान सायकम् ॥<sup>3</sup>

महेन्द्रमास्थाय महोक्षरूपं यः संयति प्राप्तपिनाकिलीलः ।

चकार बाणैरसुराङ्गनानां गण्डस्थलीः प्रोषितपत्रलेखाः ॥<sup>4</sup>

The painting of Makara and other motifs on the breasts of women was even more popular.

#### PROCESS

Of the Patralekha-process there is not very much to say since it is an easy method of drawing lines with a dark colour on a light background. In all cases of Patralekha the background was generally white sandal paste smeared lightly over the body. The verse

ततः प्रकोष्ठे हरिचन्दनाङ्किते प्रमथ्यमानार्णवधीरनादिनीम् ।

रघुः शशङ्कार्धमुखेन पत्रिणा शरासनज्यामलुनाद्विडौजसः ॥<sup>5</sup>

1. Meghadūta, I, 19.

2. अन्तरान्तरा ध्वजशङ्खचक्रस्वस्तिकनन्द्यावर्तविन्यासाभिः प्रदक्षिणावर्तवृत्तिभिः सूक्ष्ममुखस्निग्धाङ्गजराजिभिरणुतरविन्दुमालाभिश्च निचितोचितप्रतीकम् ,

Note: Here these various designs are described as nature's own formation, the hairs growing in that way. Such a formation being rare the very designs were in all probability painted on their bodies.

3. Raghu, III, 55.

4. Raghu, VI, 72.

5. Raghu, III, 59.

gives us the groundwork of sandal paste for the Patralekha-designs spoken of in the verse

हरेः कुमारोऽपि कुमारविक्रमः सुरदिपास्फलनकर्कशाङ्गुलौ ।

भुजे शचीपत्रविशेषकाङ्क्षिते स्वनामचिह्नं निचखान सायकम् ॥<sup>1</sup>

The process of painting these designs is more clearly given out, in the seventeenth canto of Raghuvamśa.

चन्दनेनाङ्गरागं च मृगनाभिसुगन्धिना ।

समापय्य ततश्चक्रुः पत्रं विन्यस्तरोचनम् ॥<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes Śuklāguru paste took the place of sandal as the background. The use of Gorocanā for drawing lines over a Śuklāguru ground work is given out in Kumārasambhava.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes Dhātūrāga took the place of Gorocanā.<sup>4</sup> That this painting of the body was effected with the help of a brush we gather from the Nāndīśloka of the drama Vṛṣabhānujā of Mathurādāsa.<sup>5</sup> But the brush could not have been so popular as the fingers and nails, which, when used over the body in the act of Aṅgaprasādana, served as a Śṛṅgārāṅga. Somadevasūri the author of Yaśastilaka-campū makes mention of fine lines produced on the body by the finger nails in the act of adorning.<sup>6</sup>

Painting proper was done on wall, canvas and board. The process of work was more or less the same in the case of all these three surfaces. The most important factor in drawing a picture is the conception of it. It is this conception of which Kālidāsa talks in the verse

1. Raghu. III, 55.

2. Raghu. XVII, 25.

3. विन्यस्तशुक्लागुरु चक्रुरङ्गं गोरोचनापत्रविभक्तमस्याः ।

सा चक्रवाकाङ्क्षितसैकतायास्त्रिस्रोतसः कान्तिमतीत्य तस्थौ ॥

Kumāra. VII, 15.

4. यश्चाप्सरोविभ्रममण्डनानां संपादयित्रीं शिखरैविमर्ति ।

बलाहकच्छेदविभक्तरागामकालसन्ध्यामिव धातुमत्ताम् ॥ Kumāra. I, 4.

5. कपोले पत्राली पुलकिनि विधातुं व्यवसितः

स्वयं श्रीराधायाः करकलितवर्तिर्मधुरिपुः ।

यदासीत्तद्वक्त्रे निहितनयनः कम्पितभुज-

स्तदेतत् सामर्थ्यं तदभिनवरूपस्य जयति ॥ Vṛṣabhānujā, Act I, 1

6. ऊर्ध्वनखरेखालिखितनिखिलदेहप्रसादं देव...दाक्षिणात्यं बलम्

Yaśastilaka, p. 463.

चित्रे निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्त्वयोगा

रूपोच्चयेन मनसा विधिना कृता नु ।

क्षीरक्षसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभति सा मे

धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य वपुश्च तस्याः ॥<sup>1</sup>

‘Manasā kṛtā’ is the same as working the picture in the mind, *i.e.*, conception of it.

Drawing the picture is the next stage; and it consists of an effective delineation of the figures in outline. This is generally done with a Vartikā. Kālidāsa refers to this process in describing Agnivarṇa as making sketches of his amorous dancing girls.<sup>2</sup> Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa the son of Bāṇa mentions the Vartikā as a sketching pencil in the Uttarabhāga of the Kādambārī;<sup>3</sup> of the importance of the Vartikā as a sketching material there is enough said in the Śilpa texts.<sup>4</sup> The Tūlikā is the delicate brush used for final touches that give life to the picture. This is technically called Citra-unmilana. Kālidāsa acquaints us of it in his Kumārasambhava.<sup>5</sup> Bāṇa’s son Bhūṣaṇa refers to this process of

तमालदलनिर्यासरसपूरितकरीकसलयपुटेन यमितनखलेखिनीधारिणा

खचरानिचयेन रच्यमलानसहचरीकपोलफलकतलतिलकविचित्रपत्रभङ्गिनि  
Yaśastilaka, p. 101.

1. Śākuntalam, Act. II. 9.

2. Raghu, XIX. 3a me

3. रूपालेख्योन्मीलनकमिगञ्जनवर्तिका Kā. p. 465.

4. पूर्वं तिन्दुकलेख्यं स्थाद्यद्वा वर्तिकया बुधैः ।

आकारमात्रिकां रेखां विना वर्णं लिखेत् पुनः ।

आकारमात्रिकां रेखां तिन्दुवर्तिविनिर्मिताम् ।

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.

The Tinduvarti is taken as Kiṭṭavarti in the Śivatattvaratnākara; the Śilparatna calls it Kiṭṭalekhani but gives out its shape as similar to that of the Vartikā,

... .. शोषयेत् किट्टलेखनीम् ॥

वर्त्योकारास्तथायामे द्वित्र्यम्भोध्यङ्गुलात्मकाः ।

Śilparatna, citralakṣaṇa, S. 36-37.

The Kiṭṭalekhanis are shaped like Vartikās and are two, three or four inches in length. The process of their make is almost the same as that of making the ordinary Vartikā.

5. उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं सूर्योद्युभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।

बभूव तस्याश्चतुरस्रशोभि वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥ Kumāra. I, 32.

Unmilana in the Uttarabhāga of the Kādambarī.<sup>1</sup>

Working of light and shade in colours known technically as *chiaroscuro* is not unknown to Kālidāsa. A specific statement of light and shade *i.e.*, modelling achieved by light and shade, is found in the Śākuntalam.<sup>2</sup> The third dimension in space, which Giotto could only suggest experimentally and symbolically, was conquered by Uccello, who clearly separated the planes in which his figures move and have their being.<sup>3</sup> This dates about the fifteenth century A. D. The West took such a long time to overcome the stiff Byzantine art that obscured the glorious art of ancient Greece and Rome. The statement in the Śākuntalam leaves us in no doubt as to the existence of a knowledge of light and shade — depiction of round objects on a flat surface in such a realistic manner as to make us almost believe that they are there. Of shading in colours we have two types given in the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi. It might be a monochrome picture with depths given with a darker tint of the same colour; or it might be an arrangement of the different colours of nature on a flat surface to give us an idea of heights and depths producing the illusion of a natural scene or figure.<sup>4</sup> The general notion of some art-experts of today that artists of ancient India were ignorant of *chiaroscuro* can easily be dismissed by the volume of evidence from Sanskrit Literature. We have, for instance, Dhanapāla the author of Tilakamañjarī talking of light and six factors of colours.<sup>5</sup> For light and shade we have such an ancient authority as a statement of the Mahābhārata.<sup>6</sup>

Ingress is supposed to have held the view that

1. प्रातश्च तदुन्मीलितं चित्रमिव चन्द्रापीडशरीरमवलोक्य . . . Kā. p. 548.
- ✓ 2. स्वलतीव मे दृष्टिर्निम्नोन्नतप्रदेशेषु Śākuntalam, Act VI.
3. The Outline of Art by Sir W. Orpen, p. 27.
- ✓ 4. पूरयेद्वर्णतः पश्चात्तत्तद्रूपोचितं यथा ।  
उज्ज्वलं प्रोन्नते स्थाने श्यामलं निम्नेदशतः ।  
एकवर्णेऽपि तं कुर्यात्तारतम्यविशेषतः ॥ Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.
- ✓ 5. राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशित-  
व्यक्तिनिम्नोन्नतविभागा . . . चक्रवर्तिकन्यका Tilakamañjarī, p. 135.
6. अतथ्यान्यपि तथ्यानि दर्शयन्ति विचक्षणाः ।  
समनिम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः ॥

Hemacandra's Kāvyaṇuśāsana. p. 7.

‘a thing well-drawn is always well enough painted.’<sup>1</sup> This power of drawing which necessarily means the value of line has been very early recognised in India and the Viṣṇudharmottara voices this opinion in the line रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्याः. In the line तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम् Kālidāsa gives an important place to the line in a picture by proclaiming it as the beautifier.

From some of the words of the parlance of artists that Kālidāsa uses we are led to suppose that he was most probably acquainted with the various technical terms used in discussing the theory of art. Such an one is ‘Citra-unmīlana’ which we have already noted. ‘Vartikānipuṇatā’,<sup>2</sup> is a powerful and dexterous wielding of the pencil or brush. ‘Vartikocchvāsa’<sup>3</sup> is a loose sweep of the brush over the canvas.

### MATERIALS

Kālidāsa is aware of almost all the artists’ materials that we come across in Sanskrit Literature. He knows of the Varṇatūlikā, the Paṭa, the Phalaka etc. There is also a reference to a Varṇikākaraṇḍa,<sup>4</sup> a colour box to preserve colours. In some editions it is printed as ‘Vartikākaraṇḍa’ a box for holding brushes. This latter was also in existence and Daṇḍin refers to it in his Daśakumāracarita.<sup>5</sup> Since colours require great care and preservation it is but probable that Kālidāsa meant only ‘Varṇikākaraṇḍa’ and the change of *ṛṇi* into *ṛti* might be a scribe’s error which also fortunately happens to exist and have a meaning. Śrī Harṣadeva makes this point clear in the line गृहीतसमुद्रकचित्रफलक-वर्तिका in the Ratnāvalī meaning ‘colour box, picture-board and

The source of Hemacandra is Kṣemendra who gives this in his Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa as a verse from the Mahābhārata. Cf. The Anuṣṭubh on the same subject quoted by Bhoja in Chapter IX of Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Madras Mss.

यत्र निम्नोन्नतं चित्रे स्वरूपं पर्वतादिभिः ।

न तत्र प्रतिघातादि कार्यं तद्वत् प्रवर्तते ॥

1. The Outline of Art by Sir. W Orpen, p. 335.

2. Śākuntalam, Act VI.

3. ” ”

4. ” ”

5. मणिसमुद्रकादर्णवर्तिकासुद्धृत्य Daśakumāracarita, Ucc. II, p. 99.

brush.<sup>1</sup> The 'Samudgaka' cannot mean anything else except a colour box in this context. So the importance of a box for holding colours is sufficiently recognised; and we have Bāṇa talking of the simple Alābū for holding colours.<sup>2</sup>

### COLOURS

If the latter half of the Kumārasambhava can be held as the work of Kālidāsa—and most probably it is not—it can be said that four mountain-born colours, red, yellow, black (blue) and white were taken by the poet as the principal ones.<sup>3</sup> Of the diversity of tints got by mixing colours Kālidāsa is well aware. Though he does not speak so eloquently of the infinity of tints in nature as Bāṇa does, he nevertheless gives us sufficient information about colours in his works to prove his knowledge of them.

One would be curious to know what sort of colours were used about the time of the poet. To-day we know of pictures in water-colour, oils and pastel. The favourite colours of Kālidāsa's time appear to have been water-colour of the type of tempera. The Meghadūta has a verse in which the clouds are described as slyly sneaking away in the form (guise) of smoke through the window apertures of the lofty mansions of Alakā being ashamed of their conduct in having caused damage to the beautiful pictures printed there by allowing water particles to settle on them.<sup>4</sup> In the Śākuntalam we have another reference. The verse

स्विन्नाङ्गुलिविनिवेशो रेखाप्रान्तेषु दृश्यते मलिनः ।

अश्रु च कपोलपतितं लक्ष्यमिदं वर्तिकोच्छ्रसात् ॥<sup>5</sup>

1. Ratnāvali, Act IV.

2. अवलम्बमानतूलिकालाबुकांश्च लिखितानालेख्यफलकसंपाट्

Harṣacarita, p. 217.

✓3. पीतासितारक्तसितैः सुराचलप्रान्तस्थितैर्धातुरजोभिरम्बरम् ।

अयत्नगन्धर्वपुरोदयभ्रमं बभार भूम्नोत्पतितैरितस्ततः ॥

Kumāra. cant. XIV. 31.

4. नेत्रा नीतः सततगतिना यद्विमानाग्रभूमी-

रालेख्यानां स्वजलकणिकादोषमुत्पाद्य सद्यः ।

शङ्कास्पृष्टा इव जलमुचस्त्वाद्दृशो जालमार्गै-

र्धुमेद्गारानुक्कतिनिपुणा जर्जरा निष्पतन्ति ॥ Megha. Cant. II, Sl. 9.

5. Śākuntalam, Act VI, Sl. 15.



shows that the colour is easily spoilt by water; and this accounts for the lines in colour being blurred by the perspiration of the fingers. It is this same idea that Bāṇa echoes in his Kādambari when he writes

अङ्गुलीगलितस्वेदपरामर्शभीतेन चिन्तया लिखेत्, न चित्रतुलिकया ।<sup>1</sup>

thus pointing out the continuance of the same colour (tempera) even in his day. Further, the 'Vartikocchvāsa' caused by tears settling on the picture is possible only when the colour is a kind of tempera. A better elucidation of the nature of colours is to be had from Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita<sup>2</sup> wherein he tells us that they are a kind of 'Niryāsa Kalka'. 'Niryāsa' is a kind of exudation or gum of some tree and 'Kalka' is a viscous preparation obtained from substances or drugs ground or powdered. Colours were mixed with glue or Vajralepa for additional strength and the process of such a preparation is given in almost all the works of Śilpa. The Vajralepa is a medium of animal origin. The Niryāsa stated by Daṇḍin is of vegetable origin. Media of both kinds appear to have been used for watercolour and tempera. On this point there is some very valuable information in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The soluble media are of animal and vegetable origin. Egg, folk or white, or both combined, is the chief of the former. Next in importance are size, gained by boiling down shreds of parchment, and fish glue. Egg is the chief medium in what is specially known as 'tempera' painting, while for the painting commonly called distemper or 'gouache,' of which scene-painting is typical, size is used. Milk, ox-gall, casein and other substances are also employed. Of soluble vegetable media the most used are gums of various kinds. These are common 'temperas' or tempera media, and, with glycerin or honey, form the usual binding material in what is called 'water-colour' painting. Wine, vinegar, the milk of fig-shoots, etc., also occur in old recipes."<sup>3</sup> By the use of the phrase प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागम् in चित्रशालां गता देवी प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखामाचार्यस्यावलोकयन्ती तिष्ठति Kālidāsa tells us that colours are fresh and beautiful

1. Kādambari, p. 357.

2. नागदन्तलग्ननिर्यासकल्कवर्णितं फलकमादाय मणिसमुद्रकाद्वर्णवर्तिका-  
मुद्घृत्य तां तथा शयानां तस्याश्च मामाबद्धाञ्जलिं चरणलग्नमालिखम्  
Daśakumāracarita, Ucc. II, p. 99.

3. Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. XX, Eleventh Edition.

when new, and to maintain this freshness for a longer duration has been the endeavour of every great artist. This is sought to be achieved by a proper use of durable colours as opposed to fugitive ones that fade or disappear after a time. A passage on this point from the Outline of Art would not be out of place. “‘*The Tragic Muse*’ is something of a wreck today, because in his desire to emulate the deep, rich colouring of the Venetians, Reynolds made use of bitumen, a pigment which gives brilliant immediate results but never dries, and in time trickles down a canvas in channels, ruining its surface. This pigment, which liquifies like asphalt when the sun is hot, is chiefly responsible for the poor condition today of many paintings by Reynolds, and it must be admitted that as a craftsman he was not so particular as Wilson and Hogarth, who were more careful in their choice of pigments.”<sup>1</sup> It is this question of proper choice of pigments that induces the artist to study that particular branch of knowledge in art—chemistry of colours—a result of great experience. Anyway the fading of pictures by sheer age is inevitable and it is all the more hastened by dust, smoke and such other spoiling agencies. It is of this that Rājasekhara speaks in his verse in the Bālabhārata when he refers to pictures being dimmed by time and smoke.<sup>2</sup>

### POSE

Motion and repose are the two important factors sought to be depicted by a picture full of life and animation. Any one phase of motion taken by itself and repose come under the head ‘pose’. Of the value of pose in a picture there need not be said much. Its importance is all admitted and Sthāna or Sthānaka is given a distinct place in books on the theory of art in Sanskrit. There are, apart from the conventional postures, many beautiful poses the result of high artistic sense. Sometimes certain charming poses are the result of accident. Kālidāsa is aware of the potentiality of pose and has described many a lovely

1. The Outline of Art by Sir W. Orpen, p. 308.

2. निर्यद्वासरजीवपिण्डकरणि कुर्वन् कवोणैः करै-

मोज्झिष्ठं रविविम्बमम्बरतलादस्ताचलं चुम्बति ।

किं च स्तोकतमः कलापकलनाश्यामायमानं मना-

ग्धूमश्यामपुराणचित्ररचनारूपं जगजायते ॥

one. The Ālīḍha posture (fig. 1) described in the Raghuvamśa



Fig. 1.

is one of the conventional shooting poses. Cāritravardhana gives out the nature of this pose<sup>1</sup> in his commentary—the right knee bent forward and the left leg retracted. Kālidāsa himself describes it in the eighteenth canto of the Raghuvamśa<sup>2</sup> as also in the line स दक्षिणापाङ्गनिविष्टमुष्टिं नतां-समाकुञ्चितसव्यपादम्.<sup>3</sup> The commentator Mallinātha points out that Ālīḍha is one of the five well known postures of warriors (bowmen)—Vaiśākha, Maṇḍala, Samapada, Ālīḍha, Pratyālīḍha—all conventional.<sup>4</sup> The sixth canto of the Raghuvamśa has a verse describing the charming pose of a prince bending sideways

to talk to a friend<sup>5</sup> (fig. 2); but this is not a conventional one, it is natural. There is yet another graceful posture given by Kālidāsa that can be said to be more charming than all these. Perhaps there has been no great artist worth the name in India who has not attempted to draw this particular pose.

1. नामिता पूर्वजङ्घा च पश्चिमा प्रगुणा भवेत् ।  
असमो मध्यकायः स्यादालीढस्य तु लक्षणम् ॥
- ✓ 2. व्यूह्य स्थितः किञ्चिदिवोत्तरार्धमुन्नद्धचूडोऽञ्चितसव्यजानुः ।  
आकर्णमाकृष्टसबाणधन्वा व्यरोचतास्त्रे स विनीयमानः ॥

Raghu. Cant. XVIII, Sl. 51.

3. Kumārasambhava, Cant. III.
4. स्थानानि धन्विनां पञ्च तत्र वैशाखमस्त्रियाम् ।  
त्रिवितस्त्यन्तरौ पादौ मण्डलं तोरणाकृति ।  
अन्वर्थं स्यात् समपदमालीढं तु ततोऽग्रतः ।  
दक्षिणे वाममाकुञ्च्य प्रत्यालीढविपर्ययः ॥

quoted from Yādavakośa by Mallinātha in his commentary on Raghu. III, 52.

5. निवेश्य वामं भुजमासनार्धे तत्संनिवेशादधिकोन्नतांसः ।  
कश्चिद्विवृत्तत्रिकभिन्नहारः सुहृत्समाभाषणतत्परोऽभूत् ॥

Raghu. Cant. VI, Sl. 16.



पादाङ्गुष्ठालुलितकुसुमे कुट्टिमे पातिताक्षं

नृत्तादस्याः स्थितमतितरां कान्तमृज्वायतार्धम् ॥<sup>1</sup>

which describes an exceedingly charming posture of Mālavikā



Fig. 3.

(fig. 4). The use of the technical term Rjvāyata, the name of one of the important postures recognised in the Śilpa texts, is noteworthy.

#### ANATOMY

Apart from the conventional description of the ideal anatomy of man embodied in the verses

व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः सालप्रांशुर्महाभुजः ।

आत्मकर्मक्षमं देहं क्षात्रो धर्म इवाश्रितः ॥<sup>2</sup> and

युवा युगव्यायतबाहुरंसलः कपाटवक्षाः परिणद्धकन्धरः ।

वपुःप्रकर्षादजयद्गुरुं रघुस्तथापि नीचैर्विनयाददृश्यत ॥<sup>3</sup>

1. Mālavikā, Act II, Sl. 6.

2. Raghu. I, 13.

Kṣemendra, who expects encyclopaedic knowledge in the case of good poets, gives this verse in his Kavikanṭhābharaṇa as an example of Kālidāsa's knowledge of Puruṣalakṣaṇa, one of the many arts with which poets were acquainted.

3. Raghu. III. 34.

and of women in the lengthy account of Pārvatī's beauty in



Fig. 4.

the Kumārasambhava, we see Kālidāsa talking here and there sometimes in anatomical terms, thus revealing unconsciously his knowledge of the subject. The verses

वृत्तानुपूर्वे च न चातिदीर्घे जङ्घे शुभे सृष्टवतस्तदीये ।

शेषाङ्गनिर्माणीवधौ विधातुर्लावण्य उत्पाद्य इवास यत्नः ॥<sup>1</sup> and

निवेश्य वामं भुजमासनार्धे तत्संनिवेशादधिकोन्नतांसः ।

कश्चिद्विवृत्तात्रिकमिन्नहारः सुद्वत्समाभाषणतत्परोऽभूत् ॥<sup>2</sup>

are examples. The former talks of the symmetrical rotundity and other features of the shanks while the latter talks of the backbone, the side (flap bone) raised etc. The verse from Kumārasambhava necessarily recalls Bāṇa's anatomical description of the nose समसुवृत्ततुङ्गनासिकया...कन्यकया. Of the symmetrical perfection of the woman there is no verse of Kālidāsa that in such a short compass gives out so much of useful anatomical information as the following one in the Mālavikāgnimitra

1. Kumāra. I. 35.

2. Raghu. VI. 16.

दीर्घाक्षं शरदिन्दुकान्ति वदनं बाहू नतावंसयोः  
 संक्षिप्तं निबिडोन्नतस्तनुरुरः पार्श्वे प्रमृष्टे इव ।  
 मध्यः पाणिमितो नितम्बि जघनं पादावरालङ्गुली  
 छन्दो नर्तायितुर्यथैव मनसः श्लिष्टं तथास्या वपुः ॥<sup>1</sup>

### PROPRIETY IN PAINTING

#### (HOW TO PAINT A PARTICULAR SUBJECT)

A thing that is in its proper place is beautiful and out of place it is ugly. Thus the value of a picture is enhanced or otherwise by the setting of the subject (figures) in place or out of it. In other words, proper representation of a subject is all in painting. With this idea in view Kālidāsa gives us some hints to draw certain figures. In the dialogue<sup>2</sup>

राजा—वयस्य ! अन्यच्च, शकुन्तलायाः प्रसाधनमभिप्रेतमत्र विस्मृत-  
 मस्माभिः ।

विदूषकः—किमिव ?

सानुमती—वनवासस्य सौकुमार्यस्य च यत् सदृशं भविष्यति ।

राजा—कृतं न कर्णार्पितबन्धनं सखे  
 शिरीषमागण्डविलम्बिकेसरम् ।

न वा शरच्चन्द्रमरीचिकोमलं  
 मृणालसूत्रं रचितं स्तनान्तरे ॥

we get an idea of the proper ornamentation of a hermit-girl. She has no golden ornaments or gemdecked jewels. All her adornment consists of decking herself with multicoloured beautiful flowers. In such a case the force of the line

इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी

किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ।<sup>3</sup>

is to be felt in its full swing.

That an Abhisārikā should be decked in pearls and wear a blue garment is information got from Vikramorvaśīya.<sup>4</sup> The

1. Mālavikā. Act, II. 3.

2. Śākuntalam Act, VI.

3. Śākuntalam, Act I. 17.

4. सखि, रोचते ते मेऽयं मुक्ताभरणभूषितो नीलांशुकपरिग्रहोऽभिसारिकावेषः।

body of a Virahiṇī is to be represented as pale and ematiated and her hair should be an Ekaveṇī—one twisted braid.<sup>1</sup> The Kumārasambhava gives us that a bridal saree should generally have a swan design as the border.<sup>2</sup> The swan design for a border was perhaps compulsory in a bridal dress; but we know from other evidences that even as an optional design in other cases it was the most popular. Kālidāsa describes the young King Atithi as arrayed in a silk garment with a swan border on his coronation day.<sup>3</sup> Bāṇa refers to a similar dress in the Kādambarī.<sup>4</sup> Even such a late poet as Veṅkatanātha refers to this popular saree design of India.<sup>5</sup>

The faithful representation of the three worlds in picture is considered to be the ideal of every artist in the Śilpa texts.<sup>6</sup> The world around us can be so represented since we can see everything around us. The representation of the superhuman is impossible without the proper guidance of seers since no one knows what a Deva or a Dānava is like. It is for this purpose that the Śilpa texts lay down elaborate rules for our easy comprehension of the figures of these individuals. Kālidāsa has given us some instructions even in this field. Airāvata, the divine elephant, is to be represented with four tusks unlike the ordinary ones around

1. वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिलासावतीतस्य सिन्धुः  
पाण्डुच्छाया तटरुहतरुभ्रंशिभिर्जीर्णपणैः ।  
सौभाग्यं ते सुभग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती  
कार्श्यं येन त्यजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाद्यः॥ Megha Can. I. 29.
2. त्वमेव तावत्परिचिन्तय स्वयं कदाचिदेते यदि योगमर्हतः ।  
वधूदुकूलं कलहंसलक्षणं गजाजिनं शोणितबिन्दुवर्षि च ॥  
Kumāra. V 67.
3. आमुक्ताभरणः स्रग्वी हंसचिह्नदुकूलवान् ।  
आसीदतिशयप्रेक्ष्यः स राज्यश्रीवधूवरः ॥ Raghu. XVII 25.
4. अमृतफेनधवले गोरोचनालिखितहंसमिश्रुनसनाथपर्यन्ते चारुचामरवायु-  
प्रनर्तितान्तर्देशे दुकूले वसानम् Kādambarī p. 17.
5. तस्मिन्सीतागतिमनुगते तद्दुकूलाङ्गमूर्तौ Hamsasandēśa, I, 3.
6. जङ्गमा वा स्थावारा वा ये सन्ति भुवनत्रये ।  
तत्तत्स्वभावतस्तेषां करणं चित्रमुच्यते ॥



us with only two.<sup>5</sup> The Meghadūta tells us that Yakṣas are to be represented as youths;<sup>6</sup> the Siddhas are to be painted always in pairs with Viṇas in their hands.<sup>7</sup> The Kumārasambhava tells us that Kinnaras are to be drawn with the face of a horse.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE PURPOSE OF PICTURES

In a pensive mood one may put himself the question "What is the purpose of art?" which amounts to asking the utility of a picture. This is to some extent answered by certain remarks of Kālidāsa. The usual bashfulness of women—especially in ancient India—stands in the way of their having a good look at their lovers. In that case the picture comes to the rescue since a portrait can be looked at freely to their hearts' content. Kālidāsa gives this out in his Mālavikāgnimitra.<sup>1</sup> Another use of pictures as instructive factors is given out in the Śākuntalam where the companions of Śākuntalā adorn her well enough, in spite of their ignorance of ornaments, sheerly because of having observed them in pictures.<sup>2</sup> A peculiar utility of painting in ancient India is given in the Raghuvamśa where pictures with a faithful representation of different princesses were sent round to many a prince for winning over their hearts.<sup>3</sup> This same idea is echoed by Dhana-

1. सुरगज इव दन्तैर्भग्नदैत्यासिधारैर्नय इव पणवन्धव्यक्तयोगैरुपायैः ।  
हरिरिव युगदीर्घैर्दोर्भिरशैस्तदीयैः पतिरवनिपतीनां तैश्चक्राशे चतुर्भिः ॥  
Raghu., X. 86.

2. वित्तेशानां न च खलु वयो यौवनादन्यदस्ति ॥ Megha. II.
3. सिद्धद्वन्द्वैर्जलकणभयाद्वीणिभिर्मुक्तमार्गः Megha. I. 45.
4. उद्वेजयत्यङ्गुलिपार्ष्णिभागान्मार्गे शिलीभूतहिमेऽपि यत्न ।  
न दुर्वहश्रोणिपयोधरातां भिन्दन्ति मन्दां गतिमश्वमुख्यः ॥ Kumāra, I.
5. सखि ! तदा ससंभ्रममुत्कण्ठिताहं भर्तृ रूपदर्शनेन तथा न वितृष्णास्मि  
यथाद्य विभावितश्चित्रगतदर्शनो भर्ता । Mālavikā Act, IV. Sl.
6. अये ! अनुपयुक्तभूषणोऽयं जनश्चित्रकर्मपरिचयेनाङ्गेषु त आभरण-  
विनियोगं करोति । Śākuntalam, Act IV.

The commentator Abhirāma has a line to explain it—

चित्रकर्मपरिचयेन देवालयेष्वालेख्यस्त्रीदर्शनात् ; आश्रमे देवतायतनानि सन्ति,

‘देवतायतनानां च पूजाः प्रेक्ष्य कृता द्विजैः ।

ब्रह्मलोकस्थमात्मानं मेने स नृपसत्तमः ॥’ इत्याश्रमवर्णनोक्तः ॥

7. प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतिसंदर्शिताभ्यः  
समाधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसंतानकामैः ।

pāla in his Tilakamañjarī where Meghavāhana is represented as spending long hours in judging the comparative merit in the beauty of princesses painted on canvas.<sup>4</sup> Apart from all these the most straightforward and universally appealing argument in favour of the utility of art is to be found in the line in the Śākuntalam where Duṣyanta talks of it as a 'Vinodasthāna'.<sup>5</sup>

### THE PHILOSOPHY OF PAINTING

It is a generous heart that overlooks the faults of others and tries in its humble way to correct them. Attempts at trying to better things around us fallen pelmel is really a laudable enterprise. The function of art is not very distinct from this. A real painter tries to represent always an ideal. The faults that meet his eye he ignores and represents only the good of things. It is in his power to better the universe at any rate at least in his picture. "All the objects," says Sir Joshua Reynolds addressing the students of the Royal Academy, "which are exhibited to our view by nature, upon close examination will be found to have their blemishes and defects. The most beautiful forms have something about them like weakness, minuteness, or imperfection. But it is not every eye that perceives these blemishes. It must be an eye long used to the contemplation and comparison of these forms ; and which, by a long habit of observing what any set of objects of the same kind have in common, has acquired the power of discerning what each wants in particular. This long laborious comparison should be the first study of the painter who aims at the greatest style. By this means, he acquires a just idea of beautiful forms ; he corrects nature by herself, her imperfect

अधिविविदुरमात्यैराहृतास्तस्य यूनः

प्रथमपरिग्रहीति श्रीभुवौ राजकन्याः ॥

Raghu. Can. XVIII, Sl. 53.

1. कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति निपुणचित्रकरैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायुनीकृतानि रूपातिशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिविम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मादिवसमलोकयत् . . . Tilakamañjarī, p. 15.

2. चतुरिके ! अर्धलिखितमिदं विनोदस्थानमस्माभिः ।

Śākuntalam, Act VI.

Cf. मांसरसाभ्यवहारः पुरुषाहतिपीडया न तु स्पृहया ।

आलेख्यादौ व्यसनं वैदग्ध्यख्यातये न तु विनोदाय ॥

Kuṭṭaṇimata, Sl. 307.

state by her more perfect.”<sup>1</sup> It is this—the true philosophy of art—that Kālidāsa gives out to the world, succinctly summed up in his verse

यद्यत्साधु न चित्रे स्यात्क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा ।

तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम् ॥<sup>2</sup>

The ordinary meaning of this verse that is usually given in the commentary does not do any credit to the high artistic attainments of Duṣyanta. यद्यत्साधु न चित्रे स्यात् taken as it is, would mean—whatever is not drawn properly, which suggests weak power of drawing in the case of Duṣyanta, and consistently with it क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा would mean that it is all rubbed out by means of some eraser and drawn again, this time suggesting the shabby way in which the work is executed the eraser being used many times and the surface being dirtied. तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम् would mean that, in spite of the greatest efforts at drawing, it is only a partial reproduction of her great beauty that transcends representation. The above meaning, which detracts from Duṣyanta's power of drawing is so annoying that I am overjoyed to hear the happy interpretation of the verse given by my professor Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar who splits up the line यद्यत् साधु न चित्रे स्यात् क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा into यद्यत् साधु न and चित्रे तत्तदन्यथा स्यात् क्रियते meaning that whatever is not beautiful can be made different in a picture. The word स्यात् क्रियते is used in the sense of क्रियेत. My professor tells me that such a use is frequent in the Mahābhāṣya and certain other works. In all such cases स्यात् is an *avyaya* (तिङन्तप्रतिरूपकाव्यय) and added to the verb in the present tense would give the meaning of the potential. The use is of frequent occurrence in the Syādvāda works of the Jains. This new meaning of the verse gives out that though the function of art (drawing) is to beautify and idealise the blemishes and weaknesses in nature if any, Duṣyanta, a great painter as he was, could only partially represent the beauty of Śakuntalā—so lovely is her form.<sup>3</sup>

1. Discourses on Art. Sir Joshua Reynolds, 3rd discourse. p. 30.

2. Śākuntalam, Act VI, Sl. 16.

3. Ravivarmabhūpa appears to have understood the verse thuswise as is evident from the passage in his Pradyumnā-bhyudaya.

It is of this function of art that Sir Joshua talks when he says "The moderns are not less convinced than the ancients of this superior power existing in the art; nor less sensible of its effects. Every language has adopted terms expressive of this influence. The *gusto grande* of the Italians, the *beau ideal* of the French, and the *great style, genius, and taste* among the English, are but different appellations of the same thing. It is this intellectual dignity, they say, that ennobles the painter's art; that lays the line between him and the mere mechanic; and produces those great effects in an instant, which eloquence and poetry, by slow and repeated efforts, are scarcely able to attain."<sup>1</sup> It is this power of bettering the original that gave rise to the humourous incident in Hogarth's life arising from his sending a very peculiar letter to a nobleman. Hogarth was a truculent little fellow : in manners rough and ready. Here is a letter from him to a nobleman who had resented the artist's frank presentment of his ugly features :

' Mr. Hogarth's dutiful respects to Lord—; finding that he does not mean to have the picture which was drawn for him, is informed again of Mr. Hogarth's necessity for the money; if, therefore, his lordship does not send for it in three days it will be disposed of, with the addition of a tail and some other little appendages, to Mr. Hare, the famous wild beast man; Mr. Hogarth having given that Gentleman a conditional promise of it for an exhibition-picture on his lordship's refusal.'<sup>2</sup>

Kālidāsa holds the view that a good deal of Samādhi or concentration is the first requisite for producing a good picture.<sup>3</sup>

प्रभावती—सखि ! न सर्वैः सर्वत्र कुशलः यत् सकलकलाविद-  
ग्धेनाप्यर्थं भद्रनटेनापि तं महाभागं यथा रूपमालिखितुं न पारितम् ।

कलहंसिका—आम् प्रियसखि ! आम् सर्वस्याप्याकृतिरालेख्येऽभ्यधिकशोभा  
लक्ष्यते, अस्य पुनर्विपरीतादृष्टा ॥

1. Discourses on Art, Sir Joshua Reynolds, 3rd discourse, p. 28.

2. The Great Painters in Art and Life by C. Lewis Hind, p. 99.

3. चित्रगतायामस्यां कान्तिविसंवादशङ्कि मे हृदयम् ।

संप्रति शिथिलसमाधिं मन्ये येनेयमालिखिता ॥

Fully aware of the nobility and greatness of the Fine arts, he, in a general way, gives out that they shine properly only when imparted to the proper person.<sup>1</sup> Thus in this short compass it has been attempted to show the idea of art that Kālidāsa had in those remote times and how far this branch of learning had progressed in his day. Suffice it to say that the achievement in the field about that time was not so mean as not to merit our careful attention.

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1 पात्रविशेषे न्यस्तं गुणान्तरं व्रजति शिल्पमाधातुः ।

जलमिव समुद्रशक्तौ मुक्ताफलतां पयोदस्य ॥

Mālavikā Act I, Sl. 6.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROOT "PAS": GREEN; FRESH; TENDER.

BY

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As we study a number of words derived from the root *pas*, we are struck by the fact that this root very early began to denote two different ideas. The ultimate or original meaning must have been the colour green, but with this meaning is associated the quality of being tender or young.

The one object that is strikingly green is the leaf of a tree. But the green colour changes with the season and the leaf becomes yellow. It is the tender leaf, the young green shoot that is green in colour. Therefore the root *pas* which indicates greenness also indicates tenderness or the state of being young. This association of ideas is not surprising as in English also "green" has the following meaning; the colour of growing plants; new; unripe; raw; simple; young; easily imposed on. This gave rise to a confusion in the denotation of the term *pas* when it signified colour. The colours green and yellow had only one root, viz. *pas*, to indicate them. The Telugu forms *pachcha* and *pasupu*, which mean green and yellow respectively, are never used independently by native speakers, but they will always refer to green as *āku-pachcha*, which may be translated as leaf-green, and to yellow as *pasupu-pachcha*, which may be translated as yellow-green or saffron-green. This indicates that the form *pachcha* has almost lost its significance and that is because of the confusion in the colour-idea due to the varying colour of a leaf. From the quality of being green to the quality of being tender or inexperienced is but an easy step. In English a green-horn is an inexperienced fellow and a coward is said to possess an yellow streak. The Dravidian dialects have a large number of words indicating the idea of tenderness and the state of being unripe, young or green. It will be noticed in the examples that are

given that each of the forms is derived from the root *pas*, sometimes through various phonetic changes.

In Telugu *pasi-pāpa* or *pasi-biḍḍa* we have in the first part of the compound the root almost intact conveying the sense of a young or tender child. The Tamil word *paian* : boy, and the Telugu word *peyya* : cow ; cow-calf ; insignificant man, show the same root with the change of 's' to 'y'. That infants and children should be known by a term which signifies tender is not surprising. Similarly the fact of femininity is always associated with weakness and tenderness ; the female is the weaker vessel, she belongs to the weaker sex. That a cow-calf should be known as *peyya* or *peyya-dūḍa* is singularly appropriate. Caldwell supposes that *paidal* the older form, which is used in Malayalam and which occurs as *paidal* or *haida* in Kanarese is properly a verbal noun which is destitute of gender. Therefore Malayalam signifies male and female respectively by terms like *āṇ-paidal* : boy ; *peṇ-paidal*, *paidāl-āl* : girl. Tamil has suffixed the masculine termination—*an* to the root in *paian-an*. Caldwell derives the root as follows. In *pas*, the 's' when medial has a tendency to change euphonicallly into 'y' and then to disappear when intervocalic. The plural of *paian* is correctly *paian-gal*. But in colloquial usage the older form *paṇṅgal* is used clearly denoting the original form of the root.<sup>1</sup>

The following Kanarese words show this root with the above meaning. *Pasale* : young ; *pasime* : freshness, rawness ; *hasaru*, *hasuru* : freshness, tenderness, young ; *hasi* : greenness, freshness, rawness ; *hasu* : young, fresh, tender ; *hasula*, *hasule* : a child ; *haikalu* : children ; *haida* : boy or girl ; *haidalata* : childishness.<sup>2</sup>

We noticed that the English word green has also the meaning of in-experienced, simple, easily imposed on. The Dravidian dialects show a similar use of the term. Why for instance, is madness known in Telugu as *picci* or *picca* and in Tamil as *pittam*. *Picci* is derived from the Sanskrit *pittam* which is the form that we find in Tamil. But *picca* is a native word meaning humble or lacking. These words suggest the idea of want or

1. Caldwell. Gram. of the Drav. Lang. p. 112, 118,

2. The Tamil *pasu* is usually derived from the Sanskrit *paśu* from the I. E. root *pek*. But *pasu-māḍu* may also mean the tender-animal, for we have a Telugu word *paṛamu* : cow and Kanarese *hasu* : cow, which are not of Sanskrit origin.

lacking in something be it wealth or sense. Therefore the same form which suggested in-experience, foolishness or a green-horn condition is used to express the idea of madness or the lacking of sense. It will be interesting to note here that in the Godavary district the term *picca* or its synonym *verri* is used to denote not only the mentally deficient, but more often the dumb or speechless man. The term *mūgi* is not used in colloquial speech. In such a usage the term *picca* has its elementary significance of want or lacking and it appears to be derived from the same root *pas*.

But the root *pas* in its original meaning of green is found in a very large number of derivatives. We may once again draw attention to what we may term the confusion in the denotation of the colours green and yellow. Both these colours have in Telugu individual terms to indicate them, namely *pacca*: green and *pasupu*: yellow. It is interesting to note that both the terms are derived from the same root *pas*. In *pasupu* we have the root unchanged while in *pacca*, 's' has been doubled to 'cc'. It is difficult to say which is the older form. There must have been a time when both the forms were one and the same and no distinction was made in the colours green and yellow. Even to-day especially in the minds of the illiterate both these words convey the same idea unless qualified by some other term. Indeed in compounds like *āku-pacca* and *pasupu-pacca* the form *pacca* has lost its original meaning and has become synonymous with "colour".

The root is clearly evident in such forms as Telugu *pasaru*: the green sap of plants; *pasirika*: the green bee-eater bird; *pesara-pappu*: green gram; *pesalu*: green gram; *pasupu*: saffron or turmeric; *pasara-pāmu*: the green tree-snake; *pesaroṭṭe*: bread made of green gram; *pāsi*: the yellow tartar on the teeth; *paṣiḍi*: the yellow metal, gold—in Tamil *pasappu*; *pasalai*: the colour of gold; *pasumai*: paste; *pasum-pul*: paddy (literally green grass); *pāsi*: moss, sea-weed—and in Kanarese *pasale*: green grass, pasturage; *pase*: fatty substance (probably from the yellow colour of fat); *hasana hasanu*: tillage; *hasaru, hasuru*: green colour, greenness, green grass; *hasaru-kāvi*: an unripe fruit; *hasaru-ratna*: emerald; *hasi*: greenness; *paṣike*: a small fee given to the government officer by those who bring goods to the market; *hasige*: sharing of the produce between landlord



and cultivator; *hasuru-muri*: to appear green; *hasuru-vāni*: vegetables; *halase*: tartar of the teeth; *hasaru*: green-gram;

In the 'cc' form it occurs in Telugu in *ṣacca*: green; *ṣacci*: green, unripe; *ṣaccaḍi*: chutney (usually made of "greens")—in Tamil *ṣaccapṣairu*: green-gram; *ṣaccai*: green—and in Kanarese *haccage*, *haccane*: greenness, yellowish; *hacce*: cane, rattan, bamboo split; *hacce-cuccu*: to tattoo; *hancanike*: vegetables and greens; *hanci*: a kind of long grass.

The change of 's' to 'y' is seen in such forms as Telugu *ṣayiḍi*, *ṣaiḍi*, *ṣahiṇḍi*: gold; *ṣaiḍi-pakṣi*, *ṣaiḍi-ganti*: the spotted owl—in Tamil *ṣaim-poṇ*: excellent gold (literally green-gold); *ṣairu*: paddy; *ṣairu*: green seed pods and in Kanarese *ṣairu*: growing corn, any green crop, a herd of cattle (a specialised meaning in the Kundapur district); *haikalu*: children; *hainu*, *hayanu*: cows giving milk, the products of milk.

In conclusion I may mention the following words, the origin of which are doubtful. Tel. *abbayi*: boy; cf. English *boy* and Hindustani *bhai*—Malayalam *ṣucca*: cat; cf. English *pus*, *pussy* from Irish *pus*—Kanarese *haladi*: turmeric of foreign origin—Tel. *pasandu*: a variety of sweet mango from the Urdu.

## A NOTE ON THE BHAVASAMKRĀNTISŪTRA

BY

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With regard to the work *Bhavasamkrāntisūtra*, published by my friend Pandit N. Ayyaswami, in the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VI, part III, pp. 246 ff., I have to make the following observations.

There are three Chinese translations of this work. See Nanjio's Catalogue Nos. 284, 285, and 526. The texts of the first and last are found in Vol. VI, fasc. 1 of the Shanghai edition of the Chinese Tripitaka. They agree with the Tibetan. The text of No. 285 of Nanjio's Catalogue is available in Vol. XIV of the Tokio edition of the Chinese Tripitaka.

The first Śloka of the restored Sanskrit text, p. 252, para 8, (*sarva etano* as rendered by the restorer), occurs as a quotation in *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* of Haribhadra. GOS. LXII, pp. 50, 415<sup>1</sup> and as verse 33<sup>2</sup> of the *Acintyastava* of the *Catusstava* of Nāgārjuna in the course of publication in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The first half of the same verse is found also as the first half of verse 50 of the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* of<sup>3</sup> Dīnāga now available only in Tibetan.<sup>3</sup> Verse 4 of the reconstructed text is found as a quotation with variations in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of<sup>4</sup> Śāntideva, p. 573 and is almost identical with verse 34 of the *Acintyastava* mentioned above.

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1. नाममात्रमिदं सर्वं संज्ञामात्रे प्रतिष्ठितम् ।  
नाभिधानात् पृथग्भूतमभिधेयं प्रकल्प्यते ॥
  2. Only pāda *b* differs from that of the above. It runs:  
स्तुत्वा त्वदुक्तिरुच्यते ।
  3. See Cordier, III, p. 284.
  4. कल्पनामात्रमित्यस्मात् सर्वधर्माः प्रकाशिताः ।  
कल्पनाप्यसती प्रोक्ता यथा शून्यं विकल्प्यते ॥
  5. *Ibid.*

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE ELEPHANT LORE OF THE HINDUS—THE ELEPHANT-SPORT (MATANGA-LILA) OF NILAKANTHA—TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND GLOSSARY BY PROF. EDGERTON, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, YALE UNIVERSITY. pp. 1—XIX + 129. Price not stated.

This book is a very welcome publication. A perusal of it will effectively tend to disabuse the minds of western readers and English-educated Indians of the prevalent erroneous notion that the ancient Hindus were a race too fond of metaphysics and religion to take any active, practical and scientific interest in life and the world around them. But, as a fact, it was far otherwise. In the days of India's puissant manhood, while religion and philosophy remained its greatest contribution to world-thought, the arts and sciences were not at all neglected but were developed with great joy, enthusiasm and interest. The Gaja Śāstra or Elephantology was one of many such sciences. As elephants were the mainstay of the Indian army in ancient days and the chief among the paraphernalia of Indian princes, an intimate knowledge of elephants must have been, then, a desideratum. No wonder then, that guide-books and manuals should have been written on the methods of catching elephants and training them, their keeping and care, and the treatment of their diseases and on the characteristics of various kinds of elephants and their behaviour during the seasons, and that the Sanskrit vocabulary should contain a regular "jargon" about elephants.

As in the case of the Dharma Śāstra and Artha Śāstra, the authorship of the original sources is ascribed to the heavenly Ṛṣis. At any rate, we may take it that the original standard works were written by people under the pseudonym of these Ṛṣis. Just as we have, in the Dharma Śāstras, works ascribed to Gautama, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and others, so in the Gaja Śāstra, the sages like Gautama, Nārada, Mṛgacarmā, Rājaputra, etc. were said to be the original authors who introduced it in the world. The most ancient of these works must have been the one ascribed to the sage Pālakāpya. From the traditional

account given in the extant works about the origin of the Gaja Śāstra we gather that this work of Pālakāpya must have been the most ancient standard work. Fortunately, we have a manuscript of the work preserved in the Adyar Library with a commentary by one Anantakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, known as Bhāvasandarśanī. To the Sanskrit sources, like the printed edition of Pālakāpya's Hastyāyurveda mentioned by Prof. Edgerton in his preface must be added this important Adyar manuscript. The Mātaṅgalīlā itself purports to be based entirely on the Śāstra written by Pālakāpya. There is also another manuscript in the Adyar Library dealing among other things with elephants, known as the "Mṛga-Pakṣi Śāstra", "a science of animals and birds in India" by a Jain author Harisa Deva, who is said to have belonged to 13th Century A.D. These two works form very interesting study and throw a great deal of light on the science and its history. In the Adyar manuscript of Gajaśāstra, another work is frequently referred to and many Ślokas from it have also been quoted by the commentator, *viz.*, Vyāsa's Gaja Śāstra. The separate manuscript of this work is not as yet available, though many of these verses are found in the Mātaṅgalīlā and in the Tanjore Manuscript. In this connection, the verses in the fifth *paṭala* of the Mātaṅgalīlā may, with advantage, be compared with the corresponding verses quoted as excerpts from Vyāsa's Gajaśāstra between pages 135 and 175 of the Adyar Manuscript and the corresponding verses in the Tanjore Manuscript. It may also be noted here that there is in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, a manuscript called Hastyāyurveda. This work is also ascribed to Pālakāpya. This manuscript is described under R. No. 3249 of the Triennial Catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Vol. IV, part I, Sanskrit B. This manuscript is also incomplete and is similar to the Adyar manuscript noticed above and to the Tanjore Manuscript used by Professor Edgerton. The manuscript in the Madras Government Manuscripts Library was transcribed from a manuscript in Malayalam script which belonged to a gentleman at Calicut.

That there must have been other important works on the Gaja Śāstra, now not available to us, is seen from the references in the well-known commentary of Mallinātha on Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa and the Śiśupālavadhā of Māgha. In his commentary on verse 39 in the 4th Sarga of the Raghuvamśa and

also verse 49 in the 5th Sarga of Śiśupālavadha, explaining the significance of the word 'gambhīravedi', Mallinātha refers to two Ślokas contained in two works on this science namely, 'Mṛgacarmīya' and 'Rājaputriya'. They are evidently other Ṛṣi-authors. For, in the Mātāṅgalilā, we find the name 'Mṛgacarmā' among the Devarṣis enumerated in the beginning, who came to the capital of the King of Aṅga Deśa. In the Pālakāpya, 'Rājaputra' is also mentioned among the Ṛṣis. In his notes, however, Prof. Edgerton states that the 'Matsyapurāṇa' refers to 'Rājaputra' as one of the names of Budha who was mentioned as an author of this science. Another commentator, Hemādri, on the Raghuvamśa, in his commentary on Śloka 27 in the 6th Sarga of Raghuvamśa, also refers to 'Rājaputra' as one among the Ṛṣis who are गजशास्त्रप्रवक्तारः i.e., the standard authors of elephantology.

The story of the birth of the Sage Pālakāpya and the taming of the wild elephants by the Devarṣis and the origin of the Gaja Śāstra in the form of instruction to King Romapāda of Aṅga Deśa must have been a very ancient and widely prevalent one. The first chapter of the Adyar manuscript of Gajaśāstra gives a detailed account of it. In the commentary, it is said that Pālakāpya's work begins with the second chapter and that the first chapter has been written by Pālakāpya's Śiṣya, one Dhārmika. Evidently the Mātāṅgalilā copies it from this work of Pālakāpya. There is a very interesting reference to this tradition in the Raghuvamśa by Kālidāsa. In fact, it is only after a perusal of the works of Pālakāpya and of the Mātāṅgalilā that one could at all understand the significance of this Śloka of the Raghuvamśa.<sup>1</sup> In his characteristic way Kālidāsa has only given a veiled hint to this traditional account of the life of the sage Pālakāpya and of his teaching of this science to the King of Aṅga Deśa and of the taming of wild elephants by the heavenly Ṛṣis. On the occasion of the Svayaṁvara of Indumatī, the herald, Sunandā proclaims in the assembly of princes the distinctive greatness of each of the kings. In such a context, a reference is made to the reputation, evidently

1. जगद् चैनामयमङ्गनाथः सुरङ्गनाप्रार्थितयौवनश्रीः ।

विनीतनागः किल सूत्रकारैः ऐन्द्रं पदं भूमिगतोऽपि मुङ्क्ते ॥

Raghuvamśa VI, 27.

prevalent at the time, of the King of Aṅga Deśa having been the first to learn this science from the sage Pālakāpya and to propagate it in his kingdom. It is said in the traditional account that the heavenly sages who introduced the science into the world, were responsible for catching and taming the wild elephants which were devastating the crops in the country of this king. So, Kālidāsa says “विनीतनागः किल सूत्रकारैः”. The word used for denoting the Ṛṣi-authors is the well-known word, ‘*sūtrakāra*’ in the plural. Mallinātha explains it thus “गजशास्त्रकृद्भिः पालकाप्यादिमहर्षिभिः”. In the first chapter of the work of Pālakāpya of the Adyar manuscript the same word ‘*sūtrakāra*’ is used to denote the Maharṣis who caught the wild elephants of the Aṅga Province. In fact, though ordinarily the word ‘*sūtrakāra*’ may mean the author of Sūtras, sometimes the word means “those who are the authorities on a particular Śāstra or the founders of the science.” Here evidently in the latter sense it is used, as we know of no sūtras on this science. In another place, when explaining the term ‘*nirvāṇa*’ in Śloka 71 in the 1st Sarga of the Raghuvamśa, Mallinātha quotes the following sentence as found in “Pālakāpya”,

निर्वाणोत्थानशयनानि त्रीणि गजकर्माणि ।

We have not been able to find this sentence in the manuscript of Pālakāpya in the Adyar Library. Whether there is some other work of Pālakāpya with different readings or whether in other manuscripts this may be found, is a matter for investigation.

One fact is undoubtedly clear that literary works in Sanskrit abound in allusions to this science and in the vocabulary used in the works of this science. As Prof. Edgerton rightly remarks, the editing and publication of works on the Gaja Śāstra will enable the student of Sanskrit Kāvya to grasp the exact significance of many of these allusions. In fact, it must be confessed that it is only after a reading of the Pālakāpya of the Adyar Manuscript and the Mātāṅgalilā that the beauty, aptness and significance of the Śloka in the 6th Sarga of the Raghuvamśa can be fully realised by the reader. The Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa,<sup>1</sup> in describing the city Ayodhyā alludes to the three kinds of

1. Sarga 6, Śloka 25.

elephants, 'Bhadra', 'Manda' and 'Mṛga' and their inter-mixtures, and Kālidāsa, as we have seen, weaves into the fine texture of his poetry his subtle allusions to the technique of this science. Māgha also in the 5th Sarga of Śiśupālavadhā expressly refers to this science dealing with the methods of taming elephants and uses the technical word "bālaka"<sup>1</sup> for the five-year old elephant and the expression "gambhīravēdi" in another verse.<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit literature has been fully in touch with all aspects of Indian life and much of what we usually regard as 'conventional' in Sanskrit poetry, will after investigation prove to be really scientific and practical if only, the many works contained in that literature are rescued from being buried in manuscripts and brought to light.

Prof. Edgerton has, indeed, done a valuable service to the cause of Indology by the publication of this useful work with his interesting notes and glossary. We must also remember that many more works exist on this science, and there is still a wealth of information not yet explored on this subject.

K. BALASUBRAHMANIA IYER.

THE MAURYAN POLITY—(MADRAS UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SERIES NO. VIII)—BY MR. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR—LECTURER IN INDIAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, 1932. pp. i—v + 394. Price Rs. 6 or sh. 9.

This book affords very delightful reading indeed. It deals with a period of Indian History which has always presented to scholars and historians many problems of acute controversy. Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar has necessarily, therefore, to tackle these problems and formulate his position in respect of them. His views exhibit much originality of thought and freshness of outlook. Curiously enough, we have found that in the department of Indology, there is a marked tendency to conservatism and a proneness to accept without question the received tradition among orientalisks about historical truths, even though, as a

1 निर्धूतवीतमपि बालकमुल्ललन्तं

यन्ता क्रमेण परिसान्त्वनतर्जनाभिः

शिक्षावशेन शनकैर्वशमानिनाय

शास्त्रं सुनिश्चितधियां क न सिद्धिमेति Māgha V, 7.

2. Māgha VI, 49.

VII—25

matter of fact, they may be found to be based on very slender data of doubtful authenticity. But Mr. Dikshitar is singularly free from it. The questions whether Aśoka and his successors were after all, zealous Buddhists as it is generally believed, whether Megasthenes was a real historical writer and whether his fragments of Indika can really be relied upon as a source of information for Indian History and whether Purāṇic chronology is, after all, chimerical or fanciful as orientalist generally hold,—all these have been discussed with refreshing candour and freedom of thought. It is true that, in recent years, owing to the increased activity of scholarship and archaeological research, there is abundance of fresh material such as Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and the Aśokan Edicts, that has been brought to light. But it is necessary that the accuracy of these materials and their interpretation should be tested and the soundness of the conclusions arrived at, by scholars should be judged. This book will go a great way to help the reader to achieve this purpose. In India the value of historical research has a very direct and intimate bearing on Indian education, especially on the teaching and study of Indian History in our schools and colleges. Generations of students by now, have been taught by our Indian History Primers to believe as undoubted historical fact that Aśoka was a zealous Buddhist. It is well to peruse books like Mr. Dikshitar's and find out whether the prevailing views of scholars regarding Aśoka's religion and other matters are only Indological superstitions or well-grounded opinions based on verifiable facts. We congratulate Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar and the Madras University on this useful and interesting publication.

K. BALASUBRAHMANIA IYER.

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APASTAMBA DHARMA SUTRA WITH THE COMMENTARY UJJVALA—  
(THE KASHI-SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 93; KARMA KANDA  
SERIES NO. 7)—BY HARADATTA. Edited by Pandit  
A. Chinnasawmi Sastri and A. Ramanatha Sastri and printed  
& published by Jayakrishnadas Haridas Gupta, 1933.  
pp. 299 + 1—83. Price not stated.

This book has been edited by Pandit Chinnaswami Sastri, Professor of Mīmāṃsā in the Benares Hindu University and his brother, Pandit Ramanatha Sastri, Professor of Mīmāṃsā in the Tirupati Sanskrit College. Pandit Chinnaswami Sastri is a great



Mīmāṃsā scholar and is eminently qualified to edit this book. The most attractive feature of the book is the index containing the important words of the Sūtras arranged in alphabetical order. The italics to particular words indicate those words are in the beginning of the Sūtras and the number of the Sūtras and the pages where they are found are also given. This will be found to be very useful for reference. The editors have also added another index of all the quotations from other texts and books found in the commentary. There is also a succinct commentary added as foot-note in every page giving useful information wherever necessary. Pandit Chinnaswami Sastri confirms the opinion that the commentator Haradatta belonged to the Tamil country and he gives conclusive reasons for it, *viz.* the reference to the Tamil word, 'Temal' as being well known in the Tamil Country when explaining the meaning of the word, '*Kīlasaḥ*'. The Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra with the commentary appended is a work of great authority and renown, and this useful edition will be of great help to readers. We have great pleasure in recommending it heartily to the public.

K. BALASUBRAHMANIA IYER.

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## EDITORIAL

### THE PROPOSED TAMIL-LOVERS' CONFERENCE.

We acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of the appeal issued to the Public by Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, the President of the Madras Library Association for their co-operation in holding a Tamil-Lovers' Conference. "The object of the Conference proposed is to bring together all the interests concerned with the writing, publishing, selling, lending, borrowing, buying and reading of books, so that they may survey the situation of Tamil literature to-day, discuss the difficulties and help the growth of the Tamil language and literature, the spread of general education and the prosperity of those engaged in the production and distribution of Tamil books." We can confidently say that the above object is a very commendable one and we hope that this appeal will meet with ready response from our Readers and from all those who are Lovers of Tamil and other South Indian languages.

—ED.

## RĀJĒNDRA'S EXPEDITION TO THE GANGES.

BY

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The illustrious Cōḷa emperor Rājēndra I (1012-45 A. D.) valued nothing so much among his acts as his victorious march into northern India in quest of the holy Ganges. After the successful completion of his project he assumed the title Gaṅgai-Koṇḍa; he named the new capital built by him Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, and the great tank in its neighbourhood, which he filled with the waters of the Ganges, Cōḷagaṅgam. This tank is described in one of his inscriptions as the 'liquid pillar of victory' proclaiming his greatness to the world.

Different views have been adopted by modern scholars on the nature of the expedition. The only contemporary evidence on the point is the statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that Rājēndra wanted by the strength of his arm to excel the achievement of Bhagīratha who brought about the descent of the Ganges from heaven by means of his austerities (*tapahprabhāva*), and to sanctify his country by the waters of the sacred stream. And this statement introduces the account of the second stage in the king's *digvijaya*, viz., his expedition to the North. Mr. Venkayya held that "the expedition was more in the nature of a pilgrimage," vicariously undertaken for the king's merit, by his general (*daṇḍanātha*).<sup>1</sup> In arriving at this conclusion he was influenced by two considerations. There was first of all the apparently incredible character of the story, as he understood it. After enumerating the thirteen countries stated to have been overrun by Rājēndra's general, of which according to him Lāḍa was Berar, and Kōsalaināḍu apparently the well-known kingdom of Kōsala (Oudh), he says : "It is difficult to imagine how all this tract of country was overcome in about a year by the Cōḷa army. There is also the difficulty of bringing all the subdued kings together to the south. These

1. A. S. I. 1911, p. 173.

latter must have actually carried the water of the Ganges from somewhere near Allahabad, if the superstitions that now prevail were also current during the eleventh century A. D. In this connection we cannot afford to ignore the beginning of the Gāhadvāla inscription at Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram, the Cōḷa capital, quoted in the sequel."<sup>1</sup> We shall see presently that the campaign of Rājendra's general is not so difficult to follow step by step. We may observe here that it is only by hasty and superficial assumptions regarding the geography of the campaign, and by importing into the account, the popular superstitions of to-day regarding the fetching of the water of the Ganges from Allahabad and a fragmentary Gāhadvāl introduction which occurs in an inscription of nearly a century later than the period with which we are concerned, that Mr. Venkayya reduces the story to an absurd legend, and then proceeds to offer an ingenious theory as to what, in his opinion, actually happened: "As we cannot imagine that all Northern India was conquered by Rājendra Cōḷa's general in about a year, the only reasonable alternative seems to be that a few previously chosen tracts of country were actually invaded, and if the inhabitants offered any resistance, a regular war was gone through. The names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the list of kings overcome." Mr. Venkayya's conclusion was also influenced by another consideration.<sup>2</sup> In the commentary, by Anantaśambhu, of uncertain date, to a Tantric work called *Siddhāntasārāvalī* by Trilōcanaśiva, also of unknown date (but assumed by Mr. Krishna Sastri,<sup>3</sup> for some reason not stated, to be a contemporary of Rājendra), Mr. Venkayya had noticed the presence of some verses stating that "Rājendra-Cōḷa went for a bath in the Ganges, saw the best of Śaivas there, and brought them with him to settle in his own country, in Kāñcī and throughout the Cōḷa land." It is curious how so cautious a scholar succumbed to the lure of this anonymous text quoted by Anantaśambhu. Its vagueness and its unknown date, and the fact that it directly contradicts the contemporary statements in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that the king sent only his general to the north and himself advanced later only up to the banks of the Gōdāvarī to meet his

1. *idid.* p. 174. See also S. I. I. III, Introdn., p. 20.

2. See A. S. I. 1911-12, n. 3, p. 173 which makes this clear. Also p. 176.

3. S. I. I. Introdn., p. 22.

general on his return march—present no difficulties in Mr. Venkayya's eyes, and dropping the scepticism about the campaign evinced by him at an earlier stage, he attributes large consequences to it, and writes : " The several northern kings who carried the water of the Ganges to purify his country and their connection with the South for some generations after, could not but have affected even the language of the people "1 of the Cōḷa country proper. And so it comes about that a pilgrimage to Northern India by a band ' roving pilgrims ' whose course ' cannot be easily traced at present, '2 produces far-reaching consequences on the language and culture of the Tamil land. There may be, there are, some things incredible in Rājēndra's inscriptions relating to this campaign in quest of Ganges water; Mr. Venkayya's account of it, however, seems to contain rather more than fewer myths.

Not satisfied with Mr. Venkayya's theory of pilgrimage, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar finds another motive actuating Rājēndra in this campaign : " Rājēndra seems to have been an imaginative individual, with a great deal perhaps of the knight-errant in him, though the knight-errant part of his nature was kept well under control both of the conqueror and the statesman as we shall show presently. The notion of the Ganges water must have got into him from the knowledge of the achievements of an early Tamil ruler Śeṅguṭṭuva Śēra, the hero of the *Śilappadikāram* \* \*

\* \* All the three sovereigns, Cōḷa, Cēra, and Pāṇḍya alike of ancient fame, lay claim to having cut out their emblems on the face of the Himalayas. There was precedent for imitation as one of the early Pallava rulers lays claim similarly, may be fictitiously, to having similarly cut out his emblem on the Himalayas3 in obvious imitation of the achievements of these predecessors of his in the south. Rājēndra, ' the Paṇḍita Cōḷa ' as he is called, apparently read of these achievements and obviously wished to make a point to his credit similarly."4 We may well

1. A. S. I. 1911-12, p. 176.

2. *ibid.* p. 174.

3. The Amarāvati inscription of Simhavarman to which Dr. Aiyangar refers mentions, however, the Sumēru in this connection, not the Himālaya.

4. *Gāṅgai-kōṇḍa Cōḷa*, pp. 547-8 (in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume III *Orientalia* Part. 2.)

hesitate to accept as a fact this marvellous and somewhat suspicious coincidence between the results of modern research into the antiquities of the Śaṅgam Age and the Pallava period of South Indian history and the plans of Rājendra.

The truth is that there seems to be nothing, or only very little, that calls for an explanation in the motives underlying this campaign of Rājendra. Succeeding in the prime of life to a magnificent heritage, well trained in the arts of war and diplomacy, as it was understood in India in the eleventh century, possessing a splendid striking force in a well-trying army, and, for the time, a powerful navy, Rājendra did the most natural thing for a king in his situation in undertaking an extensive *digvijaya*. In its earlier stages it followed the usual path, and in less than seven years from the death of his father, he had made his power felt in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries, brought the whole of Ceylon under his sway, and waged successful war with Jayasimha, the Western Cālukya, who sustained a defeat at Muśaṅgi, identified with Uccaṅgidurg in Bellary, or Maski in the Nizam's state. After such successes, and with the command of the whole of the Vēṅgi kingdom which was a protectorate, so to say, of the Cōḷas since the restoration of Śaktivarman by Rājarāja I Cōḷa (after the interregnum of twenty-seven years, ending about 1000 A. D.), Rājendra's mind most naturally turned to doing something more striking, to a grander exhibition of the might of the new-born power of the Cōḷas of the South to the rulers of Uttarāpatha. The fetching of the Ganges water was but a pretext; the demonstration of power and the acquisition of prestige the real motive. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say quite as much. Rājendra's aim was to acquire for himself a name greater than that of Bhagīratha. The celebrated Enṇāyiram inscription,<sup>1</sup> of Rājendra, in explaining the name Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṅ of the large feeding-house endowed by the king, records that the institution got its name from the fact that the emperor was once pleased to amuse himself by defeating the kings of the northern countries and taking the Ganges at the end of his warlike festival—*yuddhōtsava vibhavattāl gaṅgāparigraham paṇṇiyaruḷiṇa*. It will be seen how the language of this record confirms the impression derived from the statements in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

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1. 333 of 1917 I acknowledge gratefully the permission given me by the Archaeological Department to consult the text of this unpublished inscription.

At the end of all his fighting, when a summary statement of his achievements came to be expressed in a brief formula to be adopted in inscriptions which did not give the long *praśasti* found in the other records, three and only three of his conquests were chosen for special mention—Pūrvadēśam, Gaṅgai, and Kaḍāram. This shows clearly that Rājēndra's ambition was to distinguish himself by novel and venturesome undertakings, the successful accomplishment of which would redound to his permanent glory. The campaign we have selected for detailed study relates to the conquest of Pūrvadēśam and Gaṅgai.

Pūrvadēśam was identified with the Vēṅgi kingdom by Mr. Venkayya.<sup>1</sup> This is clearly a mistake. It is doubtless the Pūrvarāṣṭra, ruled over by the kings of Śarabhapura, of whom a few undated records are known. This country was so called because, as Cunningham points out, it lay to the east of the Mēkhala mountain,<sup>2</sup> the Maikal range of the modern maps. It corresponds roughly to the Southern Kōsala country. We shall see that the course of Rājēndra's army lay through this territory.

Turning for a moment to the chronology of this campaign. No records of the tenth year of Rājēndra are known to mention this campaign of which we hear for the first time in detail in the inscriptions of the eleventh year.<sup>3</sup> This fact clearly settles the date of the campaign and fixes it A. D. 1022-3. The course of the campaign is described both in the Tamil *praśasti* usually found in Rājēndra's inscriptions, and in a number of sanskrit verses in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. While the two accounts agree in essentials and relate, quite obviously, to the same campaign, they yet differ in some details, in particular in the order in which the different countries of the north were taken in the march of the Cōḷa forces. These differences will be discussed presently. But on the general question of the relative authority of the two accounts, there is no difficulty in perceiving that the Tamil account which was composed almost immediately after the close of the campaign, is the more trustworthy, as it is, on the whole, more matter of fact than the Sanskrit account marked by quaint conceits and high-flown figures of speech. It must, however, be mentioned that not many years need have elapsed before the

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1. A. S. I. 1911-12.

2. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 192, n. 1.

3. 167 of 1917.

Sanskrit *prāśasti* of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates was also composed, for, the latest event mentioned in it, the conquest of Kaḍāram, took place before the end of the thirteenth, or at the latest, in the fourteenth year of Rājendra, that is about A. D. 1025-6.

We shall see that the first place to be attacked by the advancing forces of Rājendra was Śakkarakkōṭṭam, the modern Citrakūṭa in the Bastar state. This is explained by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar as the result of the expedition having started from the place to which his earlier campaigns had taken him. He says:<sup>1</sup> "Reverting to the details, the farthest place in this direction (to which) Rājendra had advanced before starting on this campaign was Kolḷippākkai in the Nizam's dominions. \* \* \*

The campaign apparently began from there, or from somewhere not far off." This conjecture seems to get no support from our sources which are indeed very much against it. It is true that Rājendra had very early in his reign, possibly when his father was still living, invaded the Raṭṭapāḍi country and advanced as far Kolḷippākkai, Kulpak, half-way between Hyderabad and Warangal, and captured that place as well as Mālkhed further west. But there is nothing to show that the Cōḷas succeeded in retaining their hold even temporarily on the country across the Tuṅgabhadra, though they found it possible frequently to cross that stream and carry fire and sword into the Western Cāḷukya country. The provenance of the Western Cāḷukya and Cōḷa inscriptions alike renders altogether impossible the supposition that the Cōḷas ever gained such mastery of the country in the neighbourhood of Kulpak as would enable them to fit out an aggressive expedition with that country as the base of their operations. In fact, the evidence of Rājendra's inscriptions in itself makes it quite certain that he did not succeed in annexing the Cāḷukya country across the Tuṅgabhadra. In an expedition subsequent to that in which he attacked Kulpak and Mālkhed, he claims to have defeated Jayasimha at Muśaṅgi, a place usually identified with Uchangidroog in the Bellary district to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra. Even accepting Dr. S.K. Aiyangar's identification of this place with Maski celebrated in Aśoka epigraphy, we shall still find that the farthest point reached by Rājendra in this later expedition falls far short of Kulpak, clear proof that the Cōḷas gained no territory for themselves as a result of their

1. *op. cit.*, p. 549.



victories on the other side of the Tuṅgabhadrā. And the chronology is against our supposing that the army which captured Kulpak continued its march, and set out on the Ganges expedition. Kulpak was captured in A. D. 1015, the battle of Muśaṅgi was fought about A. D. 1021, but the expedition to Ganges did not start till after the middle of A. D. 1022. Not only is the view that the expedition to the Ganges started from Kulpak or its neighbourhood opposed to the general course of the relations between the Cōḷas and the Cālukyas, but it is directly contradicted by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. From this source we learn that after his war with the Cālukya, Rājēndra returned to his capital.<sup>1</sup> From there he sent his *daṇḍanātha* on his northern expedition with suitable instructions.<sup>2</sup> And at this time the capital of the empire was Tanjore and no other place. The real explanation for the absence of any incident worth recording until the army reached Śakkarakkōṭṭam is to be found, it seems, in the fact that, until the northern frontier of the Vēṅgi kingdom was crossed, the Cōḷa army was marching along home territory, Vēṅgi being a sort of protectorate of the Cōḷa empire and ruled by a king connected with the imperial Cōḷas by close dynastic alliances. The modern Bastar state will be seen to lie just across the frontier of the old Vēṅgi kingdom.

Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the course of the campaign and the incidents connected with it, the texts bearing on the subject may be reproduced (in translation):<sup>3</sup>

1. *The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates : (verses 108-124).*

- (108) Having conquered the Raṭṭa king with his forces, the politic son of Rājarāja returned to (his) city attended by courage, strength, victory and all his other virtues.
- (109) Scoffing at Bhagīratha who, by the power of his austerities, got the Ganges to descend, (this) light of the solar line desired to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganges (brought) by the strength of his own arm.
- (110) To his commander-in-chief who was at the head of strong battalions, who was the home of valour and the foremost of diplomats, he issued instructions for the conquest of the kings ruling on the banks of that (river) who were opposed (to the enterprise).

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1. Verse 108.

2. Verse 110.

3. S. I. I. III, part 111.

- (111) "Before him, as from the slopes of the Himālayas, marched a very large army like the tremendous volume of the waters of the Gaṅgā with wavy rows of moving horses causing all the quarters to resound with its confused clamour."<sup>1</sup>
- (112) "The van of his army crossed the rivers by way of bridges formed by herds of elephants. The rest of the army (crossed the same) on foot, because the waters in the meantime had dried up being used by the elephants, horses and men."
- (113) The forces of Vikrama Cōḷa spread in all directions the dust raised by the (marching of) contingents of elephants, horses and infantry; and they soon entered the countries of hostile kings.
- (114) The commander of the ornament of the solar race first defeated Indraratha who opposed him with strong battalions of elephants, horses and infantry, and (then) captured the country of that jewel of the lunar race.
- (115) The white parasol of that ornament of the lunar race of which the handle was cut in twain by the sharp arrows in the battle-field fell (to the ground) like the disc of the moon setting, distressed by the dishonour of that king.
- (116) Then depriving Raṇaśūra of his prosperity he entered the land of Dharmapāla; and after conquering that land as well, the general of the Śibi king reached the celestial stream.
- (117) The *daṇḍanāyaka* forthwith caused the most holy water of that river to be carried to his master Mathurāntaka by the defeated kings on its banks.
- (118) (Meanwhile) Rājendra-cōḷa, in his desire for conquest, approached the flowing Gōdāvarī, and made her suspect of the Lord of the Rivers (the ocean) by the cosmetics from his own limbs (being washed) in a *Jalakēlikā*.<sup>2</sup>
- (119) The fierce general conquered Mahīpāla, and put an end to his fame and his great treasures, and caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his own liege-lord.
- (120) That powerful king then defeated in battle the evil minded Oṭṭa (king) with his younger brother and his army and captured his rutting elephants.

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1. The translation of this verse and some others are quoted from S. I. I, III.

2. Frolicking in water especially in the company of women.

- (121) In that place, the king, riding on an elephant, himself killed a rutting elephant which rushed right against him.
- (122) Then, with his lotus feet worshipped by high-born kings who had sustained defeat at his hands, he entered his own capital which by its splendours surpassed all the excellences of heaven.
- (123) He then conquered Kaṭāha by getting his mighty forces to cross the ocean, and long protected the whole earth, while all other kings bowed before him.
- (124) Then, with the waters of the Ganges, the king created in his own country a liquid pillar of victory celebrated under the name of Cōḷagaṅgam.

II. The corresponding part of the Tamil *praśasti* runs as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

“ He seized Śakkarakkōṭṭam whose warriors were brave; Madurai-maṇḍalam, destroyed in a trice; the prosperous city of Nāmaṇaikkōṇam with its dense groves; Pañcappalli, whose warriors (bore) cruel bows; Māsuṇidēśa with its green fields; a large heap of family treasures, together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away) after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon, together with his family, in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagar, (a city) whose great fame knew no decline; Oḍḍa-Viṣaya which was difficult of approach, on account of its dense forest-defence; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkana-Lāḍam, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vaṅgāḷa-dēśa, where the rain-water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong Mahipāla together with Śaṅgu who wore the anklet (of valour); Uttira-Lāḍam (on the shore of the expansive ocean (producing) pearls; and the Gaṅgā whose waters, bearing fragrant flowers, dashed against the bathing ghats (*tīrtha*) along its course). ”

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1. E. I. IX, p. 233. My translation differs from that of Hultzsch at some points, and these differences are explained in the notes to the text in Appendix-B.

The Tamil passage thus translated calls for one remark which will indeed be quite obvious to students of Tamil literature. The short descriptions of the different places mentioned are by no means to be understood literally, as they are more often the result of the composer having invented particular expressions to rhyme with the proper names he handled, than of a studied effort on his part to convey accurate information geographical, military or ethnic about these places. The following rhyming pairs illustrate the point : Vikkīrama—śakkara; kā-miḍai—nā-maṇai; Veñjilai—Pañja; Pāṣuḍai—Māṣuṇi; Taṅgāda—Vaṅgāla, and so on. This being so, Kōśalai-nāḍu may have been described as abounding in Brahmins for no other reason than that Pūṣurar (Brahmins) rhymes with Kōśalai. At any rate, there is room for some hesitation before one accepts the suggestion that has been made,<sup>1</sup> that at this time, the Mahākōśala country of the central provinces became a home for Brahmin refugees from the rest of Hindusthan which was harried by the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Sanskrit verses omit all that precedes the conquest of Indraratha. Even this omission is indirectly helpful by the suggestion that may be drawn from it, that everything that precedes it in the Tamil record may possibly form one distinct stage, the earliest of the campaign. This suggestion gains some support from the language of Tamil Text which seems to imply that Śakkarakkōṭṭam, Madurai-Maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam and Pañcappalli were different places in the Māṣuṇidēśam, which were attacked and reduced one after another before the conquest of the whole area was completed. Māṣuṇi-dēśam means 'the country of the snakes.' Nāga-lōka, in legend, is the celebrated subterranean land of the snakes with Bhōgavatī as its capital, a land of beautiful women, and unclouded enjoyment of life. Whether the legend grew out of the fact, or gave rise to it, we have an exact counterpart of it in epigraphy. There were kings of the Nāgavarmaśa ruling in the eleventh century over the region now occupied by the modern Bastar state.<sup>2</sup> They were of the Kāśyapagōtra and called themselves Bhōgavatipuravarēśvaras. One of them ruling about forty years after the date of Rājendra's invasion called himself Madhurāntaka; meaning, no doubt, conqueror of the Madurai-maṇḍalam of our inscription. That the

1. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* p. 550.

2. E. I. IX pp. 161-4 and 174 ff.

territorial divisions of the Nāgavaṁśī kingdom were called Maṇḍalas becomes clear from the Rājāpura plates which speak of Rājāpura as being in the midst of Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala—*Bhramarkōṭya-maṇḍalamadhye Rājā-pura grāmam*.<sup>1</sup> The place called Śakkarakkōṭṭam in our inscription is easily recognised in the Cakrakōṭya-maṇḍala,<sup>2</sup> of the same plates, which probably, survives as Mr. Hira Lal points out in the present Citrakūṭa or Citrakōṭa, eight miles from Rājāpura.<sup>3</sup> That we are unable to identify at present Pañcappalli and Nāmaṇaikkōṇam will hardly be considered a serious objection, in the face of so many exact coincidences between the data in Rājēndra's inscriptions and those of Nāgavaṁśī epigraphy, to our identifying Māśuṇidēśam with the land in the modern Bastar state ruled by the Nāgavaṁśī branch of the Sindas who, it may be noted, by the way, had the tiger-crest like the Cōḷas from whom in later times they occasionally traced their descent.<sup>4</sup>

After the conquest of Māśuṇidēśam just across the frontier of the Vēṅgī Kingdom to its north, Rājēndra's general had an encounter with Indraratha of the lunar race. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates vaguely imply, and the Tamil *praśasti* expressly states, that a battle was fought in which Indraratha was decisively defeated and taken prisoner at a place called Ādinagar. This success led to the surrender of the Oḍḍa country and Kōśalai-nāḍu, doubtless, the region corresponding to modern Orissa and the Southern Kōśala country to its west. On the identity of the king of the lunar race, Kielhorn made the suggestion that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhōja of Malwa mentioned in the Udaipur inscription.<sup>5</sup> This seems not unlikely as the enemy of Bhōja, a Cēdi ruler,<sup>6</sup> came of a family of kings who, soon after this period, are seen to adopt for themselves the title *Trikalīṅgādhipati*, about 1042 A.D.<sup>7</sup> It is equally possible that the opponent of

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1. E. I. IX, p. 180. 11. 15-16. I do not feel sure that Mr. Hira Lal is justified in saying of Madhurāntaka that 'his *rāj* was limited to Bhramarkōṭya' and that 'he appears to have been a Māṇḍalika (feudatory chief)'. *ibid* p. 178.

2. 11. 28-9.

3. E. I. IX, p. 179.

4. 231 of 1903.

5. E. I. VII, Appendix p. 120, n. 3.

6. Cediśvarēndraratha, E. I. I, p. 235, 1, 20.

7. E. I. XI, p. 188.

the Cōla advance in this region was a ruler (otherwise unknown to epigraphy like several other persons and places mentioned in this *praśasti*) who belonged to the Sōmavamśi dynasty which held sway in Orissa about this period. The identity of the battle-field is not less elusive than that of the king who suffered defeat there. Discussing this question, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar observes.<sup>1</sup> "His (Indraratha's) capital Śādinagar (Śādi-nagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jājnagar of the Muhammadan historians) is no other than Yayātinagar, believed to be the foundation of one of the early Kēsari kings of Orissa. This Yayātinagar is identified with a place called Binka (Sonpūr Binka of the maps) on the river Mahānadi by Pandit Hira Lal." It is a pity that the learned scholar just cited gives no indication about the source for his reading of the name of Indraratha's capital-Śādinagar. There is no warrant for this in the published plates of either the Tirumalai rock inscription,<sup>2</sup> or the Tanjore inscription, which latter very distinctly reads 'Ādinagar'.<sup>3</sup> In some of the other published versions in the more recent volumes of the Texts series of the South Indian Inscriptions, we get the readings- 'Vaṅkīrtti Ayādinagar',<sup>4</sup> and 'Vaṅkīrtti-Yādinagar' often written as "Vaṅkīrtti-Yādinagar".<sup>5</sup> But no student of Tamil epigraphy can fail to notice that the first 'y' or 'ya' in these latter readings must be taken to form part of the word 'kīrtti' especially with the 'Ādinagar' of the Tanjore inscription before him. But the reading 'Ayādinagar' following 'kīrtti', if it is firmly established, would go far to justify the view that Yayātinagar, said to have been founded by Yayāti Kēsari,<sup>6</sup> with whom the Kēsari dynasty began its career, and not any other city, was the field of the battle. Pandit Hira Lal's identification of this place with Sonpūr-Binka exactly meets the case, as this place would lie on the route of an army marching along the usual route to northern India from the modern Bastar state. There is nothing, however, in the geography of this campaign to prevent our seeking the site of the battle in Jājpur, a place full of the antiquities of the Orissan kings and

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1. *Op. cit.*, p. 550.

2. E. I. IX, p. 236. 1, 8.

3. S. I. I. II, plate 3, line 5 end.

4. 171 of 1894.

5. See Nos. 77 of 1895; 78 & 78-A of same year.

6. Hunter-Orissa 1, p. 232.

highly cherished by them ;<sup>1</sup> in the Sōmavamśī records, on the other hand, Yayātinagar is said distinctly to have been on the banks of the Mahānadī; Jājpūr, on the Baitaraṇī one of the tributaries of the Mahānadī, can hardly be said to answer the description.<sup>2</sup> Hira Lal's identification of Yayātinagara with Binka,<sup>3</sup> on the Mahānadī rests on two assumptions, both rather weak in themselves ; that the ancient Vinītapura had its name changed to Yayātinagara by a relatively late monarch who had the name or title Yayāti after he became master of that place ; and that the name Binka is a corruption of Vinītapura. Call it then Ādinagar or Yayātinagar, we do not seem yet to be near a satisfactory identification of the place. We have to depend only on the fact that the battle at this place gained for the Cōḷa forces an easy passage through the southern Kōsala and Orissa countries for a rough determination of the route taken by these forces.

There ensues, in the remaining stages of the campaign, a striking divergence between the Sanskrit and the Tamil accounts, and it seems at first sight that the two accounts are irreconcilable. The Sanskrit account says that Raṇaśūra and Dharmapāla were overpowered before the Ganges was reached, omits all mention of Vaṅga or East Bengal, and implies that Mahīpāla was conquered on the return march, though the repetition of the statement<sup>4</sup> that after conquering Mahīpāla the general caused the water of the Ganges to be brought to his master, is calculated to raise a doubt as to the stage of the campaign at which the encounter with Mahīpāla occurred. The Tamil *prasaṅgi*, on the other hand, arranges the conquests in a different order. First the overthrow of Dharmapāla resulted in the mastery of Daṇḍabhukti; then came the submission of Raṇaśūra of Takkaṇa-Lāḍa (Southern Lāḍa) and that of Gōvindacanda of Vaṅgāladēśa. Lastly the strong Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa (Northern Lāḍa) was attacked and compelled to seek refuge in flight abandoning his treasures and women ; and the Ganges was reached.

It is now generally acknowledged that Lāḍa here refers neither to Gujerat, nor to Berar as Mr. Venkayya held, but is the Tamil form of Rāḍhā, a name by which a division of Bengal was

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1. Hunter-Orissa, 1, 239-41 ; 265-72.
  2. E. I. III, 355.
  3. E. I. XI, 189.
  4. cf. verses 117 and 119.

known from the second to at least the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> At first sight it looks like the Cōḷa army having fought against a number of independent rulers holding sway over a number of petty principalities with varying degrees of success. This is how the matter is understood, for instance, by Mr. R. D. Banerjea who says : "The Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa I shows that the ancient Gauḍa and Vaṅga had become divided into a large number of small kingdoms."<sup>2</sup> How Mr. Banerjea, who makes this observation in describing the political condition of Bengal before Mahīpāla's accession, can reconcile this view of the Tirumalai rock inscription with his general account of the history of Mahīpāla's reign, it is not easy to see. Mahīpāla had, by the time of the Cōḷa inroad into Bengal, occupied the Pāla throne for some years, and successfully revived the glories of the Pāla Kingdom, by a series of vigorous campaigns which made him master of a considerable empire extending up to Benares in the west and brought him into hostile relations with rulers of the Cēdi kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the Tirumalai inscription describing the state of Bengal at the time of Rājēndra's invasion can hardly be evidence of what was in existence several years before its date. There is nothing in fact in the language of the Tirumalai inscription that militates against our assuming that the strong Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa who was attacked last was the suzerain who had a sort of hegemony in the whole region taken by the Cōḷas from Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra and Gōvindacandra. The name Dharmapāla suggests some connection of this prince with Mahīpāla, who is known to have deputed in 1020 two other persons called Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla to execute some works in the neighbourhood of Benares.<sup>4</sup> Somewhat later than the period we are dealing with, in the reign of Rāmapāla, a certain Lakṣmīśūra is styled the chief of all the feudatories of forest lands, apparently in the Pāla kingdom (*samastāṭavikasāmantā-cakra-cūḍāmaṇih*)<sup>5</sup> a fact which suggests that Raṇaśūra might have occupied likewise a subordinate position under Mahīpāla. I am therefore inclined to

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1. R. D. Banerjea-Palas of Bengal, pp. 71-72. (Memoirs of A. S. B. V.) The *Prabōdhacandrōdaya* has: Gauḍam Rāṣṭram anuttamam nirupamā tatrāpi Rāḍhāpurī (Act II).

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 70 & 74.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

5. *Ibid* p. 72.



suggest that in this part of the campaign, Mahīpāla was the chief enemy who opposed the Cōḷa inroad, and that the fights with the other persons named were only preliminary to the final attack on the suzerain ruler, Mahīpāla, who is mentioned together with Śaṅgu in the Tamil inscription. The victory gained against Rāḍhā of which Ganges formed the northern boundary enabled the Cōḷa forces to reach the Ganges, the objective of their whole enterprise.

Overlooking the true nature of the Cōḷa advance into the north and its avowed object, and basing himself on an old report of Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasad Sāstri on a manuscript of the *Caṇḍakaśika*, Mr. Banerjea boldly identifies the Karṇāṭas whose defeat by Mahīpāla is mentioned in the prologue to the drama with the forces of Rājēndra, and Mahīpāla himself with the Pāla ruler of Bengal. It has long been recognised, however, that the Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakaśika* was the Gurjara ruler of that name ; and there was perpetual feud between the Gurjaras of Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-karṇāṭas.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Banerjea's contentions that Rājēndra's forces sought to cross the Ganges into Vārēndra or northern Bengal, that Mahīpāla succeeded in stopping this, and that such details are not mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription because it is a *praśasti*,<sup>2</sup> will require to be supported by much more direct evidence that has been produced by him before they can find acceptance.

On the other hand, in denying that Rājēndra's invading army at all met Mahīpāla of Bengal, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar seems to let himself go too far in his reaction against Mr. Banerjea's views. In his opinion, Rājēndra's general met and defeated an Oḍḍa king Mahīpāla. He seeks support for this conclusion in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and in a particular reading of the line in the Tamil *praśasti* mentioning Mahīpāla, and it is necessary to examine briefly how far the evidence cited by him supports the conclusion drawn from it. It may be stated at the outset that that the proper interpretation of the verses in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates is not altogether free from difficulty, and that the utmost caution is required in dealing with these verses, especially on account of the apparent divergence between them and the Tamil

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1. McDonnell-Sanskrit literature, p. 366; Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 239 & n. Also J. O. R. M., Vol. VI, 191-198

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

*praśasti* to which attention has been above. Now, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar evidently treats verses 116 to 123 as forming an account of a continuous transaction, and though one may not agree with him in this view, one can urge no logical objection to the course adopted by him. When he says that Dharmapāla was the ruler of Uttara Rāḍha,<sup>1</sup> however, he makes a statement that is not warranted by anything in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, and that is, indeed, opposed, by the express statements of the Tamil record that he was the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, and that Uttara Lāḍa was taken from Mahīpāla after his defeat. Again, he speaks of the Cōḷa general,<sup>2</sup> "joining forces with his master and going forward to attack the king of Orissa who was defeated and killed in battle"; but verses 120-1 do not by any means support this statement, and it must be noticed that these verses do not stand in any definite relation to Mahīpāla mentioned in the preceding verse (119) as having been defeated by the Cōḷa general before he caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his lord. Thirdly, the summary of Dr. Aiyangar implies that the Cōḷa king embarked on the naval campaign against Kaḍāram *before* returning to his capital; whereas verse 122 which mentions the entry into the capital is interposed between the campaign in Orissa and the conquest of Kaḍāram just mentioned in verse 123. On three specific points then Dr. Aiyangar's position seems to go against his sources, and there is no direct warrant from the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates for the view that Mahīpāla, the opponent of the Cōḷa general, was an Orissan (Oḍḍa) king. Turning now to the Tamil inscription, Dr. Aiyangar's plea that this record has been 'somewhat misunderstood owing to imperfections in the writing' is true in a sense rather different from and not nearly so important as what he implies. Now, no one can deny that the Tamil record expressly says that Uttara Lāḍam and Gaṅgai were taken by the Cōḷa army after the defeat of Mahīpāla; the natural inference from this would be that Mahīpāla was the ruler of Uttira Lāḍam, and it would be rather strange if the Tamil *praśasti* also called him the ruler of Oḍḍa (Orissa) especially after having already narrated the conquest of Orissa from Indraratha. We have discussed the readings of this particular line in the appendix and shown that the Tanjore reading which

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1. *Op. cit.*, p. 563.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

makes very good sense is the correct one. Dr. Aiyangar, however, holds that "apparently the correct reading of this Tamil line" is given by an inscription (No. 84) from Channapaṭṇa in the Bangalore district in the words: "*Toḍu-kaḍar-caṅgamotṭa-Mahipāḷanai*", meaning "Oṭṭa-Mahipāḷa of Śaṅgama which touches the sea". He adds: "The first three words in full in Tamil would be *Toḍu-kaḍar-caṅgamam*, which means the river mouth which touches the sea." In that case, one should like to know how this phrase when it combines with Oṭṭa-Mahipāḷa, yields 'Śaṅgam-Oṭṭa Mahipāḷa,' instead of 'Śaṅgamavotṭa Mahipāḷa' as it should be. In the phrase Oṭṭa-Mahipāḷa, if the reading is established, Mahipāḷa may or may not be a proper name. But it is by no means clear that for the correct reading of a Tamil record we must go to Bangalore rather than to Tanjore, or that the inscription from the Bangalore district gives the correct reading in this respect.

We understand the verses of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates differently. With verse 119 we come to the end of a definite stage in the campaign. With it the main project, the taking of the Ganges, is over. The name of Mahipāḷa is introduced here in this verse as an after thought, and to mark this, the statement, that the Cōḷa general caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his master, already made in verse 117, is repeated a second time (119). Verses 120 and 121 describe a detached campaign led by the king himself, which seems to be the one commemorated by the undated Mahēndragiri inscriptions of Rājēndra in which the Kulūta king Vimalāditya was defeated and compelled to surrender a number of powerful elephants into Rājēndra's hands. Either the campaign took place after Rājēndra met his victorious general returning from the north, or possibly it was an old story thrown in here by the poet who was bringing his *praśasti* to a close. The campaign against Kaṭāha did not start till the king reached his capital, and there is no indication in our sources that the overseas expedition of Rājēndra started from the Kalinga country.

The result of our study shows then that the campaign in quest of the Ganges was nothing more nor less than the *digvijaya* of the northern quarter undertaken by Rājēndra to make a demonstration of his power. There is nothing incredible in the the distances traversed or in the achievements reported. It was a raid up to the banks of the Ganges across the Bastar State, and

portions of the Central Provinces and Western Bengal and Bihar, and this could easily have been undertaken with the Vēṅgī kingdom as the base of operations. All the same, Rājendra was proud of this success more than of anything else, and perpetuated it by the construction of the new capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlapuram with its vast lake, the Cōḷagaṅgam, into which were let the waters of the Gaṅges so laboriously conveyed to his country and at such cost. Nothing now remains of the tank whose bed is a thick jungle, and the celebrated city of Rājendra, for many generations the capital of his successors, is now an obscure hamlet on the confines of the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts.

## APPENDIX.

*Text of the part of the Tamil Praśasti bearing on the campaign :*

vikkirama-vīrar Śakkarakkōṭṭamu-  
mudirpaḍa vallai<sup>1</sup> Madurai-maṇḍalamum  
kā-miḍai vaḷanagar<sup>2</sup> Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum  
veñjilai-vīrar<sup>3</sup> Pañca-ppaḷiyum  
pāśaḍai-ppaḷana<sup>4</sup>-Māśuṇidēśamum  
ayarvil-vaṇ-kīrtti Ādinagar<sup>5</sup>-vaiyiṛ  
candiran tolkulatt-Indirarathanai  
viḷai-yamar-kkaḷattuk-kīlaiyoḍum piḍittup-  
paladanattoḍu nīrai kuladanak-kuvaiyum  
kiṭṭaruñ-jeri-miḷai<sup>6</sup> Oṭṭa-viṣaiyamum

1. Hultzsch's translation here runs: "whose forts [bore] banners, (which touched) the clouds." The text is not easy, but cannot by any means yield this meaning. Vallai = quickly; Udirpaḍa = be destroyed.

2. This reading found in 176 of 1923 gives the best meaning in the context.

3. 'Veñjiṇa-vīrar' is another reading, equally good, meaning 'warriors fierce in anger.'

4. This is the Tanjore reading (S. I. I. II. 20), very satisfactory. The Tirumalai rock has "Pāśuḍaippalanaṇ-māśuṇidēśam"; we may either cancel the 'ṇ' at end of 'naṇ' and equate it to the Tanjore reading; or follow Hultzsch (E. I. IX) and say—"Paśuḍai-ppaḷa=naṇ-māśuṇidēśam".

5. Ādinagar is clear in the Tanjore inscription. *Yādinagar* in Tirumalai; *Yyādinagar* in others; *Ayādinagar* once that I know of. Never *Śādinagar*, as suggested by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. 'Ayarvil vaṇkīrtti' is rendered by Hultzsch into: 'which was famous for unceasing abundance', which seems rather forced. 'Ādinagaravayircandira' must be split into 'Ādinagarvaiyiṇ' and *candira* where 'vaiyiṇ' is the locative case ending. The meaning is simply 'at Ādinagar', not 'in the *Sabhā* (*avai*) of Ādinagar.'

6. 'Miḷai' is a synonym for 'kāvaṛkāḍu', 'protecting forest' or 'forest defence'. Hultzsch has apparently missed this meaning.

pūsurar-śēr nar-Kōśalai-nāḍum  
 Taṇmapāḷanai vemmūnai-yaḷittu  
 vaṇḍuraiśōlait-Taṇḍa-puttiyum  
 Iraṇaśūraṇai muraṇugat-tākkit-  
 tikkaṇai kīrttit-Takkaṇa Lāḍamum  
 Kōvinda-śandaṇ mā-viḷindōḍat-  
 taṅgāda-śāral Vaṅgāladēśamum  
<sup>1</sup>toḍu-kāḷarc-Caṅguvo-ḍaḍal-Mahipāḷanai  
 veñjamar-viḷagattañjuvittar-liyu  
 oṇḍiral yāṇaiyum peṇḍir paṇḍāranum  
 nittila-neḍuṅgaḍal-Uttira Lāḍamum  
<sup>2</sup>veri-malart-tīrttat-teripunaṇ-Kaṅgariyum.

1. This line has suffered most by a defect in stone giving rise in the impression (S. I. II. 20 plate) to what looks like a dot over the first *ḍa* in 'Voḍaḍal' which was therefore read as 'Voṭṭal'. 'Kaḍar' for 'Kaḷar' in some copies is the result of an easy substitution of 'ḍa' for 'ḷa'. The metre is best satisfied by the Tanjore reading: 'Toḍukaḷar-caṅgu-voḍaḍal-Mahipāḷanai.' There is hardly any room for *tōḍu*, *Sanḡuvoṭṭal*, or *saṅgamam* or *Oṭṭa*. *Śaṅgu* must be a proper name, a person of whom we know nothing now, except what is stated here. It is curious that the same mistake in deciphering seems to mark a similar phrase in Rājādhiraṇja's inscriptions—See the variant readings in S. I. I. IV no 539, 1, 22 and V no 465, 1, 12 of what beyond doubt must be *paḍaiñnarodaḍalarivāraṇa(m)*.

2. 'Veri-manal' in some copies, not so good. Meaning 'fragrant sands.'

## THE ROYAL ARTIST, MAHENDRAVARMAN I<sup>1</sup>.

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,

*Madras.*

Indeed no country in the world rose to the pinnacle of self-eminence which had not Art as the real force prompting its growth and civilisation. And the "glory that was Ind" is revealed to a remarkable degree in its best light by a few relics of her ancient treasures that have luckily come down to us. And in the not long list of illustrious South Indian monarchs, whose deeds have illumined the pages of India's annals, few there are that have better earned a niche in the temple of fame and a place in the hearts of their countrymen by their patronage of Art than the accomplished artist, the intrepid architect, and the highly cultured poet, musician and dramatist, Mahendravarman I.

Mahendravarman, like Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was a man of considerable talents and rare gifts. What we call Pallava art to-day and admire so much received a cultural background and flowered under the direct patronage of this royal connoisseur. There was not a single branch of art that was not given a stimulus, not a single monument that was not beautified and immortalised. Surely that veteran archaeologist Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil is giving a true estimate of the king when he says that "King Mahendravarman I is one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamilian civilisation".<sup>2</sup>

Though much is not known about his military exploits and though consequently he would appear to be less fortunate than his father Siṃhaviṣṇu in war he deserves the encomium given him by Prof. Dubreuil for, it was he who gave a stimulus to, if not actually introduced into the regions under his sway, the love of art. The fine arts received at his hands special attention, and no architectural monument has as yet been discovered in the Tamil

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1. Paper read at the First Bombay Historical Congress, December, 1931.

2. Jouveau Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 40.

country that can be attributed to a period earlier than his reign. The earlier temples and monuments must have been built of perishable materials like wood, brick, etc. Hence are scarcely found to-day remains of such perishable buildings. The idea of cutting temples and shrines and *cailyas* in solid rock had not evidently spread to the Tamil land at the time that witnessed the growth of rock-cut shrines and cave-temples such as at Ajañtā in the Deccan.

We shall examine the contributions of this royal artist to South Indian Art under the following heads :—

- (1) Architecture and sculpture.
- (2) Fine Arts :
  - (a) Painting.
  - (b) Music.
- (3) Literature (poetry, drama etc.)

*Architecture and sculpture.*

The very interesting cave-temple inscription of Mahendravarman from Maṇḍagapaṭṭu (South Arcot district) introduces us to probably the earliest of the cave-temples designed by Mahendravarman himself in South India. The inscription runs as follows :—

Etad-anīṣṭakamadrumamalohamasudhañ Vicitracittena |  
Nirmmāpitan-nṛpeṇa Brahmeśvara-viṣṇu-lakṣitāyatanam ||  
“ This is the temple caused to be built by king Vicitracitta  
(the curious-minded) for the Trimūrti, *i.e.*, Brahmā,  
Īśvara (Śiva), and Viṣṇu—a structure designed with-  
out (the use of) bricks, timber, metals, and mortar ”.

The term “ Vicitra-citta ” which has been translated as “ inventive-minded one ” or “ curious-minded one ” would lay emphasis on the fact that Mahendravarman took the initiative in the matter and gave orders for the construction of the rock-cut temple at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu. The king claims, as Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil points out in his “ Conjeevaram Inscription of Mahendravarman I ”, the right of authorship of this cave-temple by insisting on two points, *viz.*, “ that the act of digging in a rock was a curious and entirely new idea ” and “ that it was he who gave this idea to the workmen of that region, for it is he and not the workmen who was “ curious-minded ” ”. To our mind the term ‘ vicitra-citta ’ signifies something more too. It is indicative of the rather cold reception that his architectural ideas met



with at the hands of the architects of the Tamil land to whom his invention appeared new and curious, amounting almost to a cynical disregard of the then-known conventions in architecture and temple-building. While they would have driven out of the land any ordinary mason that came to their country with such an architectural invention, so opposed to the process well known to them, they could not but submit to the wishes of the king of the land when he was similarly disposed. They probably yielded to the king under protest, expressing their opposition to the invention probably at the king's back and bemoaning their lot to serve a master who wanted them to learn some new and curious methods in architecture that ran contrary to their experience in that field. Thus the king's ideas were all curious and funny (*vicitra*) to them, and the king himself, (who had probably in his mind several other similar ideas that he must needs put into action,) a "vicitra-citta". Surely their murmured protest reached the ears of the king, who with good humour, prompted by the artistic instinct in him, took upon himself the term 'vicitra-citta' as an honorific title and probably announced to the architects of the land his determination to remain a 'vicitra-citta' till they could get to appreciate his inventions. We can suspect in this action of the king a stealthy attempt to win the confidence of the architects, to alleviate their fears, so that they can combine with him and ensure success for his invention. This step of his had the desired effect as proved by a number of cave-temples rising in quick succession in various parts of the land that were under his sway. Probably the first cave-temple that was built by his unwilling architects under protest was the one at Maṇḍaga-paṭṭu, where to alleviate their fears and to make them take to his work with all willingness he had recourse to the strategm suggested above. And this hilarious royal architect has luckily given us an opportunity to follow his artistic tendencies coupled with good humour by engraving this name "vicitra-citta" on the very temple and immortalising thereby the first phase in his architectural and artistic career.

This inscription besides proving that the king was personally responsible for introducing the "cave style", probably from the north, throws light on the nature of the earlier temples, *viz.*, that structural temples of "bricks, timber, metals (nails), and mortar" were the rule, rather than the exception in the Pallava country.

At the epoch of Mahendravarman there existed structural temples built of the above mentioned perishable materials which

had evidently fallen into ruins and had been destroyed "either by time or by men". While their destruction by time is easily understood their destruction by men requires elucidation. There is a maṇḍapa, now in utter ruins, in the Ēkāmrānātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, the Pallava capital, called the "purāṇa-maṇḍapa" which is attached to the thousand pillared maṇḍapa in the same temple. Many of its pillars are in the Pallava style and were evidently taken from a very ancient temple that had fallen into ruins before they were utilised in the building of this maṇḍapa. The credit of discovering this structure goes to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, who examined every nook and corner of Kāñcīpuram before he came across this ruined maṇḍapa. He came across a "facade formed of six pillars which are all probably of Pallava origin. They are cubical, except in the middle where they are prismatic, and adorned with lotus flowers. Only one of these pillars contains an inscription. This pillar is similar to those found in the caves of Mahendra, but does not contain lotus flower ornament; the upper part is cubical and on each of the four sides there are writings". These writings reveal a series of *birudas* of the king himself. Such are for instance, "Abhimukha, Citrakārapuli, Kūrṅambu, Mahāmegha, Dr̥dhagatiḥ, Pisu (ḍu)gu, Vambara and Bhrāntaḥ." After "Bhrāntaḥ" occurs the verb "akari (akāri)"<sup>1</sup> thereby meaning that "the mad man or one out of his senses caused it to be made". Does this not recall our observations under the term "vicitra-citta"? From among the *birudas* in the Kāñcīpuram temple if we single out a few and arrange them as, "Abhimukha, Dr̥dhagatiḥ, Bhrāntaḥ Akāri<sup>1</sup>, and Citrakārapuli" we arrive at their real import as probably intended by the king himself, their engraver. They give room for the conjecture that the advancing royal artist who wanted to realise his ambition and was consequently of unswerving and persevering gait (*i.e.*, he did not give way before opposition) made the architects of the Tamil land carry his ideas into action for which he was rewarded at the outset with the title "mad or one out of senses" (bhrāntaḥ) by an unsympathetic Tamil architect-world. But ere long his ideas were appreciated and admiration for his superior artistic taste followed with the result that "those that came to scoff began to pray". The very architects that reviled him as a funny man and characterised his works as those of a lunatic now joined together in hailing him as "the tiger

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1. Read 'akarot'

among artists" (citrakārapuli). This was indeed Mahendra's glorious ambition and he did live to realise his ambition and to witness the dawn of an artistic renaissance.

Let us now determine the character of this "cave style" or the "Mahendra style" as it is more popularly called, for propagating which the royal artist took so much pains. It is assigned to a period ranging from 600 to 625 A. D. and is attributed the following distinguishing characteristics:—

1. The pillars of rock-cut caves are square in section, adorned with lotus flowers with the central portion octagonal.

2. The capitals or "brackets" over these pillars are mostly plain, sometimes with horizontal fluting.

3. There are *Dvārapālas*, always in front view, leaning on heavy clubs, their hands raised sometimes to the head in sign of adoration.

4. Over the architrave there is a convex roll-cornice, decorated with *caitya*-window niches called *kūḍu*, enclosing heads, the crest of the arch being plain.

5. The Buddhist railing, which is rare in Hindu art, is sometimes seen.<sup>1</sup>

The cave-temples attributable to Mahendravarman, that have been discovered up till now are as many as thirteen and are spread all over his kingdom, from the region of the Kṛṣṇā to that of the Kāverī. They are from Uṇḍavalli, Bhairavakoṇḍa, Mahendravāḍi, Pallāvaram, Kāñcīpuram, Māmaṇḍūr, Maṇḍaga-paṭṭu, Dalavānūr, Vallam, Śīyamaṅgalam, Trichinopoly, Śittanṇavāśal and Kuḍumiyāmalai. For a detailed description of these the reader is referred to the works of Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil and Mr. Longhurst on the subject. For our study we shall single out such as throw light on the subject on hand.

Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil has answered the question, "Where did Mahendravarman acquire his taste for rock-cut temples?" in his work<sup>2</sup> and has come to the conclusion that "it was on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, when admiring the caves of Uṇḍavalli, Bezvada and Mogulrāzapuram that Mahendra entertained the idea of spreading in the Tamil country the mode of cutting temples in rocks<sup>3</sup>", and that therefore these temples "appeared as

1. Trichinopoly—Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, Plate I.

2. *Pallavas*, p. 28.

3. *Conjeevaram Inscription of Mahendravarman I*, p. vii.

a new and curious method imported from the Telugu country into the Tamil country by the king who has deserved worthily the name of Vicitracitta"<sup>1</sup>. While the Doctor assigns the Uṇḍavalli caves to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins for the reason that they should be the work of some others to have inspired him and to have served as the model for his rock-cut temples further south, Mr. Longhurst assigns them to Mahendra himself. We agree with the latter as the Uṇḍavalli caves are in the same style as those further south, presenting the following common features :—

1. The plan of the caves is the same.
2. The pillars are square in section and have cubical parts ornamented with lotus flowers.
3. The sculptures resemble each other closely.
4. The *Dvārapālas* have the same pose.
5. The doors and the niches have a kind of frame-work which is similar to what is described as "double-arched tiruvāṭchi" found in some of the cave-temples of the south.

We are indebted, however, to Dr. Dubreuil for the very interesting information regarding the parentage of Mahendravarman that he has given us while discussing the authorship of the Uṇḍavalli caves. The name Mahendravarman which reminds one of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin name Vikramahendra, was unknown to the Pallavas prior to our king of that name. Simhaviṣṇu, the father of Mahendravarman had conquered the Cola country and was ruling over the vast region extending from the river Kṛṣṇā to the Kāverī. While Simhaviṣṇu was ruling at Kāñcīpuram, the capital of the kingdom, his son, the *yuvārāja* Mahendravarman was probably appointed to govern the northern regions with his headquarters in the Kṛṣṇā region. His neighbours were probably the Viṣṇukuṇḍins who were well disposed to him and taught him what they knew in architecture which they had themselves imbibed from the Vākāṭakas with whom they were matrimonially allied. Dr. Dubreuil accounts for this happy relation between the Pallava and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin by assuming a similar matrimonial alliance between them. He says that a Viṣṇukuṇḍi princess should have been espoused by Simhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarman was probably born to them. The name Mahendravarman descended then from his maternal grandfather who was probably Vikramahendra.<sup>2</sup> On the death of

1. *Conjeevaram Inscription of Mahendravarman* I, p. viii.

2. *Pallavas*, p. 35.

father, Mahendravarman should have moved to Kāñcīpuram and carried with him the lessons in art and architecture that he had learnt in the Telugu country. The Telugu nature of some of his *birudas* found in the cave temples, viz., *nīrvulē nēyambu*, *ventu-lavittu*, *civibhunduṇḍu*, *paśarambu* bears testimony to the fact that he did rule over the country lying to the north of the modern town of Nellore. There is also an inscription of this king in the Kapoteśvara temple, at Chezarla in the Guntur District, which as we know, is modelled on a Buddhist *cāitya*, in which he is referred to by the name Mahendravikrama Mahārāja and also by his *birudas* *guṇabhara* and *avanibhājana*.<sup>1</sup> The presence of an inscription of this king here proves his stay in the Telugu country.

We shall now turn to such of the cave temples as reveal the artistic touch of the royal architect.

#### I. Mahendravāḍi.

Mahitatamaṁ Satām-upamahendra-tatākamidariṁ  
Sthiramuru-kāritam Guṇabhareṇa vidāryya śīlāṁ |  
Jananayanābhirāmaguṇadhāma-Mahendrapure  
Mahati Mahendraviṣṇugrhanāma Murāriḡraṁ ||

“ Splitting the rock, Guṇabhara caused to be made on the bank of the Mahendra-tank in the great city of Mahendrapura (also named after the king) this solid, spacious temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu) named Mahendraviṣṇugrha, which is highly praised by people and which is an abode of beauty pleasing the eyes of men ”.

The above is an excellent verse in the Kōkilaka metre and reveals the king's skill in poetry and prosody. We shall pursue the literary career of this king under “ Fine Arts ”. The king has in this inscription given his name to the place which was then called Mahendrapura and is now known as Mahendra-vāḍi. So also he has given his name to the rock-cut temple there and to the big tank near which the temple stands.

#### II. Pallāvaram.

The cave temple here was probably intended for the Trimūrti as at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu and contains a string of *birudas* of the king, some in Sanskrit, a few in Telugu as indicated by their endings and two in Tamil. They are :—

1. S. I. I., Vol. VI, no. 595.

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|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Śrī Mahendravikramaḥ. | 6. Lokaśalyaḥ.      |
| 2. Mattavilāsaḥ.         | 7. Kalahapriyaḥ.    |
| 3. Cetthakārī.           | 8. Lalitāṅkuraḥ.    |
| 4. Vicitracittaḥ.        | 9. Saṅkīrṇajātiḥ.   |
| 5. Aluṭtakāmaḥ.          | 10. Pravṛttamātraḥ. |

These are in Sanskrit. Luckily the name of the king is given first thus making the association with him of the following *birudas* obvious. These *birudas* of Mahendravarman are not mere boasts but, as pointed out by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, have meanings based upon some act done by him and "have been bestowed on him or assumed by him for some ostensible reason".<sup>1</sup>

*Matta-vilāsa* is probably indicative of the cold reception that his ideas met with at the outset at the hands of the Tamilian architects and artists who were prone to look on them as "the sports of a mad man." We have been so sufficiently tutored to follow the thoughts of this king that it is needless for us to point out that the king took special pride in taking upon himself the names indicative of protest, contempt, etc., by which his people called him, unable to see eye to eye with him in his artistic ambitions. We have seen this under "*vicitra-citta*" while examining Maṇḍagapaṭṭu. Or perhaps this *biruda* is due to his having composed the little pleasant farce, the "*Mattavilāsa-prahasana*" about which more in the sequel.

*Cetthakārī*.—I examined this *biruda* on the spot and have no reason to disagree with the reading of the Epigraphical department. It is correct and may be taken to be the equivalent of "*Caityakārī*" which would mean that the king was the builder of *caityas*, by which perhaps the monolithic cave-temples are intended.

*Vicitracittaḥ*.—We have seen this already.

*Aluṭtakāmaḥ*.—"One who will not abandon his quests or desires". This can compare with "*abhimukha*" and "*ḍṛḍha-gatiḥ*" of the Conjeevaram inscription and reveals like the latter the king's determination to find support for his ideas and projects from those unsympathetic architects of the Tamil land. Surely Bhavabhūti's cry '*Utpatsyate mama tu ko'pi samānadharmā*' would ring with sincerity and redoubled force if applied to Mahendra.

*Lokaśalyaḥ*.—"The arrow to the world (the world of foes or the world of the foe-like unsympathetic Tamilian architects)".

Here he is just voicing the feeling of his unsympathetic architects who considered him as a thorn on their side, a veritable menace to the accepted canons and conventions in art and architecture. Surely, the deep lover of art that he was, he considered these architects as his foes and did not mean any foe in the military sense of the term.

*Kalahapriyah.*—"Lover of fight or dispute". He was eagerly looking forward for a dispute among those unsympathetic architects which, should it occur, would bring some of them to his school and to appreciate his projects. The dispute here refers to a difference of opinion, whether the king's ideas are acceptable or not. By the term *kalaha* no internecine strife is meant, nor any dispute in the real sense of the term but just what we have explained above.

*Lalitāṅkurah.*—"Of the tender-sprout". That the king belonged to the Pallava family is meant here (*pallava* is a synonym for *aṅkura*). The royal poet gives expression to this idea with singular grace and poetic exaltation that mark him out in all his writings, of which more in the sequel.

*Saṅkīrṇajātiḥ.*—"The discoverer of a variety of musical time or mode of music known as saṅkīrṇajāti". This *biruda* should have puzzled the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who not properly realising that these *birudas* of Mahendravarman should not be taken at their face value though he himself agrees that these *birudas* were "bestowed on him or assumed by him for some ostensible reason" has interpreted this term as meaning "mixed caste". In support of this he has to conjecture that "perhaps the parents of Mahendravarman were of different castes". Luckily the late Mr. Krishna Sastri has rescued our Mahendravarman from this ignominy by giving the true interpretation of this term. His words are "Saṅkīrṇajāti is the name of a variety of musical time. Perhaps Mahendravarman I held this *biruda* as an inventor of this method of keeping musical time". We shall speak more of this when we discuss the musical accomplishments of this king under Kuḍumiyāmalai. To interpret each *biruda* of this king we should get into the artistic life of Mahendra or in short we should get the "Mahendra spirit".

*Pravṛtta (i) mātrah.*—"Always progressive alone". Here we get an inkling into the real character of the king. He set his goal before him and was always proceeding towards it, each day finding him progressing slowly but surely and nearer his goal.



There was no going back if ills beset him as they did. Like the true warrior whose aim it was "to march ahead and to do and die" he moved ahead in his noble quest of art, paying little heed to the obstacles that befell him and the unsympathetic talk to which his work was made a target, though perhaps at the beginning only.

Now we shall examine the Telugu *birudas*<sup>1</sup> occurring here. They are :—

1. *Civibhundundu*.—Beyond mentioning that it is a Telugu surname of this king no satisfactory interpretation has been forthcoming.

2. *Nilviolnayyambu*.—"The unstoppable friendship". *Nayyambu* is a corruption of *nēyambu* which is itself a corruption of *neśambu* (Skt. *Sneha*)

3. *Ventulavittu*.—Not known.

4. *Pasarambu*.—Not known.

These Telugu names have been adduced by all writers on Pallava history to explain the Telugu origin of the "Mahendra style".

Among Tamil names not many are found here. There are only two and they read as :—

1. *Citrakārapuli*.—"Tiger among artists". Here the king has given the reader an inkling into his ambition and the key to his pursuits. His ambition is to become the foremost among the artists of the land. We can concede either that this title was bestowed on him by those architects who were scoffers to begin with but who subsequently began to appreciate his work, or that it was assumed by him to show his ultimate triumph. If the latter interpretation is accepted then surely it is the ejaculation of a successful artist who on seeing his ideas crowned with success in a manner that he himself probably did not anticipate bursts out in that fashion just as the weary traveller on sight of his goal would speed up to the place with the unconscious and spontaneous cry on his lip "goal". Surely, while engraving this *biruda*, the royal engraver is asking himself, "Am I the *Citrakārapuli* that I strove to be, and have I reached my goal's end after all?"

2. *Pugāpiḍuka* (Pagāppiḍugu).—"The thunderbolt that cannot be split". This term too indicates his triumph and an unshakable determination on the part of the king. Just as the "thunderbolt cannot be split" so also the king could not be thwarted or

1. *M. E. R.*, 1909, part II, pp. 74-5.



diverted or weaned away from his noble task in the field of art and architecture. The earlier opposition to the king's ideas is easily indicated.

III. *Kāñcīpuram*.

The remains of a structural temple of Mahendravarman have been referred to already. One of its pillars contains the king's *birudas* on its four sides; these are given here in detail :—

*Northern side of the pillar*.—

*Pisu (ḍu) gu*, meaning the “thunderbolt”.

*Vaṁbara*.—This occurs on the fourth pillar (4th line, first word) of the upper cave at Trichinopoly. Its significance is not clear.

*Bhrāntaḥ akari*, (*akarot*) i. e., “The mad fellow made”. We have seen the true import of this expression already.

*Eastern side*—

*Cuṁbu*,—Not clear.

*Vaṁkaṁbu*.— „

*Vnāra*.— „

*Southern side*—

*Abhimukha*.—Examined already.

*Citrakārapuli*.— „

*Kūrṛambu* means “Yama or Death”. This term occurs on the fourth pillar (3rd line, first word) in the upper cave at Trichinopoly.

*Western side*—

*Ema*.—Too fragmentary to convey any sense.

*Kuvatroṇa* ?—Not clear.

*Mahāmegha*, i. e., the great cloud. Probably the king is compared to a great cloud as he should shower on his subjects wealth and comfort even as the cloud showers rain vouchsafing good harvest.

*Dṛḍhagatiḥ*.—Examined already.

IV. *Māmaṇḍūr*.

The cave temple here resembles closely the cave at Śittanāvāśal to which we shall come presently, and an inscription found here, though fragmentary, is of great importance to us as it speaks of the literary accomplishments of the king and his contributions in the sphere of painting, dance and music—a fascinating study indeed, which we shall relegate to the section

"Fine Arts". The inscription which is mostly in anuṣṭubh verses is indeed a record of the glory and the prosperity that attended the king of such an artistic bent of mind.

V. *Maṇḍagaṇaṭṭu.*

Described already.

VI. *Dalavānūr.*

Daṇḍānata-narendreṇa Narendreṇ-aīṣa kāritaḥ |

Śatrumallena śaile-smin Śatrumalleśvarālayaḥ ||

"By the king, the queller of his foes (Śatrumalla), who has humbled inimical kings by his army, has been caused to be built on this hill an abode of the god named Śatrumalleśvara."

Śatrumalla is another *biruda* of Mahendravarman and occurs at Trichinopoly, Māmaṇḍūr, and Vallam.

VII. *Vallam*

The inscription in this temple is in Tamil and is of importance to the student of history as it speaks of a feudatory of Mahendravarman who appears to have ruled in the vicinity of Chingleput and from whom the later Pallava Ko-Peruñjiṅga appears to have been descended. The temple here was the work of this feudatory who carried out the idea of his liege-lord. Probably Mahendravarman was aided in realising his ambition by this vassal of his. The inscription is spread on two pillars and runs as :

*On the left pillar*

Pagāppidugu Laṭitāṁkuraṇ

*On the right pillar.*

Śatturummallaṇ Guṇabharan  
Mayendirap-pottareśaru aḍiyāṇ  
Vayantappiri areśaru magan  
Kandasenaṇ śeyivitta Deva-  
kulam.

"The temple was caused to be built by Kandasena (Skt. Skandasena), the son of Vayantapriya-rāśa (Skt. Vasantapriya-rāja), who was a vassal of Mayendirappottareśaru (Skt. Mahendrapota-rāja), whose *birudas* are Pagāppidugu (*i.e.*, the thunderbolt that cannot be split), Laṭitāṁkura, Śatrumalla and Guṇabhara".

Of these *birudas* examined already, the last one, Guṇabhara, (the bearer of virtues) occurs in Mahendravāḍi and Trichinopoly also.

VIII. *Śiyamaṅgalam.*

An inscription in Sanskrit (Āryā metre) speaks of the construction of this cave-temple by Mahendra who is referred to here by his *birudas* Laṭitāṁkura and Avanibhājana. It reads as :

1. Lalitāṅkureṇa rājñā-Ava-
2. nibhājana-Pallaveśvaran-nāma |
3. Kāritam-etat-svedhā (cchā)-karaṇḍa-
4. m-iva puṇyaratnānām ||

"By king Lalitāṅkura ("charming scion") was caused to be made this (temple) named *Avanibhājana-Pallaveśvara*, a casket as it were (worked at his will) and enclosing jewels, *vis.*, good deeds". By this simile the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.

*Avanibhājana-Pallaveśvara* means 'the Īśvara (Śiva) temple of the Pallava king whose title was *Avanibhājana* ("earth-vessel", *i.e.*, he, whose glory fills the earth). *Avanibhājana* occurs in the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* written by the king and in the Chezarla inscription referred to already<sup>1</sup> and at Trichinopoly.

#### IX. Trichinopoly.—

The inscriptions of Mahendravarman in the cave temple here are exhaustive and contain much information that will be useful to a student of Pallava history. That part of the inscriptions dealing with the so-called conversion of Mahendra from Jainism to Śaivism, thanks to the famous Śaivite saint Appar and the erection of a temple for Śiva on the hill and the placing of a *līṅga* in it and a portrait of the king himself, is in Sanskrit verses which have been published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 29-30. The other part consisting of the *birudas* and other ordinary qualities of the king is supplied by the pillars of the cave. These *birudas* are of diverse origin, most of them in Sanskrit, some in Telugu and some others in Tamil. The name of the king is mentioned as "Mahendravikramaḥ". Then the title "*mattavilāsa*" follows. Among the several other titles and qualities that find place here (both in the verses and in the list of names) mention may be made of the following:—*Sanākīrṇajāti*, *Lalitāṅkura*, *Guṇabhara* (abundance of virtues), *Satyasandha* (true) *Puruṣottama* (the best among men), *Śatrumalla*, *Nityavinītaḥ* (ever modest), *Nirapekṣaḥ* (the independent or the self-reliant or the resourceful), *Nilvulēnēyambu* (Telugu, "the unstoppable friendship") *Anityarāga* (not permanently drawn to pleasures or attachment), *Anumānaḥ* (the sophist or the good logician), *Avanibhājanaḥ* (whose glory fills the earth), *Abhimukhaḥ* (advancing or progressive), *Akaruṇaḥ* (the pitiless probably to his enemies or to vandals), *Alavala* (not clear),

1. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 595.

*Valam̐pu* (Tel. not clear), *Kilam̐pu* (Tel. not clear), *Mlāyu* (Tel. not clear), *Virasaḥ* (void of desire), *Vyavasthitaḥ* (persevering), *Vyavasāyaḥ* (industrious), *Kaḍuntarambu* (Tel. not clear), *Karum̐pu* (Tel. inimical), *Kūṛṛambu* (Yama or Death), *Vambara*, *Nivambu*, (Tel. not clear), *Nayambu* (gentle or gentleness), *Naruku* (not clear), *Naihiḱāmutriḱaḥ* (not attached to pleasures of this world or of the worlds beyond), *Narāpaśa*, *Vam̐bu*, *Vam̐kaḥ*, *Kuhakaḥ*, etc.

X. *Śittan̐navāśal*.—

The rock-cut temple here is identical with that at Māmaṇḍūr. As it has not been figured yet in works of Pallava architecture I attempt to give here a description of its architecture which is luckily simple and elegant. There are the usual four pillars supporting the roof of the cave, two standing in the middle and the other two, those at the ends, being embedded on the side of the cave, so that a portion of each alone projects. The central pillars are square in section with the usual octagonal belt in the centre and support capitals which present horizontal flutings. The capitals support the architrave, a long flat beam, which in turn supports a double flexured cornice. On either side of the cave is a niche in which is seated the figure of a Jaina Tirthaṅkara carved in high relief, of almost life size. The back wall is divided into symmetrical compartments by ornamental pilasters, in the centre of which a plain entrance into the inner cell is located. A pair of steps flanked by *śurul-yālīs* leads to the entrance which opens into a cell, cubical in plan, with plain walls, and showing signs of having been once covered with paintings. On the side opposite to the entrance and facing the latter can be seen three seated figures in a row. These three, together with the two outside on the side-niches, reminding us of the *dvārapālas* in the other cave-temples of the king, are seated in the "saṃpar-yaṅka" pose with the legs crossed and the palms placed on the lap, one over the other—a pose specially prescribed for the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. It was Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil that started characterising this cave temple as Jaina. Though several other writers did not agree with him<sup>1</sup> the fact remains that it was intended for the Jaina gods and that Mahendravarman built that cave temple for his Jaina subjects. The identification receives support from the following facts :—The Jainas require often

1. *Triveni*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 91—93; Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 11.

such caves for the performance of severe austerities such as the *sallekhanā* (i.e. doing penance, being in meditation and dying slowly by starvation). The place of the *dvārapālas* in this cave is taken by two Tīrthaṅkaras, both cross-legged and in the *yogic* pose. One of them has a curve over his head which may be taken to be the *chatra* or more probably the disc of the moon (*candra-kalā*). If the latter is possible, then the image must be taken to represent Candraprabha, the 8th Tīrthaṅkara. The identity of the other Tīrthaṅkara on the other side of the entrance is very clear. The cross-legged figure in the *yogic* pose has the serpent with five hoods over its head, a feature which marks Pārśvanātha out easily. Though Supārśvanātha, the 7th Tīrthaṅkara, ought also to have this distinguishing mark, the absence of the *svastika* in this case, which as we know is an additional mark required for Supārśvanātha, proves beyond any doubt that Pārśvanātha was alone intended. The three other Tīrthaṅkaras inside the cell remain for the present unidentified, as I have not examined them carefully with a view to find out the *lāñchanas* appropriate to them. But, as they are all in the *saṃparyayaṅka* attitude, with no trace of any kind of drapery or ornament or the *yajñopavīta* on them, a feature shared by the two others outside, we have no hesitation in calling them all Tīrthaṅkaras and the cave itself a Jain cave. The carving of these sculptures is marvellous for its precision and excellence of anatomy. The figures are natural and carry themselves with a grace though in an erect posture 'like a flame that flickereth not in windless space.'

The surface of the rock inside has been given a finish to suit it for the subsequent fresco-process. "The figures carved are not finished as such, for that was left to the painter's plaster and brush." The cave was intended, even when it was actually carved, to be painted over inside. The paintings must have originally covered the whole of the interior as there are traces of colour today on the ceiling, the pillars and their capitals. A description of these paintings will find a suitable place under painting in the section, 'Fine Arts'.

#### XI. Kuḍumiyāmalai.—

An inscription of the same characters as those found in the other records of Mahendravarman, and in any case dating from the 7th century was discovered at Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukotta state. It was incised on a rock on the slopes of

the hill behind the Śikhānāthasvāmi temple of the place, and at the right end of the sixth and seventh sections of this inscription, the basement of a *maṇḍapa* belonging to an adjoining rock-cut temple called Mēlaikkōvil covered it up so that a few notes in each sub-section together with the words "samāptāḥ svarāgamāḥ" are lost. This inscription is devoted entirely to music and is said to have been engraved at the instance of a king, a disciple of Rudrācārya for the benefit of the pupils. Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil has on sufficiently strong grounds, which we shall examine under 'Music', identified this unnamed king with Mahendravarman whom he calls an accomplished musician.

*Fine Arts.*

(a) *Painting.*

Some faint traces of paint were noticed on the walls of the Māmaṇḍūr cave by Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who was sorry, however, to note that they yielded no satisfactory result. But the discovery of Pallava painting in the Śittannavāśal cave has made the study of this subject fascinating. It is easy to concede that Mahendra was indeed the lover of painting that he is described to be. The Māmaṇḍūr inscription proves this. As almost all the artistic hobbies and propensities of Mahendra are detailed in this important, though unfortunately fragmentary, record from Māmaṇḍūr, it is given below:—

1. Avinīta-kasamṛddha . . . . . vṛttamasya vija . . . . .  
gandharvvaśāstra-makhila . . . khilamukhodbhūta.
2. . prājāpatya . . . . . nā (dbh) āvanāgamanah . . . . .  
pa . . . gandhānā . . m-Pāñcāla-nirmmita.
3. khya . . . . . nā . . . ttā . . . (śikētuna) . . manobhirāma  
. . . maṇ . . Vālmikivarṇita . .
4. Bharatā-nāya(ka) . . sabhā . . . vatsāpahāra . . (ri)-  
pūṇām vajrasāyakaḥ.
5. . . ma(kṛta) . . . . . ndhata-Cēra-Pa . . . . . mudārā-  
rthamurvvaśī-sarvaśobhanā . .
6. . . . variñca Nāṭakam || Vyāsakalpasya . . . . . ṁ  
Bhagavadajjuka . . . syaṁ Mattavilāsādipadaṁ-prahasanottamaṁ  
. .
7. . . pūrṇaṁ-prabhṛta . . . samuttejita . . . tuṣṭaya . .  
jayasya-patyaś-Śatrumallasya bhūbhujah |
8. . . . yad-bhramarivāptasammadāḥ || Yā kavīnām-  
prakāśa . . vatta . . mprattis-samabuddhiriva sthitā

9. . . . . gurusvaravarṇṇayā purā tasyām kavigirajāsyārttha-  
vatām . . . (ā) puṣṇuś-śiṣyatvamēyusaḥ.

10. . . . . prajñāmalisamanvitām || Prā . . . ṇōta . . .  
jyāyayā svaya . . .

11. . . . kalpāt pravibhajya . . vṛttim Dakṣiṇacitrākhyam  
(kāra) yitvā Yathāvidhi.

12. . . . śca vividhaiḥ kṛtvā varṇṇacaturthā (varṇṇaṇ-  
Candrārṇava) | Aprāptapūrvvan-nirvēṣṭum vādyaśravaṇa . . .  
kṛtavatīva . . . .

13. . . . . kaṇṭhaśrutiguṇāvasādhāraṇasaṃpadā | Dṛṣṭ-  
vevōtkarṣaṇena . . . yinī . . . . kṣeva . . . .

14. . . . . yatō viśamvādaṃ Lakṣmyā manōtsukatayā |  
Yasyāś-śilaviśeṣa . . yāyata . . . yādattamanna . . . .

15. ke . . . kānti yathārtthēna candralekheva yā gatā  
gātrin-dhaha . . ta . . śāstreṣu nityavihitabudha . . . .

16. . . . . yeṣu parām prīti . . . panta . . sya vapuṣaḥ ||  
Nityavinītena Satyasam(dhena) . . . sya bhaktyā-varjjita-  
mauḷinā

17. Sahasra . saṃpūrṇamēgha-śyāmasya garji . . vada . .  
pati . . vattayā . . . . ||

As the inscription is hopelessly fragmentary it is not possible to attempt a translation of the verses that it contains. The utmost that one can obviously make out of them is just the gist or the substance of the whole record. It praises the poetical and the musical talents of the king. In the first line we find mention made of Gandharva-śāstra which means music. In the second line there is a reference to something made in or in vogue in the Pāñcāla country.<sup>1</sup> In the third line some work of Vālmiki (does this merely mean the excellence of Vālmiki as found in his immortal Rāmāyaṇa?) or something described by Vālmiki is mentioned. In the fourth line two terms "sabhā" and "vatsā (vastra) pahāra" give room for a conjecture that there is here probably a reference to some work of the times in which the outrage on the modesty of Draupadī, the heroine of the Mahābhārata by Duśśāsana in the "sabhā" i.e. court-hall, at the instance of Duryodhana formed the main theme. Some support is lent to this assumption by the term "Bharatā-nāyaka" at the beginning of the same line. Probably the expression "Bharatā-nāyaka" needs correction as "Bhārata-nāyaka". Evidently there was then at the time of Mahendravarman a

1. Does this refer to music during puppet-shows (*Pāñcālikās*)?

popular play with the above scene from the Mahābhārata as its main theme which caught the fancy of Mahendra. Lines 5 and 6 probably make mention of a drama written by the king himself, the title of which finishes with the letters “. . . varī” and in which the story of Vikrama and Urvaśī such as is recorded in the immortal play of Kālidāsa, the “Vikramorvaśīya”, formed the main plot. This guess is warranted by the terms “Urvaśī sarvaśobhanā” in the 5th line and “. . . varī” and “nāṭaka” in the 6th line. The 6th line is also important for the valuable information that it gives with regard to the farce, entitled Mattavilāsa, the authorship of which is assigned in the *prastāvanā* of the work itself to Mahendravarman. The terms in this line that require elucidation are “Vyāsakalpasya—Bhagavadajjukasyam Mattavilāsādipadam-prahasanoṭtamam”; these are fragmentary pieces from an *anuṣṭubh* which can be restored as follows:—

“Vyāsakalpasya *bhūṭpasya kāvyam* (or *sukavēr jetum*)  
Bhagavadajjukam |  
*Hāsyam* Mattavilāsādipadam Prahasanoṭtamam ||”

Translation:—

“The farce Bhagavadajjuka is the work of the king who resembles sage Vyāsa himself; (so also) the best among farces that began with the term Mattavilāsa.”

Or

“The best among the farces that began with the term Mattavilāsa (was produced) to eclipse the farce-Bhagavadajjuka which was the work of the great poet who resembled Vyāsa<sup>1</sup>.”

This takes us to the question of the relative importance of the two farces, Bhagavadajjuka and Mattavilāsa, the authorship of the former and other points of literary importance which we shall discuss under “Literature”.

Line 7 contains the terms “Śatrumallasya Bhūbhujah” which prove that the king intended here is Mahendravarman whose *biruda* is “Śatrumalla” as examined already. In line 9 reference to musical sounds in the pitch (*guru*) expressed by letters is made. Line 11 is important for it contains the following verse almost restored:—

“ . . . . . Kalpāt pravibhajya . . . . . |  
Vṛttim Dakṣiṇa-citrākhyam (kāra) yitvā yathāvidhi ||”

1. I am indebted to my Professor, Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppaswami Sastriar for this suggestion.



*Translation* :—"Classifying (the subject) from (an old standard) *kalpa* (*i. e.*, work on the subject) he caused to be compiled a commentary (*vṛtti*) called *Dakṣiṇa-citra* (*i. e.*, South Indian art or painting) following strictly the methods and the rules laid down for such a work."

It is evident that he analysed the subject of painting that was laid down in an earlier work (*kalpa*) which was probably cumbersome or not clear or which had perhaps to be revised in the light of later inventions in the field. The results of his analysis derived probably from a practical study of the subject he embodied in a treatise which conformed to the rules relating to such compositions and which he named *Dakṣiṇa-citra* or Southern Art or Painting.

*Line 12*.—If the reading "*varṇacaturtha*" is adopted it would mean that the king was the inventor of a fourth colour in painting. But if the other reading, *viz.*, "*varṇam Candrārṇavam*" is accepted the sense conveyed would be that the king by diverse ways designed a work on colour-process in painting which he named "*Candrārṇava*"

The latter half of line 12 and the first half of line 13 give the following idea :—The king wanted to achieve what was not achieved before in the realm of music. Seeing the various intonations of sounds that stringed musical instruments like the *viṇā* alone could produce and actuated by a zeal and determination to produce the same results in vocal music, he designed, by dint of uncommon and superior resources probably a successful notation of musical sounds to be produced in vocal music. What is suggested here receives confirmation from the *Kuṇḍumiyāmalai* inscription on music, which will be treated under "Music". Line 16 gives a few *birudas* of the king that occur at Trichinopoly also. Such are for instance *Nityavinīta* and *Satyasaṁdha*. There is a very interesting *anuṣṭubh* verse between lines 16 and 17 which can be restored as follows :—

Satyasaṁdhenā (Rudrasya or Bhargasya or more probably) Sīṁhasya Bhaktyā-varjjita-maulinā |  
Sahasrakotiśampūrṇameghaśyāmasya garjitam ||

"(The mandate) of Rudra or Brahmā or Sīṁha (*i. e.*, Viṣṇu as Narasiṁha) who is dark like numerous thick clouds was proclaimed (to the world by this inscription) by Satyasaṁdha with his head bent with devotion to the god (*i. e.*, bowing).

The idea indicated here is that the king echoed as it were (*garjitam*) the roar of Narasimha that art should be revived in the country in the manner indicated above. The terms "garjitam" (*i. e.*, was roared) and "sahasrakotiśampūrṇameghaśyāmasya" make the insertion of "simhasya" between "Satya-samdhena" and "bhaktyā . . . ." most appropriate, for a lion alone could roar and the lion in this case is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, whom scriptures describe and praise as "He of colour as dark as the cloud."

While reading this inscription one cannot help noting with regret the present damaged and consequently fragmentary condition of the record which, if it were only intact and well preserved, would have opened a new page in the history of art in South India under Mahendravarman and would have made us realise the import of that immortal title of his found in some of his cave-temples, *viz.*, "Citrakāra-puli" *i. e.*, tiger among artists. Now at least let us commune with this "Citrakāra-puli" who if he so styled himself did with legitimate pride and deservedly. But if it was bestowed on him as was more probably the case it should have been done by an appreciative grateful artist-world.

Let us turn our attention now to actual painting in the cave-temples of Mahendravarman. We have it on the authority of Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who visited the Māmaṇḍūr cave as early as 1915-16 that he found traces of paint. When I happened to visit the cave with a view to study the damaged inscription early in 1931, I found very little of these traces and what actually showed appeared to me as of no interest. It was in fact the inscription that rivetted my attention all the time I stayed in the temple. Thus we have to content ourselves with the frescoes at *Śittanāvāśal* for our study of the technique in Pallava painting started by the illustrious Mahendra.

#### *Śittanāvāśal.*—

The architecture and sculptural details of this cave-temple have already been narrated. Its painting shall now be examined.

From a verse, "śaiveyam mama citrakarma-racanā bhittim vinā vartate" found in the well-known Sanskrit drama "Mudrā-Rākṣasa" by Viśākhadatta of the 6th century A.D. we get to know that "Bhitti-citra" *i. e.*, wall or fresco-painting was very popular as otherwise it could not have been drawn for literary metaphors. *Citra-lepya-kṛts* or fresco-painters are referred to by poet Rājaśekhara of 900 A.D. as being assigned seats by the side

of poets of Apabhraṃśa language in the court-halls of kings. It would thus appear that they were assigned a high position in society which "is an index of the popularity of the art of painting"<sup>1</sup>. *Bhitti-citra* was in fact such a noble hobby of even ruling monarchs that from a few manuscripts, out of a horde of several of them that have luckily escaped destruction we get to appreciate their proficiency in the various branches of learning (*kalā*) more particularly in painting. To those earlier standard works on the subject such as Nārada's, "Sarasvatī and Brahmā", and the "Citra-sūtra" chapters of the "Viṣṇudharmottara" we have to add the later royal contributions such as the Western Cālukya king Someśvara's immortal "Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi" dating from the 12th century and the still later or to speak correctly modern "Śivatattva-raṇākara" compiled from earlier works on the subject by the Kelaḍi chief Basavarāja (1709 A. D.). The 6th *kallola*, 2nd *taraṅga* of the last mentioned work introduces us to "bhitti-citra" in the palace-hall where the king has very ably analysed the subject as follows :—

- vv. 2-74- (1) How to prepare *vajraleṣa*, pens and brushes for painting.  
 (2) Selection of colours to suit different themes.  
 (3) Description of natural (original) and artificial (mixed) colours.  
 (4) Artificial colour-its ingredients.  
 (5) Anatomy of pictures-measurements of the *avayavas* and parts of pictures.  
 vv. 75-81. (1) Classification of pictures.  
 (2) Places best suited for painting different kinds thereof.  
 vv. 82-161. Measurements of pictures in general and of their *avayavas* in particular.

The whole subject is dealt with in 160 verses in a chapter which the author characterises as "Varṇasamyojana, Citra-lekhana, pratimā-lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇam".

Having had a peep into those early *citra-śālās* or picture galleries, thanks to the innumerable literary references attesting to their existence, it is our pleasant task now to examine the fresco-paintings at Śittanāvāśal with a view to find out how best the cave answered the description of a *Citra-śālā* or picture-gallery.

Being the most perishable of the fine arts the painting in this cave has suffered a good deal owing to age and age-long neglect

and indifference, darkening of the interior of the cave by smoke from the fire of way-side wandering pilgrims who appear to have cooked their food in, even as they do to-day, the peeling off of the plaster here and there owing of course to neglect and the almost horrible vandalism to which it has been subjected at the hands of cattle-boys, the natives of the soil and the over-zealous Census recorder. This vandalism has been described by Mr. M. S. S. Sarma, who has made beautiful copies of the remaining frescoes (some of which are figured by Mehta in his *Studies in Indian Painting*) as follows: "... much of what remains intact has been also darkened by smoke from fires lit in the cave by resting *bairāgis*. Balls of dung have been freely hurled at the ceiling; evidently the village urchins must have used the picture on the ceiling as a good target for their balls of dung and clay, which can now be seen sticking here and there! Any attempt to remove them brings away the plaster too, so that they are better left there to tell their tale too. . . . . With regard to the very facet of the pillar wherein is located the dancing figure . . . , the delicate brush lines of the master-artist have been marred ruthlessly by the crude brush, probably of the census enumerator whose only paint is black tar, with the result that you find there, in hideous prominence, the figure 165 with something more added on to it!". Surely the entire cave must have been covered with paintings, for traces of paint are seen everywhere inside the dark cave "as you become more and more familiar with the contents of the cave". Even as in Māmaṇḍūr and at Mahābalipuram<sup>2</sup> the sculptures in the cave reveal traces of plaster and colour. The credit of discovering these paintings ought strictly to go to the late lamented Gopinatha Rao, who communicated his discovery to his scholar-friend, Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who forthwith drew the attention of the world by means of a leaflet and an article in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. LII, pp. 45-47) with a tracing of the outline of a well-preserved dancing figure. With his remarkable precision in judgment and the instinct of a born archæologist he was able to determine that"—1. The process of Pallava painting is similar to that of the Ajaṇṭā paintings.

2. The painting of the Pallavas was, perhaps, even more beautiful than their sculpture.

1. *Triveni*, Vol. III, No. I., p. 68; Vol. IV, No. I, pp. 94—95.

2. J. Dubreuil, *Pallava Painting*, p. 1.

3. The Śittannavāśal cave is a Jain temple "<sup>1</sup>. After closely examining the Śittannavāśal paintings and sculptures we have only to conclude that the Professor is remarkably correct in his estimation. The sculptures which represent Tirthaṅkaras have been already examined. The paintings alone remain.

Before taking to a study of these it is interesting to note that the name of the place, Śittannavāśal is so un-Tamilian that to explain its derivation we have to look to its Sanskrit or Prākṛt form. In Sanskrit it will be "Siddhānām vāsaḥ" *i. e.*, the abode of the *Siddhas* or ascetics and in Prākṛt "Siddhaṇṇa-vāsa". As we know that the Jainas and the Buddhists had a special leaning towards Prākṛt culturally we shall take the Prākṛt form as the nucleus of the modern Tamil name of the place, Śittannavāśal. The term "siddha" is of special value to us for our study for we know that the "siddhas" occupy a pre-eminent place in Jaina iconography and worship. Among the *pañca-namaskāras* that every follower of the Jaina faith should make the first *namaskāra* is reserved for the "Siddha". And in Jaina cosmology the highest place or heaven (to use a common and popular term) is spoken of as the *Siddhaloka*, the denizens of which are the *siddhas* or the liberated souls whom even the Tirthaṅkaras worship prior to initiation (*dīkṣā*).<sup>2</sup> The Jaina ascetics of the place naturally required solitary places like the cave under discussion for the performance of their austerities and *dhyāna*. The rocky nature of the country afforded them ample cave-resorts, one of which was the one under discussion which was embellished with sculptures and paintings by a royal patron of rare artistic taste, who was probably drawn to the place either because of the sanctity of the place or because of his fervour for the Jaina religion—a point which we relegate for discussion at the end of this paper, while discussing the religion of Mahendra.

Of those paintings of the place that are intact, careful copies have been made by Mr. M.S.S. Sarma of Madras, some of which have been figured by Mehta in his book on "Studies in Indian Painting". I have seen his copies in colour and was struck by their fidelity to the originals. They have been drawn to correct scale and have been properly toned.

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1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, p. 45.

2. This has been dealt with in detail by me in my monograph on Jaina painting, to be published as a volume of the Madras Museum Bulletin.

The plaster serving as the primed ground is very thin, of about an eighth of an inch and has adhered to the surface of the rock so well that it is not easy to remove its traces. Particles of husk and straw can be seen in some places and the lime appears to have been mixed up with fine sifted sand. At Bagh one finds lime mixed up with cow-dung. My friend Mr. Chitra of the Madras School of Arts tells me that the latter mixture would give a suitable ground for the best colour-effect. The colours used are not many ; those used are red, yellow, blue, green, black and white. Mr. M. S. S. Sarma has examined them very carefully and tells me that they are natural colours or "vegetable colours" as the local Tamil painters would call them. A bit of the primed ground furnished by the lime-mixture was tasted by him and found to be sweet. While only one variety in each of black, green, blue and white pigments is found, red and yellow have two varieties each. Red has "red ochre" and "vermilion", and yellow "yellow ochre" and "bright golden".

The colour scheme is harmonious and simple, the colours being well soaked into the surface and given a final polish with probably small prepared pebbles. It is natural, without any elaborate attempt at light and shade. The backgrounds are mostly red or green. The paintings are essentially linear; they "began and ended with outlines, and the boldness and firmness displayed in them are really marvellous", "every form being brought out firmly by its decided outline". It has been supposed that the first outline here must have been done with red ochre as at Ajanṭā, an inference which is but natural as, in the case of such paintings, time, exposure, weather and natural decay would tend to obliterate everything else save the red outlines. But according to Mr. M. S. S. Sarma the execution here was different. "The cuncuma (*Kuṅkuma*) stem which Indian ladies use even to-day in their toilet is the thing that was used for the preliminary outline. The alkaline nature of the fresh ground converted the yellow of the stem into a rich red colour which was then fixed by outlines of different appropriate colours, thus parcelling out the ground for subsequent coats of colour. The outlines then were emphasised with suitable tints here and there. When the surface moisture is gone, but when the ground is still damp, light shading by hatching and stippling is indulged in, and afterwards, before the ground completely dries up, the whole is given a

polish with small prepared pebbles<sup>1</sup>". The linear draughtsmanship reveals a knowledge of anatomy and perspective far advanced.

The chief decorative *motif* in the whole cave is the lotus with its stalk, leaf and flower. As Dr. Dubreuil has remarked in his "Pallava Painting", "The decoration of the capitals of the two pillars of the facade is well preserved and consists of painted lotuses whose blooming stems intertwine with elegance", the pillars being adorned with the figures of dancing girls. The ceiling of the inner cell reveals a geometrical design, complicated, most of which has been unfortunately obliterated. Of those fragments that are luckily intact and have been copied by Mr. Sarma, that on the ceiling of the verandah is the most interesting. It is located in the centre of the ceiling and is flanked by two simple decorative panels with designs looking like carpets spread. A lotus tank in blossom with fishes, geese and other birds, animals such as buffaloes and bulls and elephants and three men, who are according to Dr. Dubreuil "surely Jains" wading through, gathering lotus flowers, is the subject treated. While the water of the tank alone is treated in a conventional manner the rest is done in a most natural, elegant and simple manner. The fishes and the geese play about in the tank here and there and recall a pleasant paradise. Lotus leaves are made to stand as the background of every lotus flower in bloom. Of the three men, whose pose, colouring and the "sweetness of their countenance are indeed charming" two stand close to each other while the third stands alone at the right hand end of the fresco. The skin of two is dark-red in colour while that of the third is bright yellow or golden.

While both Mehta and Sarma do not agree with Dr. Dubreuil who identifies the scene depicted as "probably from the religious history of the Jains", we are of opinion that the French archaeologist is seldom wrong in his surmises and if he errs at all he errs rather on the right side than on the wrong one. The scene depicted is one of the most attractive heavens that find a place in the "Samavasaraṇa" or heavenly pavilion created by Saudharmendra for the Jina to sit and discourse, the moment that he becomes a "kevalī". Seated in the *Gandhakūṭi* within the "Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa," which in turn is in the centre of the whole *samavasaraṇa* structure, the Tīrthaṅkara or the Jina holds the divine discourse attended by all pomp. A *divyadhvani*

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1. *Triveni*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 72.



emanates from Him which is interpreted by the *Gaṇadharas*, the occupants of the first *koṣṭa*, which is one of the 12 *koṣṭas* surrounding the seat of the Jina containing god's creation that had come to witness the grand scene of the Lord's discourse. The structure including the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa*, wherein the 12 *koṣṭas* or compartments are located, and the *Gandhakuṭi* with the Lord in it is surrounded by seven *bhūmis* or regions, each region being encircled by a rampart called *vedikā* or *sāla*. Those that are *bhavyas*, i.e., those good people who will have the good fortune to attend the Lord's discourse in the *samavasaraṇa* structure have to pass through these regions before they repair to their respective *koṣṭas* in the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa*. The second *bhūmi* or region is called the "Khātikā-bhūmi" or the region of the tank. According to the "Śrīpurāṇa" (a manuscript in Tamil-Grantha in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library), a work on Digambara Jaina iconography, this region is described as a delightful tank with fishes, birds, animals and men frolicking in it or playing in it. The *bhavyas* are said to get down into the tank, wash their feet and please themselves as best as they can. And our painting shows this tank-region with those men pleasing themselves by gathering lotus flowers, while animals such as elephants and bulls and birds and fishes are frolicking about and pleasing themselves too as best as they can.<sup>1</sup>

The other paintings in a tolerable state of preservation are two dancing figures on the cubical pillars that catch our eye as we enter the cave. They have been figured by Mehta in his book in plates 3 and 4. The one on the right side is not so well preserved as the one on the left, a sketch of which was published by Dr. Dubreuil in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, p. 46. From a sketch of the figure left out by Dr. Dubreuil but figured by Mehta in plate 4 of his book we can see that the left hand of the danseuse is stretched out gracefully in the *daṇḍa-hasta* pose. The left hand of the other figure (figured by Dr. Dubreuil) is thrown in the *gaja-hasta* pose. Both are treated with singular grace, their supple movements being rendered with ease, charm and sureness that could result only from the closest observation and aesthetic insight. Mr. Mehta was so much attracted by these danseuses that he bursts out as follows :—'It was left to the artists of

1. A detailed description of the *samavasaraṇa* which occurs in the Digambara Jaina paintings at Tirupparuttikkunṇam near Kāñcīpuram finds a place in my work on "Jaina painting" to be published as a volume of the Madras Museum Bulletin.



Southern India to crystallize into immortal form, the rhythm of dance and the energy of dynamic movement, as seen respectively in the glorious figures of swaying *Apsaras*, "loaded with jewelled ornaments, broad-hipped, narrow-waisted, powerful and graceful as panthers", and in the noble conception of Siva as *Naṭarāja*-the Divine Dancer".<sup>1</sup>

On the inner side of the right-hand pillar as we face the cave can be seen a beautiful head with traces of a figure in front and of a woman's head behind. It has been figured in plate 1 of Mehta's book. I examined the copy of Mr. Sarma which shows many more details than Mr. Mehta's. It is that of a splendid figure with an ornamental coronet or head-dress and with *patra-kunḍalas* in both the ears. While we agree with Mr. Mehta's description of the figure as "an impressive study . . . showing the strength of delineation and directness of treatment which belonged to the palmy days of Ajanta and Bagh"<sup>1</sup> we are unable to accept his identification of the figure as *Ardhanārīśvara* or *Mahādeva*. The figure is surely that of a king accompanied by his wife whom he probably leads into the shrine. Such is the purpose in relegating this painting on the inner side of the pillar as if the persons are heading towards the interior of the shrine. The *patra-kunḍalas* and the ordinary coronet (not *jaṭā-makuṭa* as Mehta describes it to be) show that Śiva was not intended. And Śiva has no place in a Jaina shrine. We are unable to see in the figure any divinity of expression that should go as a monopoly to Śiva alone. Such dignity, if any, can go to the king of the land also, who in this case ought to be the royal artist Mahendravarman I. That the figure behind him is that of his wife and that he is in the act of going with her to the shrine can be easily inferred if we bear in mind that the *Varāha* cave at Mahābalipuram contains a portrait of Mahendravarman heading towards the shrine, accompanied by two of his queens, the nearer of whom he appears to be leading by her right hand, while his half-raised right hand points towards the shrine.<sup>2</sup> He was probably similarly engaged here, though only the head of the king remains with the outline of what looks like a feminine face, which we have assumed to be that of his queen.

The discussion over this head takes us to the still more fascinating study of the newly-discovered fresco-paintings in the

1. Mehta, p. 12.

2. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kāñchi*, p. 88.

Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram. The credit of their discovery goes again to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who has brought to our notice marvellous Pallava frescoes executed in the same style as those of Śittannavāśal. Mr. Sarma has taken copies of these also, two of which have been photographed and published in the *Triveni*, (Vol. IV, No. 1). Fig. 1 shows the outline of the left side of a man, probably a king, with an expression identical with that of Mahendra at Śittannavāśal. I had been to the Kailāsanātha temple several times and have seen them and three others also exposed by the Professor. The paintings cannot date earlier than 690 A. D., for the temple came into existence only then during the rule of Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rājasiṃha. The tradition regarding paintings should have descended down to Mahendra's successors who were probably also artists like their illustrious predecessor. What has been exposed consists of 5 heads of which only one is entire. Among the others, one is the right half of a man's *torso*, another shows the fore-arm and three fingers of a hand, a third shows another half-head and a fourth the head of probably a child with a small coronet on head. A panel contains the design of two vases placed alongside. Traces of drapery or figure, rather fragmentary, are made out here and there, also traces of "crude brush lines" which Mr. Sarma thinks to be of far later date.

In the few that are visible, the outlines are clear and sharp and the colouring bright and rich. The lines flow in curves and have been done in a masterly manner so as to look as if they were designed without any effort. The heads so far revealed are those of men, graceful and dignified. The head that Mr. Sarma figures in the *Triveni* as No. 1 (Vol. IV, part I) is easily the best, though half eaten away. The left eye that alone remains "sits charmingly over the left cheek and is full of pathos and feeling revealing a whole world of its own". It is hoped that the coats of white wash that the cells in this temple have had periodically will soon be removed carefully and when these are removed much more of these paintings are likely to be exposed. Even in the Śittannavāśal temple the inner cell shows on the floor a round stone piece inserted in its centre. Does it lead to a cell underneath? And does the cell underneath also treasure paintings, which, if so, must be in a state of excellent preservation? This awaits further investigation.

(To be continued.)

## EXTRACTS FROM JAYANANDA'S COMMENTARY.

BY

N. AIYASWAMI, MYLAPORE.

Skye. ba. med. pa. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. gañ. don. dam. pa.  
 yonś. su. grub. pai. rañ. bshin. can. de. rañ. gi. bdag. ñid. kyis.  
 skye. ba. med. pai. phyir. skye. ba. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. de.  
 (lyl. dañ) ñid. rgyu. dañ. rkyen. gyis. ma. skyed. pai. phyir. ma.  
 skyes. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| de. kho. na. ñid. kyī. rañ. bshin.  
 (f. 137 b) de. ñid. ñon. moñś. pai. kun. nas. ñon. moñś. pa. bral.  
 bai. chos. thams. cad. rañ. bshin. kyis. rnam. par. grol. pa. yin.  
 pas. na. dben. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| gdod. ma. nas. rnam. par.  
 dag. pa. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. yonś. su. grub. pai. rañ. bshin. de.  
 ñid. la. rñar. skye. ba. med. pas. tha. mar. chos. thams. cad.  
 hgag. pa. yod. pa. yin. pas. gdod. ma. nas. rnam. par. dag. par.  
 mñam. pa. ñid. do|| sproś. pa. med. pa. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. don.  
 dam. pai. rañ. bshin. de. ñid. kyī. hdsin. par. byed. pai. yañ. dag.  
 pai. śes. pa. la. sproś. pa. med. pas. des. bzuñ. bar. bya. bai. chos.  
 thams. cad. la. sproś. pa. med. pa. shes. byao|| des. na. sproś. pa.  
 med. par. mñam. ñid. do|| blañ. ba. med. pa. dañ| dor. ba. med.  
 par. mñam. pa. ñid. dañ| shes. bya. ba. ni. don. dam. pai. rañ.  
 bshin. de. ñid. la. bya. ba. med. pai. phyir. skye. ba. gshan. du.  
 phuñ. po. gshan. yonś. su. dor. ba. dañ| phuñ. po. gshan. len. pa.  
 don. dam. par. med. pas. blañ. ba. dañ. dor. ba. med. pai. phyir.  
 blañ. ba. med. pa. dañ| dor. ba. med. par. mñam. pa. ñid. do||

= अनुत्पादेति । यः परमार्थः परिनिष्पन्नस्वभावः सः स्वात्मतः अनुत्पा-  
 दात् अनुत्पादसमता । सैव हेतुप्रत्ययाम्यामजातत्वात् अजातसमता । तत्त्वस्वभावा  
 सैव क्लिष्टासंक्लिष्टसर्वधर्मस्वभावविमुक्तत्वात् विविक्तसमता । आदिविशुद्धेति ।  
 परिनिष्पन्नस्वभावस्य तत्त्वस्य आदौ अनुत्पन्नत्वात् अन्तर्धर्मः सर्वः प्रतिषिद्ध  
 इति आदिविशुद्धसमता । निष्प्रपञ्चेति । परमार्थस्वभावतत्त्वग्राहकसम्यग्ज्ञानस्य  
 निष्प्रपञ्चत्वात् तद्ग्राह्यसर्वधर्मस्य निष्प्रपञ्चतेत्यतः निष्प्रपञ्चसमता । अनाव्यूहानि-  
 र्व्यूहसमतयेति । परमार्थस्वभावस्य तत्त्वस्य निर्व्यापारत्वात् जन्मान्तरे स्कन्धान्तर-  
 परित्यागः स्कन्धान्तरपरिग्रहश्च परमार्थतो नास्ति इति आव्यूहनिर्व्यूहाभावात्  
 अनाव्यूहानिर्व्यूहसमता ॥

Chos. thams. cad. sgyu. ma. lta. bu. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni.  
 de. la. sems. can. dañ. snod. kyi. hjig. rten. gis. bsdu. pai. dños.  
 po. rnams. sgyu. ma. dañ. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| sgyu. mas. sprul.  
 pai. glañ. po. che. la. sogs. pa. bshin. du. med. pa. la. yod. pa.  
 ñid. du. snañ. bai. phyir. ro|| yul. la. loñs. spyod. pai. mtshan.  
 ñid. can. ni. rmi. lam. dañ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| sñiñ. po. med. pa.  
 la. mñon. par. chags. pa. skye. ba. yin. pai. phyir. ro|| lus. kyi.  
 las. kyi. rañ. bshin. can. rnams. kyi. mig. yor. dañ. mñam. pa.  
 ñid. do| chos. thams. cad. bya. ba. med. pa. yin. du. zin. kyañ.  
 mig. yor. bshin. du. lus. kyi. bya. ba. snañ. bai. phyir. ro|| brag.  
 ca. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. ñag. gi. las. kyi. rañ. bshin. can.  
 rnams. brag. ca. dañ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| sñiñ. po. med. pa. la.  
 brag. ca. bshin. du. sgrai. lam. du. hjug. pas. so|| chu. zla. dañ.  
 shes. bya. ba. ni. hdod. pa. na. spyod. pai. chos. rnams. chu. zla.  
 dañ. mñam. pa. ñid. do| chui. zla. ba. bshin. du. sñon. gyi. las.  
 (f. 138 a) kyi. rnam. par. smin. pa. snañ. ba. yin. te| chui. zla. ba.  
 bshin. du. las. ci. lta. ba. dañ. rjes. su. mthun. par. skye. ba. yin.  
 pai. phyir. ro|| gzugs. brñan. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. gzugs. dañ.  
 gzugs. med. pa. na. spyod. pai. chos. rnams. gzugs. brñan. dañ.  
 mñam. pa. ñid. do| gzugs. dañ. gzugs. med. pa. na. spyod. pai. tiñ.  
 hdsin. rnams. kyi. gzugs. brñan. [du.] hchar. ba. yin. pas. so|| de.  
 ñid. kyi. phyir. mñam. pa. ñid. du. byed. pai. phyir| tiñ. hdsin. la.  
 sñoms. par. hjug. pa. shes. brjod. par. bya| sprul. [pa] blta. ba.  
 mñam. pa. ñid. dañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. yoñs. su. dag. pai. sañs.  
 rgyas. kyi. śiñ. gi. rañ. bshin. can. rnams. sprul. pa. ñid. du.  
 mñam. pa. yin. te| de. rnams. rañ. gi. sems. yoñs. su. dag. pas.  
 sprul. pai. phyir. ro|| yañ. na. nañ. gi. khams. ni. sgyu. ma. lta. bu.  
 yin. te| sems. min. mñam. pa. ñid. yin. du. zin. kyañ. sems. can.  
 gyi. rañ. bshin. du. snañ. bas. so|| phyii. khams. rmi. lam. lta.  
 bu. ste| rmi. lam. bshin. du. brdsun. bai. rañ. bshin. yin. du. zin.  
 gyi. yul. snañ. bai. phyir. ro|| skyes. bu. chen. poi. mtshan. ñid.  
 la. sogs. pas. brgyan. pai. sañs. rgyas. kyi. gzugs. kyi. skus. bsdu.  
 pa. ni. mig. yor. lta. bu. ste| yoñs. su. dag. pai. chos. kyi. sku. yis.  
 snañ. bai. phyir. ro|| bstan. pai. chos. kyis. bsdu. pa. thams. cad.  
 ni. brag. ca. lta. bu. ste| brag. ca. bshin. bcom. ldan. hds. kyi.  
 mthus. thos. pai. phyir. ro|| sñon. gyi. las. kyis. bsdu. bai. hbras.  
 bu. thams. cad. ni. chu. zla. ba. lta. bu. ste| las. ni. ci. lta. ba.  
 bshin. du. skye. ba. yin. pas. so|| sañs. rgyas. kyi. śiñ. khams.  
 yoñs. su. dag. pas. bsdu. pa. rnams. ni. gzugs. brñan. lta. bu. ste|  
 sgrib. pai. dri. ma. dañ. bral. bai. sems. kyi. me. loñ. la. gzugs.  
 brñan. bshin. snañ. bai. phyir. ro|| hdus. byas. thams. cad. sprul.

pa. lta. bu. ste| sñiñ. po. med. du. zin. kyañ.....ci. lta. ba.  
 bshin. du. rgyu. dañ. rkyen. gyis. sprul. pa. ñid. du. snañ. bai.  
 phyir. ro|| sgyu. ma. lta. bu. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs (f. 138b) pa. de.  
 rnams. ni. mñam. pa. ñid. do|| gdod. ma. nas. ño. bo. ñid. med.  
 pai. phyir. ro|| rno. shiñ. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. dañ. po. la. bltos.  
 nas. śin. tu. mchog. tu. gyur. pai. phyir. ro|| rjes. su. mthun. pa.  
 shes. bya. ba. ni. sañs. rgyas. chos. [xyl.: kyis.] dañ. rjes. su.  
 mthun. pao|| bzod. pa. shes. bya. ba. ni. mi. skye. bai. chos. la.  
 bzod. pas. so||

= सर्वधर्ममायोपमेति । तत्र सत्त्वभाजनलोकसंगृहीतानां भावानां माया-  
 समता । मायानिर्मितमहागजादिवत् असतां सत्त्वेन दर्शनात् । विषयभोगलक्षणस्य  
 स्वप्नसमता । असारेऽभिनिवेशोत्पन्नत्वात् । कायिककर्मस्वभावानां प्रतिभास-  
 समता । सर्वधर्मेषु निर्व्यापारेष्वपि प्रतिभासवत् कायिकव्यापारदर्शनात् । प्रति-  
 श्रुत्केति । वाचिककर्मस्वभावानां प्रतिश्रुत्कसमता । असारे प्रतिश्रुत्कवत् शब्दमार्गा-  
 वतरणात् । उदकचन्द्रेति । कामावचराणां धर्माणाम् उदकचन्द्रसमता । उदक-  
 चन्द्रवत् पूर्वकर्मविपाको भासते । उदकचन्द्रवत् यथाकर्मानुरूपमुत्पन्नत्वात् ।  
 प्रतिबिम्बेति । रूपारूपावचराणां धर्माणाम् प्रतिबिम्बसमता । रूपारूपावचर-  
 समाधीनां (धिषु ?) प्रतिबिम्बत्वयोदयात् । अत एवोच्यत समताकरणात् समाधिः  
 समापत्तिरिति । निर्माणोपमसमतयेति । परिशुद्धबुद्धक्षेत्रस्वभावा निर्माणता-  
 समाः । तेषां परिशुद्धस्वचित्तेन निर्मितत्वात् । अथवा आध्यात्मिको धातु-  
 र्मायोपमः । अचित्तसमत्वेऽपि सचित्तस्वभावत्वेन दर्शनात् । बाह्यो धातुः  
 स्वप्नोपमः । स्वप्नवत् मृषास्वभावस्यापि विषयस्य दर्शनात् । महापुरुषलक्षणा-  
 धलङ्कृतबुद्धरूपकायसंगृहीतं प्रतिभासोपमम् । परिशुद्धधर्मकायेन भासनात् ।  
 देशनाधर्मसंगृहीतं सर्वं प्रतिश्रुत्कोपमम् । प्रतिश्रुत्कवत् भगवत्प्रभावेण  
 श्रुतत्वात् । पूर्वकर्मसंगृहीतं सर्वं फलम् उदकचन्द्रोपमम् । कर्मणो यथावत्  
 उत्पन्न(अनुत्पन्न ?) त्वात् । परिशुद्ध बुद्धक्षेत्रधातुसंगृहीतानि प्रतिबिम्बोपमानि ।  
 आवरणमलविगतचित्तादर्शं प्रतिबिम्बवत् भासनात् । सर्वसंस्कारः निर्माणो-  
 पमः । असारत्वेऽपि . . . . . यथावत् हेतुप्रत्ययाम्भ्यां निर्मिततया दर्शनात् ।  
 मायोपमेत्यादीनां तेषां समता । आदितो निस्स्वभावत्वात् । तीक्ष्णयेति । प्रथम-  
 भूमिपक्षेय उत्तमभूतत्वात् । आनुलोमिक्येति । बुद्धधर्मानुलोमिक्या । क्षान्त्येति ।  
 अनुत्पत्तिधर्मक्षान्त्या ॥

de. ltar. luñ. las. gsuñs. par. bsgrubs. nas| rigs. pa. bstan.  
 par. bya. bai. phyir. hder. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. gsuñs. te|

= एवम् आगमात् उक्तं प्रसाध्य युक्तिप्रतिपादनायाह । अत्रेत्यादि॥ ७ ॥

(f. 144 b, L. 4) gegs. ci. shig. yod. ces. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. yañ. skye. ba. la. gegs. gañ. shig. yod. ces. pao|| gañ. gis. shes. bya. ba. ni. gegs. byed. pas. so|| rañ. skye. ba. bkag. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. rañ. ñid. skye. shin. hbyuñ. ba. dor. nas. so||

= कः प्रतिबन्ध इति । बीजस्य पुनरुत्पत्तौ कः प्रतिबन्धो भवेदिति । येनेति । प्रतिबन्धकरणेन । स्वोत्पात्तिप्रतिषेधादिति । बीजः स्वोत्पात्तिसंभव-  
त्वागात् ॥ ९ ॥

(f. 145 a. L. 4) da. ni. tha. mi. dad. pa. ñid. kyañ. rigs. pa. ma. yin. no. shes. bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. | gshan. yañ. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| rdsas. kyi. khyad. par. yonś. su. hgyur. bas. thob. par. bya. ba. ste. shes. bya. ba. ni. rdsas. kyi. khyad. par. yonś. su. hgyur. ba. ste| shu. bas. thob. pao|| hdii. don. ni. pi. pi. liñ. la. thog. mar. ro. tsha. ba. yod. du. zin. kyañ. shu. rjes. la. mñar. ba. yin. no|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir. mkhris. pa. sel. bar. byed. pa. yin. no|| shes. pao|| tha. mi. dad. par. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. bshin. duo||

= अधुना अभिन्नत्वमपि न युक्तमिति प्रतिपादनायाह । किञ्चेत्यादि । द्रव्यविशेषपरिणामप्राप्य इति । द्रव्यविशेषपरिणामो जरणलब्धः । अस्त्यर्थः । पिप्पली आदौ कटुरसत्वेऽपि जरणानन्तरं मधुरा । अत एव पित्तहरा भवति । इति । अभिन्न इति । बीजवत् ।

de. la. yonś. su. hgyur. ba. smra. ba. grañś. can. na. re| ci. ste. sa. bon. gyi. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| ci. ltar. skyes. bui. gshon. nui. gnas. skabs. dor. nas. lañ. tsho. la. [h] bab. pai. gnas. skabs. yin. kyañ. gnas. skabs. can. skyes. bu. gcig. ñid. yin. no|| de. bshin. du. hdir. yañ. nas. kyi. sa. bon. gyi. gnas. skabs. dor. nas. myu. (f. 145 b) gui. gnas. skabs. len. pa. yin. kyañ. gnas. kabs. can. ni. gcig. ñid. yin. no. she. na| de. la. lan. ni. de. ltar. na. yañ. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| snar. gyi. bdag. gi. dños. po. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. gyi. rañ. bshin. no|| bsal. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. dor. nas. so|| de. las. gshan. ño. bor. gyur. na. shes. bya. ba. ni. sa. bon. de. las. gshan. pai. ño. bo. ste. myu. gui. ño. bor. gyur. nao|| dei. tshe. shes. bya. ba. ni. gshan. gyi. ño. bor. gyur. pai. tshe. nao|| dei. shes. bya. ba. ni. myu. guio|| de. ñid. ci. ltar. hgyur. shes. bya. ba. ni. myu. gu. sa. bon. las. tha. mi. dad. pa. ñid. du. ci. ltar. hgyur| hdii. don. ni. hdir. gañ. gnas. skabs. su. yonś. su. brtags. pa. de. gnas. skabs.

can. las. tha. dad. dam| hon. te. tha. mi. dad| re. shig. tha. dad.  
 pa. ma. yin. te| bum. pa. dañ. snam. bu. bshin. du. dei. de. ño. bo.  
 shes. hbrel. ba. med. par. thal. bar. hgyur. bas. so|| gal. te. bum.  
 pa. snam. bu. dag. la. hbrel. ba. med. pa. yin. la| gnas. skabs.  
 dañ. gnas. skabs. can. la. hdu. bai. mtshan. ñid. kyi. hbrel. ba.  
 yod. pa. yin la| des. na. de. dei. ño. bo. shes. brjod. par. rigs.  
 pa. yin. she. na| de. lta. na. yañ. hbrel. ba. de. gnas. skabs. dañ.  
 gnas. skabs. can. las. tha. dad. dam| hon. te. tha. mi. dad| gal. te.  
 tha. dad. na. dei. tshe. gnas. skabs. dañ. gnas. skabs. can. dag.  
 phan. tshun. ma. hbrel. ba. ñid. sna. ma. bshin. du. gnas. pa.  
 yin. no|| gal. te. ma. hbrel. ba. dañ| gnas. skabs. dañ. gnas. skabs.  
 can. la. hbrel. ba. bsgrub. pai. don. du. hbrel. ba. gshan. khas. len.  
 na. thug. pa. med. par. thal. bar. hgyur. ro|| gal. te. tha. mi. dad.  
 na. ho. na. tha. dad. pa. dañ. tha. mi. dad. pa. ni. tha. dad. pa.  
 yin. te| gnas. skabs. [dañ] gnas. skabs. can. bshin. shes. pai. rigs.  
 pas. gnas. skabs. dañ. gnas. skabs. can. la. hbrel. ba. med. pa. de.  
 sna. ma. bshin. du. gnas. pa. yin. te| hdi. ltar. gnas. skabs. dañ.  
 gnas. skabs. can. tha. dad. ciñ. de. dag. dañ. hbrel. ba. tha. mi.  
 dad. pa. yin. pas. ji. (f. 146 a) ltar. gnas. skabs. dañ. gnas. skabs.  
 can. gyi. ño. bo. tha. dad. pa. de. bshin. du. hbrel. ba. yañ. tha.  
 dad. pai. phyir. phan. tshun. hbrel. ba. med. pa. kho. na. yin.  
 no|| dei. phyir. gnas. skabs. can. las. gnas. skabs. tha. dad. yod.  
 pa. ma. yin no|| tha. mi. dad. pa. yin. na. gnas. skabs. shig. pas.  
 gnas. skabs. can. yañ. shig. pas. ci. ltar. tha. mi. dad. par. brjod.  
 ces. pas. so|| hdii. gshan. ma. yin. pa. ñid. ces. bya. ba. ni. myu.  
 gui. sa. bon. las. tha. mi. dad. pa. ñid. do||

= तत्र परिणामवादिनः साङ्ख्या आहुः । अथ बीजेत्यादि । यथा पुरुषे  
 कौमारावस्थामुत्सृज्य यौवनावस्थामवतीर्णेऽपि अवस्थाविशिष्टः पुरुष एक एव ।  
 तथात्रापि यवे बीजावस्थामुत्सृज्य अङ्कुरावस्थामाददानेऽपि अवस्थाविशिष्ट एक  
 एव इति चेत् । तत्परिहरति । एवमपीत्यादि । पूर्वस्वभावमिति । बीजस्वरूपम् ।  
 अपसृत्येति । त्यक्त्वा । अन्यरूपस्तस्मादिति । तस्मात् बीजादन्यरूपोऽङ्कुररूपः ।  
 तदेति । अन्यरूपे । अस्येति । अङ्कुरस्य । कथं तत्त्वमिति । अङ्कुरो बीजाद-  
 भिन्नतया कथं भवेत् । अस्यार्थः । अत्र या अवस्था परिकल्पिता । सा अवस्था-  
 वतो भिन्ना वा उत अभिन्ना वा । न तावद्विन्ना । घटकम्बलवत् सा तत्स्वरूपा इति  
 सम्बन्धाभावप्रसङ्गात् । ननु घटकम्बलयोः सम्बन्धो नास्ति । अवस्थावस्थावतोस्तु  
 समवायलक्षणः सम्बन्धोऽस्ति । तेन सा तत्स्वरूपा इत्युक्तिर्युक्ता इति चेत् ।  
 एवमपि स सम्बन्धः अवस्थावस्थावतोर्भिन्नः उताभिन्नः यदि भिन्नः । तदा



अवस्थावस्थावन्तौ मिथोऽसम्बद्धावेव पूर्ववत् तिष्ठतः । यद्यसम्बद्धयो—  
 रवस्थावस्थावतोः सम्बन्धसिद्धयर्थं सम्बन्धान्तरं स्वीक्रियते । अनवस्था प्रसज्येत ।  
 यद्यभिन्नः । तर्हि भिन्नाभिन्नो भिन्नः, अवस्थावस्थावन्ताविव इति न्यायेन अव-  
 स्थावस्थावतोः सम्बन्धामावोऽयं पूर्ववदवतिष्ठते । तथा हि । अवस्थावस्थावन्तौ  
 भिन्नौ । ताभ्यां सम्बन्धस्याभेदात् यथा अवस्थावस्थावत्स्वरूपे भिन्ने तथा  
 सम्बन्धस्यापि भिन्नत्वात् मिथः सम्बन्धो नास्त्येव । तस्मात् अवस्था अवस्था-  
 वतो नास्ति भिन्ना । यद्यभिन्ना । अवस्थानाशेन अवस्थानानपि नष्ट इति  
 कथमभिन्ना उच्यते । इति ॥ तदनन्यतेति । अङ्कुरस्य बीजादभिन्नता ॥ १० ॥

da. ni. bye. brag. pai. hdod. pas. rdsas. dañ. yon. tan. smra.  
 bai. dogs. pa. bsu. bar. bya. bai. phyir| ci. ste. sa. bon. dañ. myu.  
 gu. dag. ces. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| sogs. pai. sgra. ni.  
 ser. bo. dañ. | sñon. po. la. sogs. pai. kha. dog. rnam. bsdu. bar.  
 byao|| rdsas. tha. mi. dad. do. shes. bya. bai. shes. kyis. rdul.  
 phra. rab. rnam. kyis. brtsams. pai. cha. śas. kyī. bdag. ñid. can.  
 gyi. rdsas. tha. mi. dad. pao.|| hdii. don. ni. dper. na. bum. pa.  
 la. sñon. po. dañ. ser. bo. la. sogs. pa. kha. dog. tha. dad. pa. yod.  
 du. zin. kyañ. nus. pai. rdsas. gcig. ñid. yin. la| de. bshin. du.  
 hdir. yañ. dbyibs. la. sogs. pa. tha. dad. kyañ. rdul. phra. rab.  
 kyis. brtsams. pai. rdsas. ni. gcig. pa. yin. no. shes. pao|| de. la.  
 lan. ni. hdi. ltar. ma. yin. te. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te|  
 dbyibs. la. sogs. pai. rten. ñid. du. shes. bya. ba. ni. ci. ltar.  
 bum. pa. dañ. sa. gshi. dag. las. tha. dad. las. tha. dad. du. dmigs.  
 pai. phyir. tha. dad (xyl.: rten) pa. ñid. du. rnam. bshag. byed. pa.  
 yin. la| de. bshin. du. hdir. yañ. dbyibs. dañ. rdsar. dag. tha. dad.  
 du. mi. snañ. bai. phyir. rdsas. tha. dad. pa. ñid. du. rnam. bshag.  
 ci. ltar. byed. ces. pao|| gal. te. hdu. bai. hbrel. bai. stobs. kyis.  
 rdsas. tha. dad. pa. ñid. du. mi. len. (xyl.: lin) no. she. na| ho.  
 na. hdu. ba. de. rtag. pa. dañ. gcig. pu. yin. pas. sa. bon. gyi.  
 gnas. skabs. kyī. hdu. ba. gañ. yin. pa. de. ñid. myu. gui. gnas.  
 skabs. na. yañ. yod. pa. (f. 146 b) yin. pas. gnas. skabs. gñis. su.  
 gnas. skabs. gñis. dmigs. par. thal. bar. hgyur. ro|| skyon. gshan.  
 bstan. par. bya. bai. phyir. gshan. yañ. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa.  
 gsuñs. te|

= अधुना वैशेषिकमतेन द्रव्यगुणवादिन आशङ्कामुत्थापयितुमाह ।  
 अथ बीजाङ्कुरयोरेत्यादि । आदिशब्देन पीतनीलादिवर्णा गृह्यन्ते । द्रव्याभेद  
 इति । परमाण्वारब्धावयवात्मकं द्रव्यमभिन्नम् । अस्यार्थः । यथा घटे नील-



पीतादिवर्णे भिन्ने सत्यपि शक्तिद्रव्यमेकमेव । तथा अत्रापि आकारादिभेदेऽपि परमाण्वारब्धं द्रव्यमेकमिति । तत्परिहरति । मैवमित्यादि । आकाराद्याश्रय इति । यथा घटमृदोर्भेदात् भेदेन उपलभ्यमानत्वात् भिन्नत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यते । तथा अत्रापि आकारद्रव्ययोर्भेदेन अदर्शनात् द्रव्यभिन्नता कथं व्यवस्थाप्यते । यदि समवायसम्बन्धबलेन द्रव्यभिन्नता न गृह्यते । तर्हि स सम्बन्धो नित्य एकश्च । अतो यो बीजावस्थायसमवायः स एवाङ्कुरावस्थायामप्यस्तीति द्वयोरवस्थयोरवस्थाद्वयोपलब्धिः प्रसज्येत । दोषान्तरप्रतिपादनायाह । अपि चेत्यादि ॥ ११ ॥

(L. 6.) de. ltar. rañ. las. skye. bar. (xyl. adds. mi.) rigs. pai. gnod. pa. bstan. nas. hjig. rten. pai. gnod. bstan. par. bya. bai. bhyir| de. ltar. shes. bya. ba. la. sogs. pa. smos. te| de. ñid. rtogs. par. hdod. pai. lugs. gshan. du. brtags. pai. shes. bya. ba. ni. de. kho. na. ñid. mñon. du. byed. par. hdod. pas. na. de. ñid. rtogs. par. hdod. pa. ste| mu. stegs. pa. rnams. so|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir| hdod. pa. shes. bya. ba. (f. 147 a) smos. te| rñed. pa. ma. yin. no. shes. pao|| lugs. gshan. shes. bya. ba. ni. grañs. can. pa. la. sogs. pai. hdod. pao|| des. brtags. pa. ni. blos. brtags. pa. yin. gyi. dños. po. ni. yod. pa. ma. yin. no. shes. pao|| bzlogs. nas. shes. bya. ba. ni. rigs. pai. sgo. nas. so|| lugs. gshan. du. blo. ma. sbyaṅs. pai. hjig. rten. gyi. tha. sñad. du. yañ. shes. bya. ba. ni. grub. pai. mthah. la. mi. bltos. pai. phyir. lugs. gshan. du. blo. sbyaṅs. pa. ste. hjig. rten. gyi. tha. sñad. pa. gyur. pas. sbyaṅs. pai. hjig. rten. gyi. blo. gañ. yin. pa. dei. tha. sñad. kyis. so|| rtog. pa. hdi. shes. bya. ba. ni. rañ. las. skye. ba. gañ. yin. pao|| hjig. rten. pai. tshad. mai. skyes. bui. hdod. pas. kyañ. rañ. las. rañ. skye. bar. ni. mi. hgrub. la| tha. mal. pai. skyes. bu. ni. hjig. rten. na. yañ. thsod. ma. ñid. du. mi. hdod. pas. dei. phyir. blo. sbyaṅs. pa. shes. bya. ba. smos. pa. yin. no||

= एवं स्वत उत्पादे युक्तिबाधामभिधाय लोकबाधामभिधातुमाह । एवमित्यादि । तत्त्वावबोधकामानां मतान्तेरण परीक्षितमिति । तत्त्वस्यैव साक्षात्कर्तुमिष्टत्वात् तत्त्वावबोधकामास्तीर्थिकाः । अत एव कामेत्युक्तम् । न लभिन इति । मतान्तेरिति । साङ्ख्यादिमतम् । तत्परीक्षितो हि भावो न बुद्धिपरीक्षितो भवति । प्रतिक्षिप्येति । युक्तिद्वारा । मतान्तरेण विशुद्धबुद्धिलोकव्यवहारेणापीति । सिद्धान्तमनपेक्ष्य अन्येन मतेन विशुद्धबुद्धिलोकव्यवहारभूत इति यो विशुद्धलोकबुद्धिस्तद्व्यवहारेण । इयं कल्पनेति । या स्वत उत्पत्तिः । लोकप्रमाणपुरुषे-

च्छयापि स्वत स्वोत्पत्तिर्न सिध्यति । प्राकृतपुरुषो लोकेऽपि प्रमाणतया नेष्यते ।  
अत उक्तं विशुद्धबुद्धीति ।

(L. 5.) phyogs. gñis. ka. ltar. na. yañ. shes. bya. ba. ni.  
grub. pai. mthah. la. bltos. pai. phyogs. dañ. hjig. rten. pai.  
phyogs. gñi. ka. ltar. na. yañ. no|| de. ñid. kyi. phyir. na. yañ.  
shes. bya. ba. ni. gañ. gi. phyir. phyogs. gñis. ka. ltar. na. yañ.  
rañ. las. skye. ba. mi. rigs. pao|| khyad. par. du. ma. mdsad. ces.  
pa. ni. don. dam. pas. khyad. par. du. ma. mdsad. pao|| khyad.  
par. byed. pas. shes. bya. ba. ni. rañ. las. skye. ba. hgog. pa. la.  
don. dam. par. shes. bya. bai. khyad. par. khas. len. pao|| dei.  
don. dam. par. shes. bya. bai. khyad. par. don. med. shes. bya.  
ba. ni. (xyl.: de.) gañ. gi. phyir. phyogs. (xyl.: tshogs.) gñis. ka.  
la. yañ. rañ. las. skye. ba. mi. rigs. (f. 147 b) pas. dei. phyir. don.  
dam. par. khyad. par. du. byas. pa. la. dgos. pa. ci. shig. yod.  
ces. pao||

= पक्षद्वयदृष्ट्यापीति । सिद्धान्तापेक्षितपक्षलोकपक्षयोरुभयो-  
र्दृष्ट्यापि । अत एव चेति । यस्मात् पक्षद्वयदृष्ट्यापि स्वत उत्पत्तिर्न युक्ता ।  
अकृतविशेषणमिति । परमार्थेन अकृतविशेषणम् । विशेषणं करोति इति ।  
स्वत उपत्तिप्रतिषेधे परमार्थत इति विशेषणं स्वीकरोति । तस्य परमार्थत इति  
विशेषणं निरर्थकमिति । यतः पक्षद्वयेऽपि स्वत उत्पत्तिर्न युक्ता । ततः परमार्थ-  
विशेषणे कृते किं प्रयोजनमिति ॥ १२ ॥

## HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

BY

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The opinion of the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* seems to me to be the most acceptable when we take into consideration the forms used in the literature from the Sangam period onwards. He has himself given quotations in his commentary on the *sūtra* 239. The following may be added to them.

*vāliya nī* (May you live long) (Ka. T. Vol., 2. 583. 21.)

*vāliyar yāṇ* (May I live long). (P. N. 365. 9.)

*vāliyar paḷa* (May many prosper). (P. N. 371. 25.)

*nī vāliyar* (May you live long). (P. N. 137. 14.)

*ceytēṇ ākuka* (May I be considered to have done it).  
(P. N. 71. 9.)

*celvai y-ākuvai* (May you be considered to have gone)  
(P. N. 70. 15.)

(The last two may be regarded as periphrastic formations.) In addition to these it seems the form *ceyyāy* also was used in the second person singular of the affirmative voice of the optative mood. (e.g.) *kāvāy kōvē* (Oh-king ! may you protect) (Kampar. A. 241. 41.)

In colloquial speech such forms as *vālaṭṭum*, *vālakkaṭavāṇ* *vālakkaṭavāl* etc., are generally used in the third person.

3.2222232. **NEGATIVE VOICE:** In the negative voice such forms as '*peyaral*' formed by adding the negative particle *al* to the root are found. e.g., *nin cor peyaral* (P. N. 3. 14.) which means 'may your command never change'. They may have arisen under the following conditions:—Forms like *peyarāy-allāy* may have been in use in the second person singular similar to *celvēṁ allēm* (P. N. 36, 11) in the first person plural, *ollāṇ allāṇ* (P. N. 97, 21) in the third person singular. Then *peyarāy-allāy* may have been reduced to *peyar-al* in the same way as *ceyyāy* to *cey*. Or forms like *peyar-alāy* may have been in use similar to *cel-*

*lalam* (P. N. 101, 1), *ariyalam* (P.N. 239, 9.) and they may have been reduced to *peyar-al*.

In colloquial Tamil at present the form *vālāyāka* (I wish you not to prosper) is generally used in the negative voice. This may be considered to be a periphrastic formation made up of a negative verb in the negative voice of the indicative mood and the optative affirmative form *āka* of the root 'ā'.

3.222224. *ECCAM* or *INFINITIVE MOOD* : *Eccam* is primarily divided into two classes *peyar-eccam* and *vinai-y-eccam*.

3.2222241. *PEYAR-ECCAM* : *Peyar-eccam* corresponds to the participle in Sanskrit. It is of four kinds :—active affirmative relative participle, active negative relative participle, passive affirmative relative participle and passive negative relative participle. Each of these may be further divided into three according as it denotes the past, present or future action. Invariably each qualifies a noun following it.

3.22222411. *ACTIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : According to Tolkāppiyānār the form *ceyta* is the past active affirmative relative participle and the form *ceyyum* is both the present and the future active affirmative relative participle.<sup>1</sup> The finite verbs, which take 'in' as in *uraṅkiṇān* to denote the past, have their active affirmative relative participle in the form *uraṅkiya*. (e.g.,) *maṇ ṭiṇinta nilaṇum* (The land full of earth) (P. N. 2. 1.) ; *nilaṇ ēntiya vicumṭum* (The sky which is above the land) (P.N. 2. 2.) ; *mutti-vilakkil tuṇcum porḱōṭṭimayamum* (P. N. 2. 23, 24.) (The Himalayas with gold peaks where sleep (the deer) in the light of triad-fire). Here *tuṇcum* is the present relative participle; *teṇṭpula vālnarkku aruṅkaṭaṇ iṟukkum* . . . *ṭatalvar* (sons who offer oblations to manes residing in the south) (P. N. 9. 3). Here *iṟukkum* is the future relative participle. The form *ceykinṇa* as the present active affirmative relative participle is scarcely found anywhere in Sangam works. I came across the word 'cērkinṇa' in the sentence 'cērikinṇa kaṅkaviṇ, in Paripāṭal (Pari. 163. 35). This may be taken as a participial noun in the plural number meaning "those that join" and qualifying the plural

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1. *Nilaṇum poruḷ-uṇ kalam-uṇ karuvi-y-um*  
*Vinai-mutar kilavi-y-um vinai-y-u m-ula-p-paṭa*  
*A-v-v-aṇu poruṭkum-ō r-aṇṇa v-urimaiya*  
*Ceyyūṇ ceyta v-ennuṇ collē.* (Tol. Col. 234.)

noun *kaṇ*. The form *‘iravāniṇṇa*, which is found in Kuraḷ 1157 may be explained in the same way.

But in the literature and inscriptions of the medieval period, present active affirmative participles of the forms *ceykiṇṇa* and *ceyyāniṇṇa* are found in large numbers.

(e.g.) *celvam-uṇyarkīṇṇa celvar* (Rich men who are becoming richer). (T. 1. 5.)

*cellāniṇṇa āṇṭu* (The year which is passing). (T. A. S. i. 14.)

It also seems to me that the form *ceykiṇṇa* was very frequent in colloquial speech of that period. Hence the author of the Vīra-cōḷiyam says that the present participle is formed by adding *kiṇṇa*, *āniṇṇa* or *cu* to the root. The past participle is formed according to him by the addition of *ta*, *ṇa* or *ya* and the future participle by that of *kum* or *um*.<sup>1</sup> In the example *cey cāttan*, he seems to take *cey* and *cāttan* as separate words where *cey* is the present active affirmative relative participle which is formed by adding the participle *cu* (corresponding to *su*, the nominative singular suffix in Sanskrit) which is evidently dropped afterwards. This is done by him only to get the designation *pada* to *cey*, since, according to him, *pada* is ‘*suptiṇāntam*.’ But *ceycāttan* may be taken as a compound and hence it would have been better if he had omitted it. In *kiṇṇa* and *āniṇṇa* mentioned by him it seems to me that ‘*a*’ is the sign of the participle and *kiṇṇu* and *āniṇṇu* are the present tense signs. I do not know why he failed to mention the form *ceykiṇṇa* which was frequently used in the works that were written before his time.

The author of Naṇṇūḷ follows him, but substitutes the form *ceykiṇṇa* for the form *ceykiṇṇa*.<sup>2</sup> The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam

1. *Tātu-v-iṇ-piṇṇu ta-ṇa-ya-v-iṇṇa nikaṭci-y-iṇ-kaṇ*  
*Otuṇ-kiṇṇa-cu-v-v-o ṭ-āniṇṇa-v-āṇ-kum-m-um m-ōṭu-maṅ*  
*kāṇ*

*Pētamali-y-u m-etiriṇ-kaṇ-ākum piṇṇavum-vantāl*  
*Ētam-il catirān-tam-pilāi-y-ā ma l-iyarri-k-kollē.*

(V. Tāt. 7.)

2. *Ceyta ceykiṇṇa ceyyum-eṇ-pāṭṭil*  
*Kālam-uṇ ceyal-un tōṇṇi-p-pāl-otū*  
*Ceyva t-āti aru-poruṭ peyarum*  
*Eṇṇa nīṇṇu peyar-ec cam-m-ē.* (Na. 340.)

follows Nanṇūlar.<sup>1</sup>

3.22222412. *ACTIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : In the ancient period only the form *ceyyāta* seems to have been in use and it may have been used in all tenses. (e.g.) *ṭaiyan illāta col* (word which is of no use) (K. 198). Even now the form *ceyyāta* is used in all tenses though more frequently in the past and the future : (e.g.)

*itai-c-ceyyāta ṭaiyan aṭikkappaṭṭāṇ* (the boy who did not do this was beaten). (Colloq.)

*itai-c-ceyyāta ṭaiyan aṭikkappaṭṭukirāṇ* (the boy who does not do this is beaten). (Colloq.)

*itai-c-ceyyāta ṭaiyan aṭikkappaṭṭuvāṇ* (the boy who will not do this will be beaten). (Colloq.)

Besides the form *ceyyāta*, the periphrastic forms *ceyyāmal irunta*, *ceyyāmal irukkinra* and *ceyyāmal irukkum* are respectively used in the past, present and future tenses.

3.22222413. *PASSIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE*. In the works of the ancient period perhaps except in Kuṛaḷ it seems that there was no form belonging to this class. In the later periods the forms *ceyyappaṭṭa*, *ceyyappaṭṭukinra* and *ceyyappaṭṭum* are used in the past, present and future tense respectively. (e.g.)

*kuyavaṇṇār ceyyappaṭṭa kuṭam* (pot which was made by the potter). (Colloq.)

*taccaṇṇār ceyyappaṭṭukinra nārkalī* (chair which is made by the carpenter). (Colloq.)

*aracaṇṇār kaṭṭappaṭṭum mālikai* (palace built by the king). (Colloq.)

3.22222414. *PASSIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : As in the case of forms of passive affirmative relative participle, it seems to me that there were no forms for this in the ancient period except in Kuṛaḷ. In the later periods, the form *ceyyappaṭṭāta* was used in all tenses. In modern times the periphrastic forms *ceyyappaṭṭāmal-irunta*, *ceyyappaṭṭāmal irukkinra* and

1. *Avarṇul*

*Ceyta ceykinra ceyyum-en pāṭṭil*

*Ceyva t-āti aru-poruṭ peyar-oṭu*

*Muṭiyu muraṇṇatū peyar-ec cam-m-ē.* (I. V. 243.)

*ceyyappaṭāmal-irukkum* are also found used in the past, present and future tenses respectively. (e.g.) *kēṭkaṭṭāṭa cevi* (K. 418).

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam says that the suffix denoting the active participles corresponds to *śatṛpratyaya* and *kānac pratyaya* in Sanskrit and the passive participles like *ceyyappaṭṭa* end in *kānacpratyaya*. It must be noted here that *śatṛ* and *kānac* in *gaccan* and *gamyamāna* are two entirely different *pratyayas*, while 'a' in *ceyta* and *ceyyappaṭṭa* is one and the same.

3.2222415. *WHAT IS THE ORIGIN OF 'A', THE ENDING OF THE PRESENT AND PAST PARTICIPLES CEYKINRA, IRAVĀNINRA, CEYTA, ETC.?* From the use of the words *ceykinra* and *iravāninra* in the Paripāṭal and the Kural<sup>1</sup> respectively qualifying plural nouns *kaṇ* and *vaḷai*, it seems to me that *ceykinra*, *iravāninra* and *ceyta* may have been the nominative neuter plurals of the neuter singular forms *ceykinrū*, *iravāninrū*,<sup>2</sup> *ceytū*, when they were used as participial nouns. I have already shown at some length how the finite verbal forms could be used as participial nouns and declined in all cases. Originally they may have been used to qualify neuter plural nouns, but later on, since the neuter plural nouns like *kaṇ*, *tuḷai*, etc. had the same form as the singular as an alternative for *kaṇkal*, *tuḷaikal*, etc. the words like *ceykinra* may have been used along with singular nouns and later on may have been used to qualify all kinds of nouns. Dr. Caldwell thinks<sup>3</sup> that 'a' is a possessive case sign; but I have already shown that the possessive case sign 'a' mentioned by Nannūlar may have evolved from 'a' the sign of the neuter plural in verbs.

3.222242. *VINAI-Y-ECCAM*: *Viṇai-y-eccam* corresponds to indeclinable past participles like Sanskrit *gatvā* and gerunds like the infinitive of purpose *gantum* in Sanskrit, and infinitive verbal forms denoting condition and cause, which are not found in Sanskrit.

The indeclinable past participles are of two kinds—the affirmative past participle and the negative past participle. The

1. *Ceykinra kaṇ*. (Pari. 163, 35.)

*Iravāninra vaḷai*. (K. 1157.)

2. *Ceykinrū*:—*cey* (root) + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṇ* (cāriyai) + *rū*  
(neuter singular termination.)

3. C. D. G. 523.

affirmative indeclinable past participial forms are according to Tolkāppiyaṇār *ceytū*, *ceyyū* and *ceypū*. He does not mention the negative indeclinable past participial forms; but uses the form *koḷḷātū* in Tol. Col. 198, and this form is frequently used in literature. (e.g.) *vāyil viṭātū kōyil pukkēm* (we entered the palace without informing the gate-keeper) (P. N. 67. 10). According to Tolkāppiyaṇār, the forms that are gerunds are *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyarkū*, *ceyteṇa* and *ceya*, and the form that is used as infinitive denoting condition is *ceyiṇ*.<sup>1</sup>

**CEYTŪ:** This is formed, I think, by adding *tu* to the root *cey*. It denotes an action done previous to that which is denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (e.g.) *ceytū vantāṇ*. It may be noted here that this suffix *tu* and the stem *tu* of the suffixes *tum*, *tvā* and *tavē* in *gantum gatvā* and *sartavē* of Vēdic Sanskrit are similar. In addition to the form *ceytū*, the forms *pōy* and *uraṅki* are used. Here *tu* is not added to the root, but *y* or *i* is added. If *i* happened to be the earlier suffix, it may be said that it was changed to *y* in the case of certain verbs. These forms *ceytū*, *uraṅki* and *pōy* have lived to the present day, unlike the forms *ceyyū* and *ceypū*.

**CEYYŪ:** Cēṇavaraiyar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar mention that this denotes an action done previous to that denoted by the verb finite or infinite which it qualifies.<sup>2</sup> (e.g.) *itai puṭaiyū . . . erri* (Pattu. 227. 376). But there are examples where it denotes an action more or less simultaneous with that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. Thus in the sentence '*tōḷ ḍcci valaṇ vaḷaiyū-p-pakal makil tūṅkum*' (Pattu. 136. 145.) which means 'dancing at day time with the left shoulder bent towards the right', the word *vaḷaiyū* qualifies the present participle *tūṅkum* and the action of bending denoted by it remains so long as the action of dancing denoted by *tūṅkum* remains. Hence it seems that Teyvaccilaiyār has mentioned that this form *ceyyū* may

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1. *Ceytū ceyyū-c ceypū ceyteṇa-c*  
*Ceyiyar ceyyiya ceyiṇ-ceya-c ceyarkēṇa*  
*A-v-vakai y-on-patum viṇai-y-eṇcu kiḷavi.*

(Tol. Col. 228.)

2. *Ukāram unnūvantāṇ, tinṇū-vantāṇ eṇap*  
*Piṇ-varum toḷirki itai-y-inri muṇ-varum*  
*Toḷiṇ-mēl iranta-kālam pōrri varum.*

(Tol, Col. 228. Cēṇā.)



denote an action simultaneous with that of the word which it qualifies.<sup>1</sup> This form *ceyyū* sometimes changes to *ceyyā*.<sup>2</sup>

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam says that this corresponds to the form *kāram* in Sanskrit where the *ṇamulpratyaya* is added to the root.<sup>3</sup> There is no purpose served by taking it so. This has almost given place to the form *ceyyā* even in the ancient period. (e.g.) *katavu eṇiyā civanturāy* (P. N. 4. 10).

**CEYPŪ :** Cēṇavaraiyar thinks that this denotes an action simultaneous with that which is denoted by the word which it qualifies. Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar quote one and the same sentence '*pularū-p-paccilai-y-iṭai-y-uṭupū toṭutta*' where the action denoted by *uṭupū* is previous to that denoted by *toṭutta* and hence think that the form *ceypū* may also denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. This agrees with the use of the word '*teripū*' in *teripū-vēṇu kiḷattal* (Tol. Col. 49) by Tolkāppīyaṇār himself. This like *ceyyū*, is practically extinct.

The form **CEYYĀTŪ** evidently denotes the absence of an action that should have been done before that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (e.g.) *nirayaṇ kolpavarotū onṇātū . . .* *ōmpu mati* (P. N. 5, 6 & 7). The form *ceyyāmai* is used in the same sense by Tolkāppīyaṇār in the sūtra

*Aṭai-ciṇai mutal-eṇa muraṭ-mūṇru mayāṇkāmai*

*Naṭai-per ṇiyalūm vaṇṇa-c ciṇai-c-col.* (Tol. Col. 26.)

In addition to them the form *ceyyāmal* is found in Sangam works. (e.g.) *ṭirāmar kāppatōr tiranunṭēl* (Ka. T. Vol. 1, 287. 13.): *ceyyāmar ceṭṭa-v-utavi* (K. 101). The latter form is more frequently used in modern days than the former.

What could have been its origin? I venture to suggest the following explanation.

From the frequent use of compound forms like *celvēṁ allēm* (P. N. 31. 11.), *toluṭaṇam allamō* (P. N. 60. 6.) in old Tamil literature, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that a compound formation of the type of *kāṇām allām* was also current beside the forms *kāṇēm allēm*, and *kāṇvaṇam allam*. Now it is

1. *Ceyyū-eṇpatū iṇanta-kālamum nikaḷ-kālamum kāttum.*  
(Tol. Col. 228, Tey.)
2. *Ceyyā v-eṇṇum viṇai-y-eṇcu kiḷaviyum.* (Tol. E. 223.)
3. *Ceyyā-c ceyyū-c ceypu-v-e ṇ-eccaṇ*  
*Kamuṇ-ē ṇamul-ē yaṇ-p-eṇa lākum.* (P. V. 38, Comm.)

easy to see how an extended form like *kāṇāmal* representing the negative indeclinable participle may have sprung up, by the line of separation being erroneously drawn between *kāṇāmal* and *ām*. In all probability, the form *kāṇāmal* which arose in this manner may have been used first in association with a verb of the first person plural and subsequently may have acquired an extended use in association with other persons and numbers also. Then the forms like *ceyyāmal* may have sprung up. The form *ceyyāmē*<sup>1</sup> is also found in use.

**GERUNDS: CEYYIYAR AND CEYYIYA:** These mean exactly 'for the purpose of doing'. Hence they qualify a word which denotes an action previous to that denoted by itself. These two are practically extinct now. It is worth noting that the gerunds *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya* are similar in form to that of the finite verbs in the optative mood. cf. *nī vāliyar* (P.N. 137.14); *vāliya nī* (Ka. T. Vol. 2.583.21).

**CEYARKŪ:** This conveys the same sense as *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya*. In form it appears to be the fourth case of the verbal noun *ceyal*. It is similar to the form *sartavē* in Vedic Sanskrit since both the forms are dative. Examples like *vararkū* (to come) (P. N. 64. 7), *valañceyarkū* (to go round in clock-wise directing) (P. N. 6. 18) are very frequent in literary works. But in modern times the form *ceyvatarckū* is more frequently used than the form *ceyarkū*.

**CEYA:** This conveys the same meaning as *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyarkū*, when it qualifies a finite verb, a participle, indeclinable past participle or another gerund. This is sometimes used as an absolute. In examples like *maḷai peyya*, *kulaṁ nirañtatu*, (rain falling, the tank became full) the gerund *peyya* denotes an action previous to that denoted by the verb *nirañtatu* which follows it; and in examples like *nāyiru paṭa*, *avaṇ vantaṇ*, (the sun setting, he came) the gerund *paṭa* denotes an action simultaneous with that denoted by the verb *vantaṇ* which follows it: It may also denote an action subsequent to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies (e.g.) *makkal cukamāy irukka tantai paṇaṇ cērtiṇ*. (The father amassed wealth so that his children may live happily.) This form has lived to the present day. Sometimes, the form *ceyya* takes its place.

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1. *Añcaṇa vaṇṇaṇ-eṇ n-ār-uyir nāyaka n-āḷāmē*

(my dear life-giver, blue in colour as collyrium, not ruling.) . . . . . (Kampar. kuka. 14.)

**CEYIN:** This means 'if you do'. A similar infinitive form is not found in Sanskrit. This form *ceyin* is frequently used in the works of the Sangam period. (e.g.) *paricil nalkuvaiydyin* (if you give presents) (P. N. 116. 5). This may be taken as an ablative infinitive. It is similar in form to the ablative infinitive *gantōh* in Vēdic Sanskrit, though they differ in sense. The form is gradually giving place to the form *ceytāl* which is evidently a third case formed from the stem *ceytū*. (e.g.) *eṇṇiyiruntāl* (if you have thought) (Kampar. A. 276. 88.)

In the ancient period the negative form corresponding to *ceyin* is *ceyinallāl*. (e.g.) *nin kaṇ peṇinallāl* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 524. 8). In modern days the forms *ceyyāviṭin* and *ceyyāviṭṭāl* are used instead.

**CEYTENA:** This form is generally used as an absolute, though there are instances like *viluttakai perukena vēṇṭutum* (Pari. 93. 117) where it is used like other gerunds. It generally denotes the cause of the action denoted by the verb which follows it. e.g. *putuppeyal polinteṇa kōvalar . . . vēṇṭu pulam parappi* (Since there were new showers, shepherds having gone to new lands (Pattu. 323, 2 to 4) and hence it should invariably denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which follows it. This form has almost died out.

In addition to the above forms, *Tolkāppiyānār* has mentioned the forms *ceytapin*, *ceytamun*, *ceytakkāl*, *ceyvali*, *ceyyiṭam*, etc., which end in the words *pin*, *mun*, etc. which denote time.

Besides, the form *ceyinum* is used in the literature of the ancient period in the sense 'though one does'. (e.g.) *nī vēṇṭinum* (though you want) (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 576, 20). This is evidently formed from *ceyin* by the addition of the particle *um*. This is to a certain extent parallel to the form *kṛtvāpi* (*kṛtvā* + *api*) in Sanskrit.

The author of the *Vīracōliyam* mentions that the particles *poruṭṭū*, *ka*, *pāṇ*, *tarkū*, *vāṇ* and *a* are added after roots to give the sense of *tumanta* (i.e.) gerunds.<sup>1</sup> The examples for the

1. *Manṇum* tumantam poruṭṭū-k-ka-p-pāṇ-tarkū vāṇ-a-v-eṇṇū

*Pannum-elir-rātū vin-pin-pil-ākum pakaril-mun-pū*  
*Tunṇiya tātu-t talir-poruttāka v-eṇṇun-toṭarcci*  
*Unṇiya-pōtenṇū teyva-p-pulava r-uraittanarē.*

(V. Tāt. 8.)

same are found in the commentary under the same stanza :— They are *uṇṇutar̥poruṭṭu vantāṇ* (he came to eat), *kaṛka lārpari-yattāṇ* (he intended to read), *paṭiṭṭpāṇ vantāṇ* (he came to read), *pōtar̥kū niṇaintāṇ* (he thought to go), *aṛivāṇ karuttuntū* (he desired to know), *uṇṇa vallaṇ* (he is able to eat). Here it is evident that the forms *uṇṇutar̥poruṭṭu* and *pōtar̥kū* are respectively the fourth case of the verbal nouns *uṇṇutal* and *pōtal*. The forms *kaṛka* and *uṇṇa* come under the same category as *ceya* mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār. In the case of *paṭiṭṭpāṇ* and *aṛivāṇ* in the sentences '*paṭiṭṭpāṇ vantāṇ*' and '*aṛivāṇ karuttuntū*', they may have been originally finite verbs and were later on taken as gerunds.

How this happened may thus be explained. Tolkāppiyaṇār recognises the use of a number of finite verbs without conjunctive particles, in syntactic agreement with the same subject.<sup>1</sup> It does not require much effort to see that collocations of this kind—*puttiyāṇai vantatu kāṇpāṇ yāṇ taṅkiṇēṇ* (I stayed to see the new elephant) (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 592, 7), *collināṇ . . . tērruvāṇ* (Kampar. A. 213, 16), *paṇam cērppāṇ paṭiṭṭpāṇ varuvāṇ* (he came to read so that he might earn money) (*Colloq.*)—may have led to forms like *kāṇpāṇ*, *cērppāṇ*, *paṭiṭṭpāṇ*, being taken as gerunds in the sense of *cērkkā* and *paṭikka*.

Similarly he says that the particles *ā*, *ittu*, *tu*, *u* and *i* are added to roots to convey the sense of *tvānta*.<sup>2</sup> The examples for the same are, as given in the commentary, *uṇṇā-p-pōṇāṇ*, *uṇṇiṭṭu-p-pōṇāṇ*, *uṇṇu-p-pōṇāṇ*, *pukuntu-p-pōṇāṇ*, *pukku-p-pōṇāṇ*, and *colli-ninṇāṇ*. Of these *ā*, *tu* and *i* have already been mentioned. The particle *ittu* is evidently the indeclinable past participle of the root *itu* and it seems to have been used in the colloquial speech at the time of the author of the *Viṛacōḷiyam* as a particle giving the sense of *tvānta*. The form *pukku* may have originally been *pukkū* and *ū* may have been shortened to *u*.

The author of the *Nēminātam* has omitted the forms *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyū* mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār, since such forms may

1. *Avaitām*

*Tattaṇ kilavi y-aṭukkuna varin̄um*

*Ettir̄at tāṇum peyar-muṭi pin̄avē.* (Tol. Col, 429.)

2. *Ā-v-um-ittu-n-tu-v-u-m-i-v-v-inōṭiyyu m-arum-pulavar*

*Ēruṇ-karuttā v-iru-tolir̄ k-oṇṇiṭṭiṇ mun̄pu-nin̄rū*

*Mēvum-poruṭ-tātu viṇ-piṇ-varu-mikka taṇ-peyarē*

*Pāvum-tuvāntam-a tām-eṇṇurair̄ppar paṇi-mōḷiyē.*

(V. Tāt. 9.)

have gone out of use in his time, incorporated the forms ending in *ā* and *pāṇ* mentioned by the author of the *Viracōliyam* and has added another form ending in *pākkū*.<sup>1</sup>

The author of *Naṇṇūl* has mentioned all the forms noted by *Tolkāppiyāṇār* except *ceyarkū* and adopted the forms ending in *ā*, *vāṇ* and *pāṇ* from the author of the *Viracōliyam* and the forms ending in *pākkū* from the author of the *Nēminātam*.<sup>2</sup>

*Cēṇāvaraiyar* in his commentary under *Tol. Col. 229* mentions the form ending in *pākkū* and also other forms ending in *āl* as *ceytāl* and *mal* as *ceyyāmal* (negative), etc. (e.g.) *onru kuṛaiṭāmal* (*Cilap. 57. 9.*)

*Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar* in his commentary under the same *sūtra* adds a form ending in *vākkū*.

The author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* repeats what has been said by the author of the *Naṇṇūl*.<sup>3</sup>

**WHAT IS THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE FORMS ENDING IN PĀKKŪ AND VĀKKŪ?** There are three instances where the suffix *pākkū* is used in the *Kuṛaḷ*. They are found in the *Kuṛaḷ*, 136, 164 and 1312. In the first two, the word *paṭupākkū* appears and in the last, *enpākkū*. From the context they mean only *paṭutal* and *enṇutal*. *Pākkū*, here, may be understood as a suffix added to a root to form a verbal noun denoting the action alone. Thus a form like *paṭupākkū* may be analysed into the root *paṭu*, the formative suffix *pu* and *ākkū* the noun form of the root *ākū*. But the forms ending in *pākkū* and *vākkū* mentioned by the authors of the *Nēminātam* and the *Naṇṇūl* and *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar* are gerunds. *Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar* quotes a sentence '*puṇar-taru-cevan-taru-pākkū-c-ceṇṇāṇ*' as an example of the gerund ending in *pākkū* and quotes a colloquial expression '*kolvākkū vantāṇ*' as an example of the gerund ending in *vākkū*. They are very rarely used in literature. What could have been their origin?

1. *Ceytū ceya-c-c-ceyyā-c ceyyiya ceytena-c*  
*Ceyṇū ceyiṇ-ceyar kenpaṇavum-moy-kulalāy*  
*Piṇ-mun-pāṇ pākkum pīravum viṇai-y-ecca-c*  
*Coṇ-mun vakuttōr tuṇivu.* (*N. N. Col. 43.*)
2. *Ceytū ceyṇū ceyyā-c ceyyū-c*  
*Ceytena-c ceya-c ceyiṇ ceyyiya ceyyiyar*  
*Vāṇ-pāṇ pākkina viṇai-y-eccam pīra*  
*Ainton r-ārum mukkalām-um mūrai-tarum.* (*Na. 343.*)
3. (*I. V. 246.*) See fn. 2 *supra*.

*Uṇṭākkū* and *koḷvākkū* may have arisen through haplology as crippled forms of *uṇṭākkukkū* and *koḷvākkukkū*, the dative singular of *uṇṭākkū* and *koḷvākkū*.

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam has mentioned only the forms *ceyya*, *ceyyu*, *ceyṭu*, *ceyṭi*, *ceyṭāl*, *ceyṭū* and *ceya* and coins the following sūtras to make these forms correspond to those in Sanskrit:—‘*ceyyā-c-ceyyū-c-ceyṭu veṇeccaṇ-kamuñē, ṇamulē yaṭ-ṭeṇal ākum*’ ‘*ēṇaveṇ eccam itiyēṇal ākum*’ ‘*ceyṭi ceyṭāleṇa-c-ceṭṭum irāṇṭiṇai iticēṭ teṇṭar aṇinticinōrē*’. These mean that the forms *ceyya*, *ceyyu* and *ceyṭu* respectively correspond to the forms in Sanskrit ending in *khamuñ* (e.g. *cauraṇ kāram* in *cauraṇkāram ākrōṣati*), *ṇamul* (e.g. *smāram smāram*) and *yaṭ* (e.g. *aragamyā*); the form *ceṭṭeṇa* corresponds to *kṛtvā iti*; the forms *ceyṭi* and *ceyṭāl* correspond to *karōti cēt*. He also mentions that the form *ceyṭū* corresponds to *kṛtvā* and *ceya* to *kartum*. Since no useful purpose is served by these sūtras of correspondence, I think they are unnecessary in a treatise on Tamil grammar.

In colloquial speech only the form *ceyṭū* remains for the indeclinable past participle, the forms *ceya* and *ceyṭārkū* for the gerund, *ceyṭi* and *ceyṭāl* to denote condition and *ceyṭālum* and *ceyṭinum* to denote contrast in the affirmative; and in the negative voice *ceyyāmal* (e.g. *kuraiṭṭāmal* (Cilap. 57. 9) for the indeclinable past participle, *ceyyāmal irupṭārkū* for the gerund and *ceyyāmal iruntāl* and *ceyyāmal iruntālum* to denote condition and contrast respectively. The presence of many forms for the gerund in the affirmative in the ancient Tamil and only a few in the modern period reminds one of the similar process of change in the history of Sanskrit infinitives.

3.23. IṭAI-C-COL: 3.231. DEFINITION : Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions in the sūtras

*Iṭai-y-eṇa-ṭ paṭuva peyaroṭum viṇai-y-oṭum*  
*Nāṭai-ṭer ṭ-iyalum tamakkiyal ṭ-ilavē.* (Tol. Col. 249.)  
*Avaitām*  
*Muṇṇum pinṇu moli-y-aṭuttu varutalum*  
*Tam-m-ṭrū tiritalum pīṭitava ṇilaiyalum*  
*Annavaṭi y-ellā m-uriya v-eṇṭa.* (ibid. 251.)  
*Avaitām*  
*Puṇariya ṇilai-y-iṭai-ṭ poruṇilai-k-kutanavum*  
*Viṇai-ceyaṇ maruṇkiṭ kālamoṭu varunavum*

*Vērrumai-p poruḷ-vayi n-urupā kunavum*  
*Acai-nilai-k kiḷavi y-āki varunavum*  
*Icai-nirai-k-kiḷavi y-āki varunavum*  
*Tattaṇ kurippū poruḷ-cey kunavum*  
*Oppil valiyār poruḷ-cey kunavum-enri*  
*A-p-pan piṇavē nuvalun kālai. (ibid. 250.)*

that *iṭai-c-col* has no separate existence of its own, it is used along with nouns and verbs either as a part of them or before or after them and consists of the flexional increments, personal terminations of verbs, case-suffixes, particles added for the sake of euphony or for making up the quantity of verse, particles of conjunction and interjection, and those denoting comparison, etc. From this it is clear that *iṭai-c-col* in Tamil corresponds to *pratyayas* and *nipātas* in Sanskrit. The author of the Nēminātam repeats the idea contained in Tol. Col. 250 only.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Naṇṇūl summarises in one sūtra<sup>2</sup> all that is said by Tol-kāppiyanār, in the three sūtras mentioned above. The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam<sup>3</sup> and the Tonnūlviḷakkam<sup>4</sup> more or less repeat what is said by Naṇṇūlār. All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam and the later grammarians think that Tol. Col. 249 deals with the definition of *iṭai-c-col*.

But it seems to me that Tolkāppiyanār did not intend either Tol. Col. 249 or all the three sūtras Tol. Col. 249, 251 and 250 for the purpose of defining *iṭai-c-col*; for, the most important feature of *iṭai-c-col* is that it is a *pratyaya* or formative element or a *nipāta*. This is suggested by the name *iṭai-c-col* which

- 
1. *Cāriyai-y-ā y-onra l-urupāta raṇ-kurippin*  
*Erum poruḷ-āta ninnricai-y-āy-p-pērtal*  
*Viṇai-c-coṅkir rāta l-icai-niraittu mēval*  
*Aṇaittē y-iṭai-c-co l-aḷavu. (N. N. Col. 50.)*
  2. *Vērrumāi viṇai cāriyai oppu urupukaḷ*  
*Tattam poruḷa icai-nirai acai-nilai*  
*Kurippe n-en-pakutiyaṇ taṇittiya l-inri-p*  
*Peyariṇum viṇaiyinuṇ pin-muṇ ṍriṭattū*  
*Onrum paḷavum van tonruva t-iṭai-c-col. (Na. 420.)*
  3. *Vērrumai viṇai-cā riya-y-op purupukaḷ*  
*Tattam poruḷa v-icāi-nirai y-acai-nilai*  
*I-t-tira m-ēlir raṇittiya l-inri-p*  
*Peyariṇum viṇaiyinuṇ pin-muṇ n-ōr-iṭattū*  
*Onrum paḷavum-van tonruva t-iṭaiccol. (I. V. 251.)*
  4. T. V. 130.



means 'the side word'. That this is his idea is well seen from the sūtra

*Iṭai-c-col l-ellām vēṛṛumai-c collē.* (Tol. Col. 455.)

where he says that every *iṭai-c-col* is *vēṛṛumai-c-col*. Here *vēṛṛumai-c-col* evidently means differentiating element, i. e. an element which differentiates the relation between the governing base or word to which it is appended and the following verb. For instance the case-suffix *ai* in '*irāmaṇai*' specifically defines the character of *ramaṇ*'s relation to the following verb as its object, since the stem *irāmaṇ*, by itself, admits of several kinds of relation such as the subject, instrument, recipient, etc. Similarly *ā* in *vantāṇā* makes the assertive verb *vantāṇ* an interrogative verb and so on.

Having suggested that *iṭai-c-col* is a formative element or a *nipāta*, Tolkāppiaṇār says in Tol. Col. 249 and 251 that it does not possess a separate existence, but is used as a part of nouns or verbs or before or after either of them. He then enumerates them in detail in Tol. Col. 250.

3.232. IS IṬAI-C-COL VĀCAKA OR DYŌTAKA? Cēṇa-varaiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār mention in their commentary on Tol. Col. 249 that the word '*tamakkīyalpīla*' suggests that *iṭai-c-col* is not a *vācaka* but only *dyōtaka*, i. e. it does not have a meaning of its own, but only suggests that the noun or verb which it accompanies has a particular meaning. They have said so, I think, in imitation of a class of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that *upasargas* or prepositions and the case suffixes in Sanskrit are *dyōtaka* and not *vācaka*. For instance in *upakarōti* the element *upa* does not have any meaning of its own, but suggests that the root *kr* in *upakarōti* means to help, though it can have other meanings elsewhere. Similarly, the case suffixes suggest that the base is an object to a verb, recipient, etc.

But I think that this is not quite consistent with the definition given by Tolkāppiaṇār that *col* is that which has a meaning.<sup>1</sup> I have already said in 3.1 supra that Tolkāppiaṇār seems to follow the opinion of the Sanskrit logicians. According to the latter even the *pratyayas* are *vācaka*. Besides, even those Sanskrit grammarians who think that *upasargas* and case suffixes are

1. *Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kurit taṇa-v-ē.*

(Tol. Col. 155).



*dyōtaka* take the verbal terminations to be *vācaka* and not *dyōtaka*.

If that be so, one may ask what the importance of the word '*tamakkiyalpila*' in the sūtra Tol. Col. 249 is. It evidently suggests that *iṭai-c-col* does not have a separate existence of its own outside nouns or verbs or the sentence made up of nouns or verbs.

3.233. *PARALLELS*: The sentence '*iṭai-y-eṇaṭṭaṭuva peyaroṭum viṇaiyoṭum naṭaipeṇṇiyalum*' in Tol. Col. 249 seems to find a parallel in '*uṇasargā viṃśatirarthavācakaḥ sahētarābhyām* (R. V. P. 12.6). Here one may point out that the latter deals only with *uṇasarga*, while the former deals with *pratyayas* and all *nipātas*. But the expression '*sahētarābhyām*' is so beautifully translated by Tolkāppiyaṇār into '*peyaroṭum viṇaiyoṭum*' that it may apply to all *pratyayas* and *nipātas*.

Besides it seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṇār in giving a list of *iṭai-c-col* with their meanings in *iṭai-y-iyal* may have had for his model the first chapter of Yāska's Nirukta where Yāska deals with *nipātas*. The following parallels may be noted:—

1. *ciraṭṭoṭu* . . . *ōkārammē* (which means the particle *ō* is used to denote superiority.) Tol. Col. 256:  
*cit* . . . *pūjāyām* (Y. N. 33.12.) (*pūjā*=*ciraṭṭu*.)
2. *pirinilai* . . . *ōkārammē* (which means the particle *ō* is used in *pirinilai*.) Tol. Col. 256:  
*aḥa iti ca ha iti ca vinigrahārthīyāu* (Y. N. 37.2.) (*vinigraha*=*pirinilai*.)
3. *antil āṇka-v-acainilai-k-kiḷavi* (which means that the words *antil*, *āṇka* are used simply to make up the quantity of the verse.) Tol. Col. 267:  
*athāpi padaṭṭuraṇā idamu tadu* (Y. N. 37.4) (*padaṭṭuraṇa*=*acainilai-k-kiḷavi*.)

3.234. Prepositions in Tamil are very rare. That which approximates to it in early literature is *koṇ* in *koṇṇūr*. *Koṇṇūr* is mentioned by the author of the Pirayōkavivēkam as a compound having the *nipāta koṇ* as the first member.<sup>1</sup> It may be said to be similar in form to *uṇagrāmam* in Sanskrit. In the later periods the nouns like *kai* in *iṇaiyilyāka-k-kai-k-koṇṭu* (S. I. I. iii, i, 44.6), *puṇam* in *puṇaṇ-koṭuttāṇ* are considered as prepositions. (c. f. P. V. 45, comm.)

1. '*Koṇṇūr*' *eṇa avviyaya-pūrva-patam-ūy vanta avviyayipāvam-ākiya muṇ-moli-y-iṭai-c-col varum*. (P.V. 23 comm.)

3.24. URI-C-COL: 3.241. DEFINITION: Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions in the sūtra

*Uri-c-cor kilavi virikkun kālai*  
*Icai-y-iṇuṇ kurippinūm paṇṇinūn tōṇri-p*  
*Peyarinūm vinaiyinu mey-taṭu māri*  
*Oru-cor pala-poruṭ k-urimai tōṇrinūm*  
*Pala-col l-oru-poruṭ k-urimai tōṇrinūm*  
*Payilāta varrai-p payinṇavai cārtti-t*  
*Tatta maraṇṇi cēṇru-nilai maruṇṇin*  
*E-c-col l-āyinūm poruṭ vēru-kilattal.* (Tol. Col. 297.)

that *uri-c-col* in its detailed significance denotes *icai*, *kurippu* and *paṇṇu*. Its form undergoes modification in nouns and verbs. It may have many meanings or it may have the same meaning as others of its kind and it is to be explained in literature by means of words ordinarily current in the world.

All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam mistake that this sūtra defines *uri-c-col*. Cēṇāvaraiyar feeling that the statement 'that it has many meanings, etc.' is out of place in the sūtra dealing with definition, says that though the author states that it is used in nouns and verbs with its form modified, etc., it should be defined as that which denotes *icai*, *kurippu* and *paṇṇu*.<sup>1</sup> Teyva-ccilaiyār says that, since Tolkāppiyaṇār has mentioned *uri-c-col* as *kurai-c-cor-kilavi* in *Eluttatikāram*, it is identical with *dhātu* in Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup>

The author of the Nēminātam summarises Tol. Col. 297 in N. N. Col. 56. The author of the Naṇṇūl defines that *uri-c-col* is that which is exclusively used in poetry, which cannot be separated from nouns and verbs and which denotes one *kunam* or quality or many qualities.<sup>3</sup> The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam reproduces the idea contained in Tol. Col. 297 with the modification that it

1. *Mey-taṭu-māralum oru-cor pala-poruṭ-kuri-mai-y-um, pala-col oru-poruṭ-kurimaiyum uri-c-cor-kū unmaiyaṇ ṭināreṇum, uri-c-cor-kū ilakkaṇam-āvatu icai kurippu-p paṇṇinum poruṭ-kuriyavāy varutalēyām.* (Tol. Col. 297, cena.)

2. *Eluttatikāratuḷ itaṇai kurai-c-cor-kilavi eṇṇū ṭinamaiyāl, vaṭaṇūl-āciriyār tāṭu eṇṇū kuri-y-iṭṭa cor-kalē ivai-y-eṇṇū kollappatum.* (Tol. col. 292, Teyva.)

3. *Pal-vakai-p paṇṇum pakar-peya r-āki*  
*Oru-kunam pala-kunan taluvi-p peyar-vinaṇi*  
*Oruvā ceyyutkū uriyana uri-c-col.*

is used either as *viṇai-p-pōli* (verb in imitation) and *peyar-p-pōli* (noun in imitation) or as the base of nouns or verbs and mentions in his commentary on the same that *karuppu*, *civaṇṇu* are *peyar-p-pōli* and *uru*, *tava* are *viṇai-p-pōli* in the same way as Cēṇāvaraiyar has done under Tol. Col. 297. Besides, he states that there are some Tamil grammarians who hold that *uri-c-col* is mostly found in poetry.

It seems to me that Tol. Col. 297 does not deal with the definition of *uri-c-col*. If it deals with it, all the lines except the first two are out of place, as is suggested by Cēṇāvaraiyar. Its definition is suggested by the name *uri-c-col*. *Uri-c-col* does not mean the word belonging to only poetry as Nannūlar thinks, nor the word denoting quality belonging to objects as Cēṇāvaraiyar and others think. It means the word denoting the independent part of a noun or verb; for the word *urimai* means 'right' and hence independence. Its nature in form is clearly expressed in the sūtra—

*Eluttu-p-pirin ticaitta l-ivaṇaiyal p-inṇē.* (Tol. Col. 395.) which may be translated thus:—'It is not in its nature capable of being further analysed'. This and the word *kūrai-c-coṇṇilavi* mentioned in the last but one sūtra of *Eluttatikāram* clearly suggest that *uri-c-col* is the root of nouns or verbs. It cannot be taken to be identical with Sanskrit *dhātu* as mentioned by Teyvaccilaiyār since *dhātu* is, according to the Sanskrit Grammarians, a verbal root and since Tolkāppiyaṇār has not suggested anywhere in his work that all nouns are derived from verbal roots. Teyvaccilaiyār seems to have said so thinking that Tolkāppiyaṇār follows the theory of Śākaṭāyana and Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me that he follows the theory of Gārgya and another section of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that it is not necessary that all nouns should have been derived from verbal roots.<sup>2</sup> The chief reason for the latter view is that neither Tolkāppiyaṇār nor the later grammarians have attempted to derive all nouns from verbal roots. Hence *uri-c-col* may be taken as the nominal or verbal root.

1. *Tatra nāmāni ākhyātājānīti Śākaṭāyanō nairukta-samayaś ca.* (Y.N. 56, 2.)

2. *Na sarvāṇi ity eva gārgyo vaiyākaraṇānāṁ caike.* (Y. N. 56, 3.)

3.242. *NATURE OF URI-C-COL*: If so, what is the purpose served by Tol. Col. 297? I may say that it explains it. The part '*icaiyinuṁ kuṟippinuṁ paṇṇinuṁ tōṇṟi*' means 'used to denote *icai* (sound) *kuṟippu* (feeling) and *paṇṇu* (*jāti*=genus *guṇa*=quality or *kriyā*'=action)'. The part '*orucol paḷaṇṇuṁ kurimai tōṇṟinuṁ*' means 'though the same root can have different meanings'. The part '*paḷacol oruṇṇuṁ kurimai tōṇṟinuṁ*' means 'though different roots are used in same sense'. The part '*payilātavarrai payiṇṇarvai cārtti . . . kiḷattal*' means 'one should explain the meaning of the root which is not current by one which is current'.

3.243. *URI-Y-IYAL IN TOLKĀPPIYAM AND YĀSKA'S NIRUKTA*: A close examination of the first sūtra in this section (*uri-y-iyal*) and those that follow, and the second, third and fourth chapters of Yāska's Nirukta shows that Tolkāppiyaṇār may have had Nirukta for his model. The portion '*orucol paḷaṇṇuṁ kurimai tōṇṟinuṁ*' has a parallel in '*ēkāṛtham anēkaśabdām ityētaduktam* (Y. N. 265.1).' The portion '*paḷacol oruṇṇuṁ kurimai tōṇṟinuṁ*' has a parallel in '*atha yānyanēkāṛthāni ēkaśabdāni tānyatō anukramiṣyāmaḥ* (Y. N. 266.2)'. The expression '*payilātavarrai*' has a parallel in '*anavagatasamśkāraṇ ca nīgamān* (Y. N. 266.3). The expression '*velippaṭu collē*' has a parallel in '*saṁvijñātāni tāni*' in the sentence '*tadyatra svāra samśkārau samarthau prādeśikena guṇena anvītau syātām saṁvijñātāni tāni*' (Y. N. 56.4).

The list of *uri-c-col* given by Tolkāppiyaṇār may be divided into that which deals with verbal roots and that which deals with nominal roots. For instance, the words *vārtal*, *pōkal*, *tīrttal* etc., in Tol. Col. 317 & 318 denotes only the verbal roots *vār*, *pō*, *tīr* exactly in the same way as *āvayati*, *bhavati*, *vēti*, etc. given in Y.N. page 195, *vēlatē*, *hēlatē*, etc., in page 197 of the same, etc. The words *vilumam*, *cīrmai*, *karuvi* mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 and 354 are similar to *mahat*, *budhnaḥ*, etc. given in Y. N. page 213. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that Tolkāppiyaṇār does not seem to have incorporated in Tamil grammar the theory of the Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.

It may be interesting to note that the Tamil word *uru* found in the sūtra '*uru tava naṇi . . . mikuti ceyyūm poruḷa*' (Tol. Col.

299) and the Sanskrit word *uru* in '*uru tuvi puru . . . iti dvādaśa bahunāmāni* (Y.N. 212.1) both head the list of words having the sense 'much'. The Tamil grammarians have not been able to satisfactorily explain the derivation of the Tamil '*uru*' and the Tamil '*tava*' in the sense of 'much'. But a consideration of the Nirukta parallel indicated above (*uru tuvi . .*) might help any one in equating the Tamil *uru* and *tava* in the sense of 'much' with Sanskrit *uru* and *tuvi* in the same sense, and in appreciating the correspondence between the two sets of words both on the phonological and semantic sides. The way in which Tolkāppiyaṇār frames a list of words whose derivation cannot be ascertained—such as *naṇi*, *kaṭi*—is very similar to the manner in which Yāska frames a list of *asaṁvijñāta* words like *jahū*, *nidhū*, etc. in pp. 267 and 269 of the Nirukta.

Besides, Tolkāppiyaṇār first gives the list of roots which have the same meaning and then only roots which have different meanings. In Nirukta too, list of words having the same meaning is given in the second and third chapters and the list of those having different meanings is given in the fourth and fifth chapters.

On considering the above points, it may be clear that Tol. Col. 294 does not deal with the definition of *Uri-c-col*. The statement of Naṇṇūlār that it is used only in poetry was made on account of the mistaken notion that only the words like *uru*, *tava*, *naṇi*, etc. whose derivation is believed to be obscure are *uri-c-col*. He seems to have failed to note the sūtra '*velippaṭu collē kilaṭtal vēṇṭā, velippaṭa vārā uricconmēṇa*' (Tol. Col. 298) which means that the *uri-c-col* which are in use are not mentioned here and only those which are not in use, are mentioned.

I really wonder how Cēṇāvaraiyar and the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* countenance the opinion of Naṇṇūlār that *uri-c-col* is found only in poetry as an alternative theory. The reason for this, it seems to me, is that they may have mistaken *vilumam*, *cīrmai*, etc. mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 for noun forms, since they say that *karuppu*, *civaṇṇu*, etc. are *peyar-p-pōli* while such forms evidently represent nominal roots as explained above.

From the above arguments one can very well see that it would not be correct to say that all words are *uri-c-col*, as the

author of the Pirayōkavivēkam has said in one place (P. V, 18, comm. p. 31.) or to include it in *iṭai-c-col* as the same grammarian has done in another place (P. V. 42, comm.); nor would it be correct to define *uri-c-col* as 'one of a few indeclinables which always have the force of adjective or adverb'.

#### 4. WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUNDS.

4.1. *WORD-FORMATION*: It seems to me that according to Tolkāppiyāṇār that words, generally nouns and verbs, are formed by suffixing one or more *iṭai-c-col* to *uri-c-col*, as *kariyaṇ*, *kariyaḷ*, etc. or by suffixing *iṭai-c-col* to nouns or verbs as *valaiyaṇ*, *uṇṇēṇai*, etc.

The author of the Vīracōliyam, in imitation of Pāṇini's grammar, names the suffixes that are added to words as *taddhita* and gives their list in V. Tat. 1, 4 and 5. They are *aṇ*, *iyaṇ*, *īṇaṇ*, *ēyaṇ*, etc.; *mai*, *am*, *ḥu*, *tu*, *vu*, *kām*, etc.; and *acci*, *āṭṭi*, *aṇi*, *āṭṭi*, *āl*, *aḷ*, *i*, etc. The examples given by the commentator for the same are *valaiyaṇ*, *vētiyaṇ*, *kulīṇaṇ*, *vaiṇatēyaṇ*, etc.; *valimai*, *nilam*, *melippū*, *valitū*, *melivu*, *kurukkam*, etc.; *paraicci*, *vellāṭṭi*, *pārppaṇi*, *vannāṭṭi*, etc. Here an unnecessary mixing-up of Sanskrit *taddhita pratyayas* and Tamil *pratyayas* has been done; for instance, *īṇa* in *kulīṇa* and *ēya* in *vaiṇatēya* are Sanskrit *pratyayas*; the *pratyayas* given in V. Tat. 4 are strictly speaking *kṛt pratyayas*; but the author of the Vīracōliyam seems to take it that *valimai*, *kurukkam*, etc. are formed from the nouns *vali*, *kuru*, etc., which, in his opinion, are formed from the roots *val*, *kur*, etc. But we do not find such verbal forms as *val* and *kur*. As regards the third list the same confusion made. The Sanskrit word *brāhmaṇastri*, if Tamilised, becomes *pārppaṇaṭṭi* and *pārppaṇacci*. Hence *acci* and *atti* are not, strictly speaking, suffixes. The word *vannāṭṭi* is evidently formed from *vannāṇ + attu* (*cāriyai*) + *i*, where the *ṇ* of *vannāṇ* is dropped. Hence all the suffixes noted in V. Tat. 5 could be brought under *i*, *aḷ* and *āl*. Similarly he makes mention of *kṛt pratyayas* in V. Tat. 3 and 4.

He forms the nominative case of nouns by adding *cu* and then dropping it, in direct imitation of Pāṇini's grammar.

Nannūlār takes the forms *naṭa*, *vā*, etc. as the roots like the author of the *Viracōliyam*;<sup>1</sup> but does not agree that *cemmai*, *cīrumai*, etc. are derived from verbs, but says that they are *pakāppatam* or indivisible words.

According to him, the case forms of nouns are framed by adding case-suffixes to nouns are participial nouns, e.g. *kaṇṇanai*, *pōṇēnai*; *cāriyai* may be inserted before the case-suffix; the verbal forms are formed by adding the tense sign followed by the personal terminations to the roots in general.

All the later grammarians follow Nannūlār<sup>2</sup> except the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, who follows the author of the *Viracōliyam*. The parallelism between V. Tat. 2 and 3 and P. V. 31 and 32 is striking. He divides *tattitaṇ* into three as *cāmāṇiya-tattitaṇ*, *avviyatattitaṇ*, and *pāvatattitaṇ*<sup>3</sup>, and enumerates them in P. V. 30 to 34. The difference between the author of the *Viracōliyam* and that of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* is that the latter does not mix the Tamil suffixes with Sanskrit suffixes though he imports the Sanskritic technical terms.

4.2. COMPOUNDS: 4.21. MEANING OF THE WORD 'TOKAI': The word that is chosen by Tolkāppiaṇār to denote compounds is *tokai*. The word *tokai* is derived from the root 'tokū' which means to elide and also to join together. Cēṇavaraiyar<sup>4</sup> mentions that there are two schools of interpretation of

1. *Manniya-cir-vaṭa nūliṭ-cara-paca v-enrū-vantū*  
*Tunniya-tātu-k kaḷin-pōli-pōla-t tokū-tamiḷkkum*  
*Panniya-tātu-k kaḷai-p-paṭaittu-k-kolka munṇilaiyir*  
*Unniya-v-ēva l-orumai-c-cor-pōṇṇula kiṟkōkkavē.*

(V. Tāt. 1.)

2. *Naṭa-vā maṭi-cī viṭu-ku vē-vai*  
*No-p-pō vau-v-uri nūn-porun tirun-tiṇ*  
*Tēy-pār celvav vāl-kē l-a:keṇṇū*  
*Inṇavai mutala v-ellā viṇaiyun*  
*Terinilai viṇaiyir mutanilai y-ākum.*

(I. V. 43.)

*Naṭa, vā, uṇ, tiṇ ittōṭakkattana viṇai-p-pakā-p-patam.*

(ibid. 40, comm.)

3. *Cāmā ṇiyam-av viyam-pāva mūṇṇena-t tattitaṇ-vērū*

(P. V. 30.)

4. *Vēṇṇumai-y-urupum uvama-v-urupum um-m-aiyum viṇai-*  
*c-col-l-irum paṇpu-c-col-l-irun tokutaḷir rokai-y-āyina v-enpārum,*  
*a-v-a-p-poraṇmēl iraṇṭum palarum-ākiya corkaḷ pīlavu-paṭātā*  
*orrumai-p-pata-t tam-m-ul-iyaitalir rokai-y-āyina v-enpārum-eṇa*  
*irūṇṇirattār ācīriyar.*

(Tol. Col. 412, Cēṇā.)



the word *tokai*; one adopts the first meaning of the root *tokū* and thinks that *tokai* is that where the case-suffixes, the particle *um*, the particles of comparison, the ending of *paṇḍu-p-ṭeyar* and the ending of verbs are dropped and the other adopts the second meaning and thinks that *tokai* is that in which two or more words are joined together. He belongs to the latter school and condemns the former school for the following two reasons:— (1) According to their interpretation even the expressions *ceytāṇ poruḷ* and *iruntāṇ māṭattū* would become *tokai* since the case-suffixes *ai* and *kaṇ* have been respectively dropped after the words *poruḷ* and *māṭattū*. (2) Even those who hold the former theory cannot but accept the unitary nature of a compound. These two reasons cannot stand if *tokai* is taken to be that in which two are more words or joined together by dropping case-suffixes, etc. Besides, Tolkāppiyāṇār himself describes the unitary nature of compounds in the sūtra

*Ellā-t tokai-y-u m-oru-con ṇaṭaiya.* (Tol. Col. 420.)

and dropping of case-suffixes, etc., in the sūtra

*Paṇḍu-toka varūṇ kiḷavi y-āṇitṁ*

*Ummai tokka ṭeyar-vayi n-āṇum*

*Vērrumai tokka ṭeyar-vayi n-āṇum*

*Irṇu-niṇ ṛiyalu n-aṇmoli-t tokai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 418.)

where he deals with *aṇmolittokai* or *bahuvrīhi* compound. Hence the choice of the word '*tokai*' shows the genius of Tolkāppiyāṇār. It may be very interesting to note here that the Sanskrit name '*samāsa*' also, while it explicitly refers to composition, also implicitly conveys the idea of curtailment as may be seen from the contrast between the Sanskrit words *vyāsa* and *samāsa*. The interpretation of the word *tokai* by Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār is possibly based upon the obvious meaning of the word *samāsa* (composition). Though Teyvaccilaiyār gives this interpretation of *tokai* under Tol. Col. 412, he takes into consideration the other meaning also in the word *tokku* in *paṇḍu toka . . .* (Tol. Col. 418).

The author of the *Vīracōliyam*, though he takes *tokai* to correspond to the term *samāsa*, (composition) clearly mentions the elision of case-suffixes, etc. in the former member of the compound (V. T. 1). The author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, on the other hand, says that he agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar and repeats the reasons assigned by him (P. V. 19, comm. p. 34).



## A NOTE ON THE NAME DAŚARŪPAKA.

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We ordinarily understand by the word Daśarūpaka the ten main varieties of drama, contrasting that word with Uparūpaka, about twenty subsidiary varieties of dramatic performances. It is said that the former are the major types of drama and the latter minor. Sanskrit writers on Dramaturgy also have made such a distinction between the two, *viz.*, that the Daśarūpa is Nāṭya (*i. e.*) Rūpaka or perfect drama with all the four Abhinayas and other Aṅgas, such as music and that it is the presentation of Rasa, which means that the Daśarūpaka denotes a class of major dramas, big in theme, having the development of one emotion and that consequently the Daśarūpaka is called Rasābhinaya or Vākyārthābhinaya; but that Uparūpaka makes music sometimes predominant and generally subordinates or totally omits Vācikābhinaya or speech, as a result of which there is full scope for action or Abhinaya, Sāttvika and Āṅgika, that they are therefore not called drama, Rūpaka, strictly, but only Nṛtya depicting only Bhāva and not Rasa, and that they are therefore Bhāvābhinaya or Padārthābhinaya. This distinction is similar to that between the Mahākāvya and Muktakas.

रसाश्रयत्वमप्युक्तं रसादेराश्रयत्वतः ।

तदेवं दशधा भिन्नं वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकम् ॥

Śāradātanaya, Bhā. Pra, VII, p. 180.

यद्यत् रसात्मकं तत्तत् वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकम् ।

यद्यत् भावाश्रयं तत्तत् पदार्थाभिनयात्मकम् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 181.

दशरूपेण भिन्नानां रूपकाणामतिक्रमात् ।

अवान्तरभिदाः काश्चित् पदार्थाभिनयत्मिकाः ॥

ते नृत्यभेदाः प्रायेण संख्यया विंशतिर्मताः । *Ibid.* IV, p. 254.

Pure Abhinaya, or rendering of a small connected theme or a number of isolated Mukṭaka-themes through the art of gesture, aided by music, is the chief characteristic which distinguishes the latter class. If it is pure dance done by one, there is the absence of Āhārya and Sāttvika Abhinayas and preponderance of Āṅgika. The Vācika becomes a musical theme. Therefore inadequate Vācika, Āhāryā and Sāttvika produce Nṛtya varieties. Nāṭya or drama emphasises all and especially Sāttvika Abhinaya. It tries to have as much Lokadharmī, Realism or Natural conditions, as possible, whereas in Nṛitya there is a maximum amount of idealism, Nāṭyadharmi.

\* \* \* नाट्यमिति व्युत्पत्त्या सात्त्विकाभिनयबाहुल्यं सूच्यते । \* \*  
\* \* \* नृत्यमिति व्युत्पत्त्या आङ्गिकाभिनयबाहुल्यं सूच्यते । ”

Kumārasvāmin on Pratāparudriya, p. 72, Bāla. M. edn.

The former class comprises perfect dramas dominated by Vācika-abhinaya or speech. The latter therefore can only be called varieties of dance, Nṛtya. The Daśarūpaka is considered Vācika-pradhāna. A certain formula of gesture, as given by Bharata, Nandikeśvara and others, denotes many an object. When this gesture is not followed by speech also, its meaning will not be sufficiently clear. Similarly when the Vyabhicārins are acted, one is not sure what Rasa is being depicted, because a number of Vyabhicārins are common to two or more Rasas. So a drama, dealing with a big story with a unity of idea and Rasa, has necessarily to emphasise Vācika as the final and conclusive तत्पर्यनिर्णायक, factor deciding the import. So it is perhaps that Bharata says of a drama—

क्रीडनीयकमिच्छामो दृश्यं श्रव्यं च यद्भवेत् । I.—II.

But such a theoretical distinction and classification of drama and dramatic performances do not answer to the real facts of historical development.

When the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra codified the art of drama of its time and before its time, there were available ten kinds of drama or dramatic performances. Not all of them were or could be called major varieties or perfect types of drama. The only perfect drama-types in the scheme of Daśarūpaka are two and they are the first two, Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa. Bharata himself has recognised this by mentioning them at the head of the ten and by calling them पूर्ववृत्तिरूपक. (N. S. XX. 6-7). Śāradātanaya

says more clearly that the first type called Nāṭaka is the Prakṛti, which does not mean that it is the source of other types historically but means that it is the latest, the perfection of drama, historically speaking, in which can be found aspects of all the earlier and imperfect varieties.

त्रिंशद्रूपकभेदाश्च प्रकारयन्तेऽत्र लक्षणैः ।

प्रकृतित्वादथान्येषां भूयोरसपरिग्रहात् ।

संपूर्णलक्षणत्वाच्च पूर्वं नाटकमुच्यते ॥ Bhā. Pra. VIII, p. 221.

The Vithī and the Aṅka certainly do not represent major varieties. The Vithī is the predecessor of the Prahāsana. The Prahāsana can live by itself as a separate type of perfect drama even though its character and features are available to an extent in the Nāṭaka and amply in the Prakaraṇa. The Vithī of course died early and we have no old specimens of the Vithī now preserved. Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra actually gives in many places evidences for the disappearance of the Vithī into the body of the Prahāsana, the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka, both as part of the Prastāvanā and of the drama itself. The Samavakāra, the Īhāmṛga, the Ḍima and the Vyāyoga represent the Uddhata<sup>1</sup> or Āviddha types of drama, being heroic in theme. They are the early specimens of dramatic performances depicting fights amongs Devas and Asuras. The Asura Vijaya (N.S. I, 59) and the Amṛta Mathana (N.S. IV. 2—4), described as a Samavakāra were the first dramatic performances. Then when Brahman took Bharata's troupe to Śiva's abode, the theme of Tripura-dāha described as a Ḍima was enacted. (N.S. IV, 10.) The Samavakāra, the Ḍima, the Īhāmṛga and the Vyāyoga are very similar to each other. Bharata refers us to the other while describing each of these. He gives the Īhāmṛga as similar to the Vyāyoga and the Vyāyoga as similar to the Samavakāra. (Vide N. S. XX, Śls. 82-85 and 95-99.)

यद्वा (द्वया) योगे कार्यं ये पुरुषा ये रसाश्च निर्दिष्टाः ।

ईहामृगोऽपि ते स्युः केवलममरस्त्रियो ह्यस्मिन् ॥ N. S. XX. 85-86.

The Vyāyoga is also described as an one-act Samavakāra, with the hero as an epic king and not as a god. (N.S. XX. 95—96.) These, by the influence of the Mahākāvyas and the growing mythological legends, gradually perfected themselves into the heroic type

1. Vide my paper on The Vṛttis, J. O. R. Madras ; Vol. VI, No. 4.

Nāṭaka: The tendency to depict men of socieity, their habits and ridiculousness, this old, natural and native tendency of man began with small imperfect types like Vithī, grew into Prahāsana and perfected itself into Prakaraṇa. That the farcical and satirical type, the Prahāsana, was of very early origin is proved by N.S. XXXVI, 29—37.

सर्वलोकप्रहसनैः बाध्य(ध)न्ते हास्यसंश्रयैः । Śl. 29.

When the Prakaraṇa and the Nāṭaka were being reached, there was however a need for variety of interest which resulted in a mutual exchange of features. Thus Śuddha varieties of Prakaraṇa rose which were not in any way different from Nāṭaka, except in the fact of the hero not being a king of purāṇic glory, Prakhyāta. Similarly the Nāṭaka got such features as the Vidūṣaka for comic relief. Among the Nāṭakas themselves the more serious among them, those dealing with gods or their incarnations must be earlier to those that deal with purāṇic kings.

The Vithī was first done by one actor and then by two<sup>1</sup>. From the latter, the Prahāsana rose. From the former, a new type with erotic and comic theme called the Bhāṇa grew as a Monologue. Though the main feature of this also merged into the build of the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, it could live separately like the Prahāsana. The Bhāṇa especially gained a new lease of life, late in the history of Sanskrit literature, when, in South India especially, many specimens of it sprang up, the reason being the paucity of old specimens of this type and the ample opportunities it gave to a descriptive poet. The Miśra or mixed variety of the Prahāsana contained the Vithī in it. (N.S. XX, 111.)

उद्वात्यकादिभिरिदं वीथ्यङ्गैर्मिश्रितं भवेन्मिश्रम् ।

And the Vithī and the Prahāsana were made part of the first of the three acts of the Samavakāra. (N. S. XX, 70.)

अङ्कोऽस्तु सप्रहसनः सविद्रवः स कपटः सवीथ्यङ्गः ॥

The remaining type in the Daśarūpaka is the Utsrṣṭikāṅka or simply Aṅka. It has two varieties, one with प्रख्यातनायक and another with अप्रख्यातनायक. Bharata says that the latter shall be only an occasional case which means that in his time the Aṅka was slowly becoming less heroic and more popular in its

1. Vide my paper in J. O. R. Madras; VI. 4, above referred to Vide N. S. XX. Śl. 116.

theme. The Aṅka is, so to say, an epilogue or a sequel to a Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga, Ḍima or Vyāyoga. These four plays depict fights among gods and other Prakhyāta heroes while the Aṅka depicts the result of those fights; *i.e.*, opens with the close of the fights and begins with the wailings of the wife or wives and other related persons of those killed. Thus this one-act Karuṇa piece called Aṅka also goes with the heroic class or the heroic dramatic thread in the Daśarūpaka.

These ten were not the only plays which Bharata knew. Just as the features of one were influencing the other and thus new types were growing and bigger and fuller dramas were created before Bharata, so also the process was going on in the same manner after Bharata also. Perhaps the nomenclature 'Daśarūpaka' is older than Bharata, in whose time however there was at least one more drama *viz.*, the Nāṭikā. There is no reason in saying that it is not comprehended in the Daśarūpaka because it is only derived from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. For, all the types including the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa have developed only in exactly the same way as the Nāṭikā. The Nāṭikā is a result of the further coalition of the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. It has the latter's features but has a King as its hero; but that King need not be a very famous purāṇic King of old.<sup>1</sup> It is quite reasonable that Viśvanātha thought that the Nāṭikā is derived from both the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, having the rationale of its name in its greater resemblance to the Nāṭaka and hence gave a sister derivative variety leaning more towards the Prakaraṇa called the Prakaraṇikā, *i.e.*, a smaller type of Prakaraṇa. There was however no specimen of it as can be seen from Viśvanātha's remarks.

“अथ प्रकरणिका—

नाटिकैव प्रकरणी सार्धवाहादिनायका ।

समानवंशजा नेतुः भवेद्यत्र च नायिका ॥

मृग्यमुदाहरणम् ।”

S. D. VI. 306.

Dramatic varieties were thus increasing and the next codification after the Daśarūpaka stage found in Bharata, is to be

1. In this derivative type, there is a lot of discussion as to the real nature, number etc., of hero, heroines etc. Abhinava here quotes many writers, Lollaṭa, Ghaṇṭaka etc. *Vide* J. O. R. Madras; Vol. VI. No. 3.

found in the now lost work of Kohala, which is often quoted by Abhinava and other writers and whose importance can sufficiently be realised by the fact of Kohala appearing in the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra<sup>2</sup> itself as the author of the Uttara Tantra which means the rest of the Nāṭya Śāstra. Kohala is handed down as the writer who first introduced, i.e., noticed and described under the name 'Uparūpakas' the new forms of drama which sprung up after Bharata. The Uparūpakas are not all of them minor; they are not all of them small dance varieties; they are not all of them only Nṛtya or पदार्थाभिनय; they are not all of them devoid of speech, Vācikaśūnya, or full of music and gesture—गीताभिनय-प्रधान. The Troṭaka or Toṭaka, the Saṭṭaka, not to mention the Nāṭikā, are all as much drama as the Naṭaka, the Prakaraṇa and the Prahāsana. They are more perfect as dramas than such representatives of the Daśarūpaka like the Vīthī and the Aṅka. The Nāṭikā, the Prakaraṇikā of Viśvanātha, the Toṭaka and the Saṭṭaka are therefore Vākyārthābhinaya and Rasābhinaya and thus cannot go into the same class called Uparūpaka with Ḍombī, Śrīgaditam, Rāsakam etc., which are really only Padārtha or Bhāva Abhinaya and are, generally speaking, devoid of much Vācika and are full of music and gesturing. Śāradātanaya recognises this fact that in the list of Uparūpakas also there are dramas with Rasa or Vākyārtha Abhinaya and that these, properly speaking, are not minor but form a supplementary list of dramas.

रसाश्रया यद्यपि स्युः नाटिकातोडकादयः । Bhā. Pra. VII, p. 180.

Śāradātanaya separates these, the Nāṭikā, the Toṭaka and the Saṭṭaka and speaks in Chap. IX only of the rest, Goṣṭhī, Ḍombī, etc., as Uparūpakas or Nṛtyātmaka varieties or Padārthābhinaya. Another difference is that the Nṛtyaprabandhas are done by only one person; they are एकहारी even as the Bhāṇa among dramas. The danseuse personates all the persons involved in the songs which she sings and renders into gesture. The Lāsya described by Bharata in Chap. XX and the South Indian Nautch are examples of this variety. Abhinava explains this difference at length towards the end of Chapter four, mentioning here many Nṛtyaprabandhas or Uparūpakas with their definitions. He shows how drama, acted by many taking the part of all the

persons, differs from varieties of dance or Nṛtya like Rāgakāvya, Ḍombī etc. The quality of dance increases if the themes of these are separate Muktakas and are done by one person, with a supporting musician and other features as in Nautch. The quality of drama increases when there is a connected story as a theme and many act the theme. The Tāṇḍava was first mere dance, but it approached the dramatic form when the story of Śiva's burning away of the Tripura demons was sung by Nārada, and closely following it Śiva danced and rendered the story in Abhinaya.

“तदुक्तं कोहलेन—

‘सन्ध्यायां नृत्यतः शम्भोर्भक्त्याद्रौ नारदः पुरा ।

गीतवाञ्छिपुरोन्माथं तच्चित्तस्त्वथ गीतके ॥

चकाराभिनयं प्रीतस्ततस्तण्डुं च सोऽब्रवीत् ।

नाट्योक्त्याभिनयेनेदं वत्स योजय ताण्डवम् ॥’ ”

Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. ed., p. 182.

When all the characters in this Tripuronmātha are acted by different persons, we go nearer to drama, even though the actors are still dumb, closely rendering in gesture the theme which is being sung by another set of music-artists nearby. It is this type of Tāṇḍava that is flourishing in Kerala as Katha Kali. The class of performances within which come Ḍombī, Rāgakāvya, etc., was increasing in number ; Chalita appears in Kālidāsa; Daṇḍin adds Śamyā. Others are recorded by Someśvara and Bhoja, and following them, by Pārśvadeva in his Saṅgītasamayāsāra and by later writers like Jayasena, author of the Nṛtta Ratnāvali. With that branch of stage-performances looking like Ballet we are not now concerned more.

To return to drama proper, we know that Bharata himself has described an additional variety called Nāṭikā. Kohala is the first writer to record other varieties which rose up and this we know from Abhinava's remarks, which will be quoted presently. The additional types to be included into the class of Rūpaka proper, reclaiming them from the Uparūpaka fold, are Toṭaka and the Saṭṭaka. Bhoja somehow leaves the Toṭaka, but he describes the Nāṭikā and the Saṭṭaka. Perhaps he leaves it out, because the Toṭaka is not very much different from the Nāṭikā. He divides the dramatic compositions—दृश्यकाव्य — into two, Vākyaṛthābhinaya and Padārthābhinaya and includes in the



former, the ten kinds of Bharata and the Nāṭikā and the Saṭṭaka.

वाक्यार्थाभिनयोऽयं

प्रकीर्तितो नाटकादिभेदेन ।

द्वादशविधपदार्था-

भिनयमथ यथास्थितं वक्ष्ये ॥

Sr. Pra. Mad. MS.

Vol. II, Chap. XI, p. 422.

Śāradātanaya also says that these three belong to the drama class and are derived from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa.

नाटके च प्रकरणे नाटिकायाः पुरातनैः ।

अन्तर्भावः कृतस्तस्यां तोटकस्यापि दर्शितः ॥

नाटिकाया नाटकस्याभेदः प्रकरणस्य वा ।

सङ्कस्तोटकस्यैव भेद इत्यभिधीयते ॥

तोटकस्योच्यते सङ्घिरन्तर्भावोऽपि नाटके ।

नाटकादेरयं भेदो नाटिकारूपकं भवेत् ।

नाटिकाप्रतिमत्वाच्च सङ्कोऽपि तथाविधः ।

नाटके तोटकस्यान्तर्भावाद् रूपकमेव सः ॥

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगः तोटकं नाटकानुगम् ।

Bhā. Pra. VII, p. 181.

Again in Chap. IX he says

नाटिकायाः तोटकस्य सङ्कस्य च लक्षणम् ।

अंशत्वान्नाटकस्यापि तथा प्रकरणस्य च ।

आनुषङ्गिकमेतेषां लक्षणं तत्र दर्शितम् ॥ p. 253.

Thus newer varieties are created from older ones, by the engrafting of the features selected from two old types, or by reforming an old form into a new one by slight changes and addition of newer features. It is thus possible to show that all other varieties of drama are derived from or are perfections or elaborations of certain features available in the biggest, the most elaborate and perfect types, the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa.

The difference between one type of drama and another, and between one drama and another of the same type is due to the difference in theme or Itivṛtta, in the Rasa, in the Vṛtti that is inherently fused with Rasa as the atmosphere of the Rasa and the Śarīra of the Rasa called Itivṛtta, and in the number and



nature of the hero, heroine, and other male and female characters. That is, to be brief, the difference lies in their different Lakṣaṇas which Bharata calls in this connection as Karma. Again the dramas may differ on account of the difference in the way in which they are produced and presented. As for instance, the Bhāṇa is to be done by one actor with the stage-convention or Nāṭya dharmī called Ākāśa bhāṣila, a frail bridge thrown over the gap between the monologue and the drama. The Nāṭikā and the Saṭṭaka are said to contain a larger amount of music and to be characterised by the introduction of dance-scenes, they being plays depicting the king's life in his harem. These differences seem to be called by Bharata as Prayoga, method or manner of presenting or producing on the stage. Says Bharata:

कथयिष्याम्यहं विप्रा दशरूपविकल्पनम् ।

नामतः कर्मतश्चैव तथा चैव प्रयोगतः ॥

सर्वेषामेव काव्यानां मातृका वृत्तयः स्मृताः ।

आम्यो विनिस्सृतं ह्येतद्विशेषं प्रयोगतः ॥ N. S.XX. 1 and 4.

Abhinava is a commentator, having infinite मनोधर्म, to use a traditional idiom. Closing our eyes to the strained interpretation which Abhinava puts upon the word प्रयोगतः here, we must appreciate his remarks on Drama and the eternal increase of varieties and types of Drama in general. The interpretation explains many a fact in the historical evolution of dramatic types. What we above suggested as the meaning of Prayoga as a factor distinguishing one type of drama from another is included by Abhinava in Karma or Lakṣaṇa itself and Prayoga is interpreted very significantly. He says that Prayoga is suitable adaptation, as in the case of the Nāṭikā which new type is created by borrowing ideas from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa.

प्रकृष्टः उचितः योगः परस्परसंबन्धः, यथा प्रकरणनाटकलक्षणयोगात् नाटिकेति ।" Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS., Vol. II, p. 440.

Thus dramas which once get distinguished into many types by their Karma or Svalakṣaṇa like the Nāṭaka, the Prakaraṇa etc., again multiply into further varieties by a mutual overflow or mixing or adaptations resulting in such types as the Nāṭikā, the Toṭaka, the Saṭṭaka etc. Thus do poets create new types of

dramas. Prayoga is the fecund creative principle which they employ and which denotes the possibility of innumerable varieties of drama eternally springing up.

“तेनैव प्रयोगप्रकारेण अन्योऽपि परस्परसंबन्धवैचित्र्यकृतो भेदः उत्प्रेक्ष्य  
इत्यर्थः ।” *Ibid.*

Abhinava adds that by this interpretation of the word ‘Prayoga’, he has sanctioned Bharata-Prāmānya for the later types like Tōṭaka, Saṭṭaka etc., which Kohala introduced.

“उक्तव्याख्याने तु कोहलादिलक्षिततोटकसट्टकरासकादिसङ्ग्रहः ।”<sup>1</sup>

*Ibid.* p. 441

Therefore the name Daśarūpaka applies to all types of drama. It simply means Drama. The number ‘ten’ stands to signify ten kinds of tendencies in drama. This number is only an Upalakṣaṇa and we put upon it a very liberal interpretation. The two main tendencies are the *heroic*, portraying heroes of epics, gods and their doings and the *realistic*, depicting ordinary society, expressing themselves most perfectly and elaborately in the first two types called the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. The comic is a tendency which finds expression in both of these, only in a small measure, its need there being the necessity to have a variety of interests. But its pronounced expression and ample treatment are in the type called Prahāsana, Farce. The smaller expression of the heroic, with more of energetic action like fights is had as the common feature of the Samavakāra, Dīma, Vyāyoga and Īhāmṛga. This point has been sufficiently explained before. This seems to me to be the intelligent way of understanding Bharata’s Daśarūpakas. Therefore it is that Bharata says—

विज्ञेयं दशमं नाट्यलक्षणम् । XX. 3.

and Abhinava says elsewhere, as we shall see now, that Daśarūpa is a set of ten tendencies or ten aspects, and that each type is named after that Rūpa, form or tendency or aspect which is predominant in it. For names can be given only on the principle of prominence of a certain feature. If an elephant is called Dantīn, it is because of the prominence of its tusks and not because other animals are devoid of teeth. So also the ten

1. *Vide* my paper on Vṛttis, J. O. R. Vol. VI, Part IV, pp. 352—354.

Rūpas are present everywhere. If a drama is to be perfect and full of varied interest, it should have all the ten Rūpas but each drama shall be named after that Rūpa which characterises it by its predominance. All the while that feature is certainly available in other types, but only in a small measure. Thus there will be लक्षणसंग्रह in spite of which names can be given by the प्राधान्यन्याय. Says Abhinava :—

“दशरूपणि यस्य तत् दशरूपं काव्यमित्यर्थः । अत एव न सकलः प्रबन्धो नाटकम्, प्रबन्धस्य किञ्चिद्रूपम्; तल्लक्षणांशबाहुल्यात् तु तद्व्यप-  
देशयोगः । अत एव न दशसंख्या विभागार्था, येन सट्टकार्दानां त्यागः स्यात् ;  
तत्रापि हि दशरूपलक्षणयोगोऽस्त्येव ।” Mad. MS. Vol. II, p. 442.

Abhinava says that if a play is called Nāṭaka, it is not that the play in every part of it is Nāṭaka; only many parts of it are Nāṭaka. The Nāṭaka and other Rūpas are available elsewhere also. Thus Saṭṭaka and other new types are also Daśarūpa, since they also are built out of these ten kinds of Rūpa. The Aṅka or Utsrṣṭikāṅka which is a Karuṇa-one-act piece can be one feature in any bigger drama. In essence, it is only the introduction of pathos of the type of women weeping at the loss of their lovers. The Prahāsana is available in the Nāṭaka in its representative, the Vidūṣaka. It is amply available in a Prakaraṇa like the Mṛcchakaṭika. The Prahāsana further, along with the Vithī, is given as part of the Prastāvanā. When we go through the Sandhyaṅgas of a Nāṭaka, we find among them some of the Vithyaṅgas. Trigata, Udghātyaka and Avagalita are three Vithyaṅgas appearing in the Prastāvanā.

विदूषकः सूत्रधारस्तथा वै पारिपार्श्वकः ।

यत्र कुर्वन्ति सञ्जल्पं तत्रापि त्रिगतं स्मृतम् ॥ N. S. Chap. V. 28.

उद्धात्यकः कथोद्धातः प्रयोगातिशयस्तथा ।

प्रवृत्तिकावगलिते आमुखाङ्गानि पञ्च वै ॥ N. S. Chap. XXII. 30.

The Vithī, which from its description by Bharata is clearly seen to be a comic monologue or dialogue, contains much comic element in speech and is a predecessor of the Prahāsana into which it laterly merged away. This is shown by Bharata recognising a Miśra variety of the Prahāsana, which is one into which has been introduced the Vithī completely. Says Bharata at the end of his description of the Prahāsana—

उद्धात्यकादिभिरिदं (प्रहसनं) वीथ्यङ्गैर्मिश्रितं भवेन्मिश्रम् । XX. Śl. 111.

The atmosphere of Nāgaraka-life permeating the Bhāṇa is seen in that variety of the Prakaraṇa which has a courtesan as its heroine. The comic and satiric aspects of the Bhāṇa find themselves represented in the Prahāsana; and the erotic-comic aspect of the Bhāṇa is also seen as the feature of certain lower varieties of the Prahāsana featuring courtesan and many other low characters. As Abhinava remarks, the chief characteristic of the Bhāṇa, its Akāśa bhāṣita, is available in Nāṭakas and Prakaraṇas. We are told by Abhinava that the Uparūpakas belonging to the drama class, viz., Nāṭikā, Toṭaka and Saṭṭaka are all derived from the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa. We are also told by him that the Uparūpaka varieties of Nṛtya named Bhāṇa, Preraṇa and Bhāṇikā adopt the Anyāpadeśa method of describing symbolically animals to suggest the intended idea and that the danseuse sings these Anyāpadeśas or Aprastutapraśamsās with the gait of lion, elephant or other animals figuring in those songs. Now this animal symbology adopted for deft suggestion is employed in Nāṭakas. As for instance, the friends Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā, intending to give notice to Śakuntalā of the approach of Gautamī address the Cakravāka pair:—

चक्रवाकवधूके ! आमन्त्रयस्व सहचरम्, उपस्थिता रजनी ।

Further this animal allegory is the method of suggesting the scenic situation, the actor entering and his mood employed in the Dhruvāgāna. This can be seen from the operatic Dhruvā fittings, fortunately preserved in certain recensions of the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśīya. Bharata also lays down as regards writing these Dhruvās of exit, entrance etc.,—

ध्रुवाणामाश्रयः कार्यो ह्यौपम्यगुणसंश्रयाः ।

उत्तमाधममध्यानां स्त्रीणां नृणामथापि च ॥

चन्द्राग्निसूर्यपवना दैवपार्थिवयोस्तथा ॥ etc.

N. S. XXXII. Śls. 373-388.

ओजःकृता हि ये वै गुरुवर्णा वृषगजसिंहक्षीः ।

सारसवानरहंसैः तथा मयूरैश्च कर्तव्याः ॥ etc.

Ibid. Śl. 398.

Just as three Vithyaṅgas are available in the Prastāvanā of all dramas, more Vithyaṅgas are available in the body of a Nāṭaka as Sandhyaṅgas. Thus we have Adhibala as a Garbha-Sandhi-Aṅga and Chalana as an Avamarśa-Sandhi-Aṅga, both of which are Vithyaṅgas. Further all the Vithyaṅgas are illustrated

by the Daśarūpaka and other works not by any special drama called Vīthī but only by various points in the body of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa proper. The Toṭaka which is the name of a later variety of drama derived from Nāṭaka, like Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya, is found as an Aṅga of the Garbha Sandhi. (N. S. XXI, 89.) Special varieties may develop from among the total mass of the features of existing dramas. One characteristic of one type can be taken and put as a special variety with a new name, after elaborating it. Thus a Ṛtusaṁhāra may creep into a Kāvya or might have emerged out as a separate form of Kāvya from the middle of the Mahākāvya. The Sandeśa type of Khaṇḍakāvya may similarly be only the perfection of an Aṁśa or a small part of a Mahākāvya, like the Hanumad-dūta in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Harṁsadūta in the story of Nala. In Tamil we have a type of Kāvya called Ulā (உலா) which is only the elaboration or perfection into a separate type of Kāvya of the city-damsels rushing in various states of half-finished toilet, to the windows of their mansions to see Aja and Indumatī as in the Raghuvamśa or Śiva, as in the Kumārasambhava. The Bhikṣāṭana Kāvya of Utpreksā Vallabha (K. M. edn.) also seems to have taken inspiration from here. Even so we can have an act of a bigger drama separated into a distinct type. The वृत्तकरसंवाहकाङ्क in the Mṛcchakaṭika or the Praveśaka in the Nāgānanda with the drunken Viṭa, Ceṭa, Vidūṣaka and Ceṭī can by themselves be specimens of the Prahasana. Thus Daśa-rūpa means 'Drama' or ten kinds of dramatic tendencies or ten aspects of drama. Each drama gets its name Nāṭaka etc., by the predominance of its feature, the Nāṭaka Rūpa etc. The Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa are the biggest and most perfect types of drama having in them completely all the ten Rūpas. They two are like the epic poem having within itself the descriptive and many other aspects. In an essay on Lyric Poetry, John Drinkwater holds that there is no special class of poetry called the lyric and that all poetry is lyrical. So also it can be said that the epic or any kind of poetry is in essence dramatic. Abhinava says that his teacher Tauta holds the view that Rasa which the soul of poetry can be realised only when the thing is visualised as in drama but that it is possible in epic poetry because of the powerful description of the poets which shows the objects before our minds' eye as if enacted before us. Abhinava goes a step further and says that Mahākāvya also is essentially only drama.

So said Vāmana to whom Mahākāvya, Kathā, Ākhyāyikā etc., would also be only species of drama.

“ततोऽन्यभेदकल्लसिः । I. ii. 32.

ततो दशरूपकादन्येषां भेदानां कल्लसिः कल्पनमिति । दशरूपकस्यैव हीदं सर्वं विलसितम्, यदुत कथाख्यायिके महाकाव्यमिति ।”

K. V. S. and Vṛ.

Abhinava thus supplements Vāmana:—

“वयं तु ब्रूमः—काव्यं तावन्मुख्यतो दशरूपात्मकमेव ।” and

“काव्यं च नाट्यमेव”

p. 292, Gaek. Edn.

On p. 288 Abhinava adds that Sahrdayas of high culture in the art of appreciating poetry enjoy a drama or Kāvya even when it is not acted because their mind makes up the wanting elements. Thus even as the epic comprehends within itself all forms of poetry, even as in any one form of poetry, aspects of other forms are also necessarily present, so also the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa or any one form of drama comprehends all forms of drama. Says Abhinava that in one form of poetry or drama, other forms also are present.

“अन्ये त्वाहुः—एकैकस्य दश रूपाणि संभवन्ति । तथा च वांध्यज्ञानां सर्वत्र सम्भवः, परगतवचनानुभाषणरूपभाषणयोगश्च किं ब्रवीषीत्याकाशभाषिते ।”

Abhi. Bhā. Mad. MS. Vol. II, p. 442

“यदि वा एकैकमपि काव्यं दशरूपमित्युक्तं प्राक् ।”

Ibid. Vol. III, p. 6.

“दशरूपाणि यस्य तत् दशरूपं काव्यम् इत्यर्थः ।”

Ibid. Vol. II, p. 442.

SOME MINOR WORKS OF ŚRĪ CITSUKHĀCĀRYA

II

ADHIKARAṆASĀNGATI

BY

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(Continued from page 24 of Vol. VII, part i)

॥ अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

एवं भूतभौतिकानां जीवोपकरणानामुत्पत्त्यादिनिरूपणानन्तरं तदुपहितस्य जीवस्य संसारप्रकारं निरूपयितुं देहान्तरारम्भे भूतपरिष्वक्तस्यैव तावद्गमनमाह—  
“तदन्तरप्रतिपत्तौ रंहसि संपरिष्वक्तः प्रश्ननिरूपणाभ्याम्” (३. १. १.)  
इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे भूतपरिष्वक्तस्य स्वर्गारोहणं निरूपितम् । संप्रति ततोऽवरो-  
हतामनुज्ञायवत्तामाह—“कृतात्ययेऽनुशयवान् दृष्टस्मृतिभ्यां यथेतमनेवं च”  
(३. १. ८.) इति ॥

इष्टादिकारिणां गतिनिरूपणानन्तरमनिष्टादिकारिणामपि गतिमाह—  
“अनिष्टादिकारिणामपि च श्रुतम्” (३. १. १२.) इति ॥

अनिष्टादिकारिणामधोगतिप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेन स्वर्गादधोगच्छतामाकाशादि-  
सादृश्यापत्तिस्तदवरोहश्रुतेरर्थ इत्याह—“तत्सामाव्यापत्तिरूपपत्तेः” (३. १.  
२२.) इति ॥

पूर्वसादृश्यंगतानामुत्तरोत्तरसादृश्यापत्तिर्नातिचिरेणेत्याह —“नातिचिरेण  
विशेषात्” (३. १. २३.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणविषयवाक्यादनन्तरवाक्यार्थो न ब्रीह्यादिभावः, किं तु  
संक्षेपमात्रमित्येतन्निर्णयायाह—“अन्याधिष्ठिते पूर्ववदभिलापात्” (३. १.  
२४.) इति ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥



## ॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

एवं संसारगतिनिरूपणेन दृढीकृतवैराग्यस्य वाक्यार्थावगतये तत्त्वं-  
पदार्थौ परिशोधयितुं पादमारभमाणः त्वंपदार्थस्य जाग्रदवस्थासंसारनिरूपणेन  
निरूपितेत्यभिसन्धाय स्वप्नावस्थानिर्णयमाह—“सन्ध्ये सृष्टिराह हि” (३. २.  
१.) इति ॥

पूर्वं करणोपरमलक्षणां स्वप्नावस्थां निरूप्य संप्रत्यन्तःकरणलयलक्षणायां  
सुषुप्त्यवस्थायां जीवस्यावस्थानं निरूपयति—“तदभावो नाडीषु तच्छ्रुते-  
रात्मानि च” (३. २. ७) इति ॥

सुषुप्तौ जीवस्यावस्थानसमर्थनानन्तरमुत्थानस्थानमपि तस्य पूर्वं जाग्रद-  
भिमानगोचरो देह एवेत्याह—“स एव तु कर्मानुस्मृतिशब्दविधिभ्यः”  
(३. २. ९) इति ॥

एवमवस्थात्रयमुपवर्णयविस्थान्तरं मूर्खालक्षणमुपपादयति—“मुग्धेऽर्ध-  
संपत्तिः परिशेषात्” (३. २. १०) इति ॥

यत्र जीवस्य सुषुप्तादावौपाधिकरूपं शाम्यति तस्य ब्रह्मणः तत्त्वनिर्धारणार्थ-  
माह—“न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गं सर्वत्र हि (३. २. ११) इति ॥

निर्विशेषत्वनिरूपणप्रसङ्गेन मूर्तामूर्ताख्यसर्वविशेषनिषेधकवाक्यार्थमाह  
—“प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः” (३. २.  
२२.) इति ॥

ब्रह्मव्यतिरिक्तं समस्तं वस्तु प्रतिषिध्यत इत्युक्तम् ; तदसिद्धं सत्त्वादि-  
व्यपदेशेभ्यो वस्त्वन्तरसद्भावावगतेरित्याङ्कामपाकरोति—“परमतः सेतून्मान-  
संबन्धभेदव्यपदेशेभ्यः” (३. २. ३१.) इति ॥

तर्हि निर्विशेषत्वात् ब्रह्मणः फलदातृत्वं न स्यादित्याशङ्क्य परमार्थतो  
निर्विशेषत्वेऽपि व्यवहारावस्थायामेतदुपपन्नमिति सिद्धिफलसाधनान्युपासनानि  
दिदर्शयिषुरुपपादयति—“फलमत उपपत्तेः” (३. २.) इति ॥

## ॥ इति तृतीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥



## ॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

एवं ब्रह्मणः पारमार्थिकं व्यावहारिकं च रूपं निरूप्य संप्रति विज्ञानानां प्रतिवेदान्तं प्रतिपाद्यमानानां नामरूपाद्यभेदादभेद इत्याह—“सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं चोदनाद्यविशेषात्” (३. ३. १.) इति ॥

विज्ञानभेदे च तत्संबन्धगुणानां तत्रतत्रोपसंहारं फलमाह—“उप-संहारोऽर्थाभेदाद्विशेषवत्समाने च” (३. ३. ५.) इति ॥

“नामाभेदाद्विद्यैकत्वे तद्गुणानां चान्योऽन्यमुपसंहारः” इत्यभिधानादुद्गीथ-विद्ययोरपि छान्दोग्यबृहदारण्यकस्थयोः संज्ञाभेदादभेदमाशङ्क्य निराकरोति—“अन्यथात्वं शब्दात्” (३. ३. ६.) इति ॥

नामाभेदः उद्गीथविशेषितविद्याविचारप्रसङ्गेनोद्गीथविशेषणत्वमोङ्कारस्योप-पादयति—“व्याप्तेश्च समस्तसम्” (३. ३. ९.) इति ॥

उद्गीथविशेषणस्योङ्कारस्यैवोपास्यत्वमिति निरूपिते प्राणस्यापि तत्प्रकरणपठितगुणमात्रविशेषणस्यैव तत्र तत्रोपास्यत्वमस्तीत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति—“सर्वाभेदादन्यत्रेमे” (३. ३. १०.) इति ॥

प्राणगुणानां सार्वत्रिकत्वं निरूपयति—“आनन्दादयः प्रधानस्य” (३. ३. ११.) इति ॥

ब्रह्मस्वरूपप्रतिपत्त्यर्थानामानन्दादीनां निरूपणप्रसङ्गेन ब्रह्मप्रतिपत्त्यर्थानां पृथक्प्रतिपाद्यत्वं निराचष्टे—“आध्यानाय प्रयोजनाभावात्” (३. ३. १४.) इति ॥

वाक्यभेदादार्थादीनां पृथक्प्रतिपाद्यत्वे निराकृते “प्रजापतेरेतो देवा” इत्यत्र देवादिकर्तृत्वेन पूर्वप्रकृतादपरब्रह्मणोऽन्यो लोकस्रष्टा परमात्मा नाम्युपेयः वाक्य-भेदप्रसङ्गादित्याशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—“आत्मगृहीतिरितरवदुत्तरात्” (३. ३. १६.) इति ॥

आचामेदिति विधिविभक्तेराचमनश्रवणादनम्रताचिन्तने चाश्रवणात् तत्र विधिकल्पनायां च वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गादाचमनमेव विधेयमिति पूर्वाधिकरण-पूर्वपक्षन्यायम् अवलम्ब्योत्थितां शङ्कां निराचष्टे—“कार्याख्यानादपूर्वम्” (३. ३. १८.) इति ॥

एवं शाखाभेदे विद्यैक्यं गुणोपसंहारं च प्रपञ्च्य संप्रति शाखैक्येऽपि तदुभयं दर्शयति—“समान एवं चाभेदात्” (३. ३. १९.) इति ॥

विद्यैक्ये गुणोपसंहारः प्रदर्शितः । संप्रति तदैक्येऽपि गुणानुपसंहारस्थलं दर्शयति—“संबन्धादेवमन्यत्रापि” (३. ३. २०.) इति ॥

एवमायतनभेदात् गुणानुपसंहारः प्रदर्शितः । संप्रति संभृत्यादि-  
गुणानामपि तेनैव हेतुना विद्यान्तरेष्वनुपसंहरणीयत्वमाह—“संभृतिद्युव्याप्त्यपि  
चातः” (३. ३. २३.) इति ॥

एवं तत्तद्देशसंभेदसंभिन्नविद्यासु गुणानुपसंहारप्रदर्शनप्रसङ्गेन कालभेद-  
संबन्धविद्यागुणानामनुपसंहारं दर्शयति—“पुरुषविद्यायामिव चेतरेषाम-  
नाम्नानात्” (३. ३. २४.) इति ॥

एवं तत्तन्मन्त्रसंबन्धयज्ञशब्दोदितविद्याभेदे विचारप्रसङ्गेन तत्तन्मन्त्राणां  
यज्ञादिकर्मणां च सन्निधिपठितानां तत्र तत्र विद्याङ्गत्वमाशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—  
“वेधाद्यर्थभेदात्” (३. ३. २५.) इति ॥

सन्निधिपठितानामपि मन्त्रादीनां विद्याशेषत्वे निराकृते कचिदेव सन्निधौ  
पठितोपायनशब्दस्य न हानशब्दशेषत्वं सुतरामित्याशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—“हानौ  
तूपायनशब्दशेषत्वात्कुशाञ्छन्दस्तुत्युपगानवत्तदुक्तम्” (३. ३. २६.) इति ॥

एवं द्वितीयवर्णके विधूननशब्दस्य सुकृतदुष्कृतहानार्थत्वं निरूपितम् ।  
संप्रति तद्वानावसरं निरूपयति—“सांपरापाये तर्तव्याभावात्तथा ह्यन्ये”  
(३. ३. २७.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे निरूपितपुण्यपापहानसन्निधिपठितदेवयानगतेरुपायनवत्  
सार्वत्रिकप्राप्तावाचष्टे—“गतेरर्थवत्त्वमुभयथान्यथा हि विरोधः” (३. ३. २९.)  
इति ॥

पुण्यपापहानिवत्तत्सन्निधिपठिताया अपि गतेर्न सार्वत्रिकता चेत्तर्हि सगुण-  
विद्यासन्निधौ कचित्पठिता अपि गतिर्न सर्वगुणविद्यासंबन्धिनी स्यादित्याशङ्क्याह—  
“अनियमः सर्वेषामविरोधशब्दानुमानाभ्याम्” (३. ३. ३१.) इति ॥

सगुणविद्यासु कालान्तरफलत्वात् सर्वासु गतिरुपसंहर्तव्येत्युक्तम् । इदानीं  
निर्गुणाया अपि सद्योमुक्तिफलत्वदर्शनात् वसिष्ठासु कालान्तरभाविफलत्व-  
मविशिष्टमिति तस्यामपि विद्यायां गतिः किं न स्यादिति मन्वानं प्रत्याह  
—“यावदधिकारमवस्थितिराधिकारिकाणाम्” (३. ३. ३२.) इति ॥

निर्गुणविद्याया नियतफलत्वे दर्शिते तस्याः सर्वैरेव निषेधशब्दैरुक्तवः किं वा कतिपयैरेवेति मीमांसायामाह—“अक्षरधियां त्ववरोधः समयतद्भावभ्यामौपसदवत्तदुक्तम्” (३. ३. ३३.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रतिपादनप्रकारसामान्यात्तत्प्रतिपाद्यस्य च तद्भावाद्विधैक्यत्वे प्रदर्शिते तदुभयाभावादकत्र भोक्त्रभोक्त्रोरेवोपन्यासात् “द्वा सुपर्णा” “ऋतम्” इत्यादिमन्त्रयोः नैकार्थत्वमित्याशङ्क्याह—“इयदामननात्” (३. ३. ३४.) इति ॥

समनन्तरातीताधिकरणे मन्त्रद्वयस्यान्नाभावेदादेकार्थत्वैकविद्यात्ववत्कहो-  
लोषस्तवाक्ययोरेकविद्यात्वं दर्शयति—“अन्तरा भूतग्रामवत् स्वात्मनः” (३. ३. ३५.) इति ॥

उपदेशवदित्येकत्वोपदेशवाक्यस्योदाहरणतया पूर्वाधिकरणेऽप्युदाहरणात् तत्प्रसङ्गेनैकत्वनिर्देशकवाक्यान्तराणां तात्पर्यं निरूपयति—“व्यतिहारो विशि-  
षन्ति हीतरवत्” (३. ३. ३७.) इति ॥

आदित्यपुरुषं प्रत्याम्नातस्य तद्योगमित्यादेः वाक्यस्यार्थनिरूपणप्रसङ्गे-  
नादित्यपुरुषमेव प्रकृत्याधीतायाः “तद्यत्तत्सत्यम्” इत्यादिकायाः सत्य-  
विद्याया ऐक्यं साधयति—“सैव हि सत्यादयः” (३. ३. ३८.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे गुणोपसंहार उपासनैक्ये सत्याध्यानार्थो दर्शितः । इदानीं  
सगुणनिर्गुणविद्याप्रकरणे श्रूयमाणानां स्तुतिध्यानोपयोगिनां गुणानामन्यत्रोप-  
संहारं दर्शयति—“कामादीतरत्र तत्र चायतनादिभ्यः” (३. ३. ३९.) इति ॥

एवं सगुणविद्याविचारप्रसङ्गेन तदङ्गप्राणाहुतिचिन्तामारभते—  
“आदरादलोपः” (३. ३. ४०) इति ॥ अथवा पूर्वाधिकरणविषयवाक्ये  
विजिघ्रिस्तोऽपिपास इति भोजनेच्छाशून्यत्वप्रतिपादनात्तत्प्रसङ्गेनैव भोजनशून्यस्य  
प्राणाहुतिलोपं निरूपयति—“आदरादलोपः” (३. ३. ४०) इति ॥

विद्याङ्गप्राणाहुत्यादीनामनित्यत्वप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेन कर्माङ्गसंबन्धविज्ञाना-  
नामनित्यत्वं निरूपयति—“तन्निर्धारणानियमस्तद्दृष्टेः पृथग्यप्रतिबन्धः  
फलम्” (३. ३. ४२.) इति ॥

फलपृथक्त्वप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गेनोपगमनपृथक्त्वं निरूपयति—“प्रदानवदेव  
तदुक्तम्” (३. ३. ४३.) इति ॥

वायुसंबन्धविद्यानिरूपणानन्तरं साम्यादिकाग्निविद्याविषयां चिन्ताम्  
आरभते—“लिङ्गभूयस्त्वात्तद्धि बलीयस्तदपि” (३. ३. ४४.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रकरणत्राधेन मनश्चिदादीनां क्रत्वङ्गतां निरस्य पुरुषार्थत्वं निरूपितम् । तत्र कोऽसौ पुरुष इत्याकाङ्क्षायां तन्निर्धारणायाह—“एक आत्मनः शरीरे भावात्” (३. ३. ५३.) इति ॥

देहभवतश्चैतन्यस्य देहभावेऽप्यभाववदुद्गीथादिभावे भवत उपासनस्य तद्भावेऽप्यभावमाशङ्क्य परिहरति—“अङ्गावबद्धास्तु न शाखासु हि प्रतिवेदम्” (३. ३. ५५.) इति ॥

तत्तद्विशेषालम्बनमुपासनं न भवति इति पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रतिपादितम् । तत्प्रसङ्गेन वैश्वानरोपासनमपि तत्तदङ्गविशेषणालम्बना न भवतीति प्रतिपादयति—“भूम्नः क्रतुवज्ज्यायस्त्वं तथा हि दर्शयति” (३. ३. ५७.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे सत्यामपि सुतेजःप्रभृतीनामुपासनाभेदश्रुतौ समस्तस्योपासनं ज्याय इत्युक्तम् । तर्हि सर्वासामपि भिन्नश्रुतीनामुपासनानां समस्यैवोपासनं ज्यायः इति शङ्कायां तन्निराकरणायाह—“नाना शब्दादिभेदात्” (३. ३. ५८.) इति ॥

एवं विद्याभेदं प्रासाध्य तदनुष्ठाने भेदं दर्शयति—“विकल्पोऽविशिष्ट-फलत्वात्” (३. ३. ५९.)

अविशिष्टफलत्वाद्विकल्प इत्युक्तम्; तस्य प्रत्युदाहरणमाह—“काम्यास्तु यथाकामं समुच्चीयेरन् न वा पूर्वहेत्वभावात्” (३. ३. ६०.) इति ॥

क्रमोपासनानां समुच्चयः पूर्वाधिकरणे दर्शितः । तथैवाङ्गोपासनानामपि समुच्चयमाशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—“अङ्गेषु यथाश्रयभावः” (३. ३. ६१.) इति ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

कर्माङ्गसंबद्धविद्याविचारप्रसङ्गेन ब्रह्मणि विद्यायाः कर्माङ्गसंबन्धमाशङ्कितं निवारयति—“पुरुषार्थोऽतश्शब्दादिति बादरायणः” (३. ४. १.) इति ॥

वैदिकाग्निहोत्रादिकर्मरहितेषूर्ध्वरेतस्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायाः संभवान्न तस्याः कर्माङ्गत्वमित्युक्तम् । इदानीं त एव न सन्ति तद्विधायकवाक्याभावादित्याशङ्क्य निराचष्टे—“परामर्शं जैमिनिरचोदना चापवदति” (३. ४. १८.) इति ॥

स्तुतित्वेनावभासमानाश्रमवचनेषु विधिरभ्युपगतः । तत्प्रसङ्गेनाङ्गावबद्ध-विद्यावचनेषु विधिं साधयति—“स्तुतिमात्रमुपादानादिति चेन्नापूर्वत्वात्” (३. ४. २१.) इति ॥

विद्याविधानार्थत्वमुद्गीथादिश्रुतीनामुक्तम् । तत्प्रसङ्गेन कथानामपि विद्या-  
विधिशेषत्वे दर्शिते कर्मणामपि तर्हि विद्याशेषत्वमस्तु इत्याशङ्क्य निराकरोति—  
“अत एव चाग्नीन्धनाद्यपेक्षा” (३. ४. २५.) इति ॥

यत्कर्मानपेक्षं विद्याया दर्शितं तत् स्वफल एव न स्वोत्पत्तावपीत्याह—  
“सर्वापेक्षा च यज्ञादिश्रुतेरश्ववत्” (३. ४. २६.) इति ॥

यज्ञादीनां शमादीनां च विद्यासन्निधिपठितानां विद्याशेषता दर्शिता ।  
तत्प्रसङ्गेन विद्यासन्निधिपठितसर्वान्नाभ्यनुज्ञानस्यापि विद्याशेषतामाशङ्क्याह—  
“सर्वान्नानुमतिश्च प्राणाल्यये तद्दर्शनात्” (३. ४. २८.) इति ॥

सर्वान्नभक्षणमनुष्ठेयं न भवतीत्युक्तम् । तत्प्रसङ्गेनाश्रमकर्माण्यमुमुक्षुणा  
नानुष्ठेयानीत्यशङ्क्य निराकरोति—“विहितत्वाच्चाश्रमकर्मापि” (३. ४. ३२.)  
इति ॥

आश्रमकर्मणां नित्यत्वं विद्यासाधनत्वं चास्तीति दर्शितम् । तर्ह्यनाश्रम-  
कर्मणां विद्यासाधनत्वं नास्तीति मन्वानं प्रत्याह—“अन्तरा चापि तु  
तद्दृष्टेः” (३. ४. ३६.) इति ॥

दैवच्युताश्रमाणामपि विद्यायामधिकारो दर्शितः । तर्हि बुद्धिपूर्वच्युताश्रमाणा-  
मपि विद्यायामधिकारः किं न स्यादित्यत आह—“तद्भूतस्य तु नातद्भावो  
जैमिनेरपि नियमात्तद्रूपाभावेभ्यः” (३. ४. ४०.) इति ॥

एवमाश्रमच्युतिं निराकृत्य तेषामेव प्रायश्चित्तसद्भावं साधयति—“न  
चाधिकारिकमपि पतनानुमानात्तदयोगात्” (३. ४. ४१.) इति ॥

कृतप्रायश्चित्तानामपि शिष्टाव्यवहारित्वमाह—“बहिस्तुभयथापि स्मृते-  
राचाराच्च” (३. ४. ४३.) इति ॥

अन्यस्मिन् पापकारिणि तेन व्यवहारादन्यस्यापकारो दर्शितः । तत्प्रसङ्गेन  
अन्यस्मिन्नुपासनाकर्तारं फललक्षणोपकारं तद्व्यवहारादन्यगामिनं दर्शयति—  
“स्वामिनः फलश्रुतेरप्यात्रेयः” (३. ४. ४४.) इति ॥

अङ्गाश्रयोपासनाप्रसङ्गेनाङ्गान्तरविधिं विद्यायाः साधयति—“सहकार्या-  
न्तरविधिः पक्षेण तृतीयं तद्वतो विध्यात्” (३. ४. ४७.) इति ॥

बाल्यवन्मौनं विधेयमित्युक्तम् ; किं पुनस्तद्बाल्यमिति तन्निरूपयति—  
“अनाविष्कुर्वन्नन्वयात्” (३. ४. ५०.) इति ॥

एवं बाल्यान्तमुच्चावचसाधनं निरूप्य संप्रति तत्साध्यविद्याजन्मसमयं निरूपयति—“ऐहिकमप्रस्तुतप्रतिबन्धे तद्दर्शनात्” (३. ४. ५१.) इति ॥

एवं विद्यालक्षणे फले कालोत्कर्षापकर्षकृतो विशेषप्रतिनियमो दर्शितः । इदानीं विद्याफले मोक्षे कस्यचिदपि विशेषप्रतिनियमस्याभावं दर्शयति—  
“एवं मुक्तिफलानियमस्तदवस्थावधृतेस्तदवस्थावधृतेः” (३. ४. ५२.) इति ॥

॥ इति तृतीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

पूर्वाध्यायावसाने मोक्षे प्रतिनियमाभावो दर्शितः । इदानीं तु तस्यैव मोक्षाख्यस्य फलस्य स्वरूपप्रतिपादनायाध्यायान्तरमारभमाणः प्रथमं तावदावृत्त्यनुष्ठानं तदन्तरङ्गसाधनस्य श्रवणादेः साधयति—“आवृत्तिसकृदुपदेशात्” (४. १. १.) इति ॥

श्रवणादिभ्यः आवृत्त्यानुष्ठितेभ्यः कथमीश्वरः प्रतिपत्तव्यः इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् अभेदेनेत्याह—“आत्मेति तूपगच्छन्ति ग्राहयन्ति च” (४. १. ३.) इति ॥

ईश्वरे आत्मत्वमतिः कर्तव्येत्युक्तम् । इदानीं तु प्रतीकविशेषणभूतेऽपीश्वर आत्मत्वप्राप्तौ तद्द्वारा प्रतीकैष्वप्यात्मत्वमतिप्राप्तावाह—“न प्रतीके न हि सः” (४. १. ४.) इति ॥

प्रतीकोदाहरणेष्वेव क किं दृष्टिरध्यवसितव्येति निरूपयति—“ब्रह्म-दृष्टिरुत्कर्षात्” (४. १. ५.) इति ॥

“आदित्यो ब्रह्म” इत्यादौ प्रथमनिर्दिष्टेषु चरमनिर्दिष्टदृष्टिरध्यवसितव्येत्युक्तम् । तर्हि तेनैव न्यायेन प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादित्यादिषु चरमनिर्दिष्टाङ्गदृष्टिरध्यवसितव्येत्याशङ्कयाह—“आदित्यादिमतयश्चाङ्ग उपपत्तेः” (४. १. ६.) इति ॥

अङ्गाश्रितोपासनास्वासीनकर्मतानियमाभावदितरोपासनास्वपि तन्नियमाभावमाशङ्कयाह—“आसीनः संभवात्” (४. १. ७.) इति ॥

आसीननियमवदिगादिनियममाशङ्क्य परिहरति—“यत्रैकाग्रता तत्राविशेषात्” (४. १. ११.) इति ॥

दिगादिनियमवत् कालनियममाशङ्कयाह—“आ प्रायणात्तत्रापि दृष्टम्” (४. १. १२.) इति ॥

एवं निरूपितधर्मकलापोपेतोपासनादिसाध्यस्य साक्षात्कारस्य फलं निरूपयति—“तदधिगम उत्तरपूर्वाधरयोरश्लेषविनाशौ तद्व्यपदेशात्” (४. १. १३) इति ॥

अत एव ज्ञानात् पापक्षयमभिधाय तत एव सुकृतक्षयमभिधत्ते—  
“इतरस्याप्येवमसंश्लेषः पाते तु” (४. १. १४.) इति ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणाभ्यां निरूपितसुकृतदुष्कृतात्ययस्याविशेषेण प्राप्तिमाशङ्क्याह—  
“अनारब्धकार्ये एव तु पूर्वे तदवधेः” (४. १. १५.) इति ॥

अनारब्धकार्यस्य पुण्यस्य पापवदश्लेषविनाशौ दर्शितौ । तत्राग्निहोत्रादे-  
नित्यस्यापि कर्मणोऽभावात् तस्य ज्ञानसाधनत्वश्रुतिविरोधमाशङ्क्याह—  
“अग्निहोत्रादि तु तत्कार्यायैव तद्दर्शनात्” (४. १. १६.) इति ॥

नित्यस्य कर्मणो विद्यासाधनत्वमुक्तम् । तर्हि विद्यासंयुक्तस्य उत  
केवलस्यापीति निर्णेतुमाह—“यदेव विद्ययेति हि” (४. १. १८.) इति ॥

अनारब्धकार्यमग्निहोत्रादिविद्यासंयुक्तं केवलं च ज्ञानसाधनत्वान्नक्षीयत  
इत्युक्तम् । तर्ह्यारब्धकार्ययोः शुभाशुभयोः कथं प्रक्षय इत्यत आह—“भोगेन  
त्वितरे क्षपयित्वा संपाद्यते” (४. १. १९.) इति ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

पूर्वाधिकरणे प्रारब्धकर्मक्षये ब्रह्मसंपत्तिरुक्ता । तत्र सगुणब्रह्मसंपत्तिं  
निरूपयिष्यन् उक्तान्तौ वागादीनां मनसि वृत्तिसंपत्तिं दर्शयति—“वाङ्मनसि  
दर्शनाच्छब्दाच्च” (४. २. २.) इति ॥

इन्द्रियवृत्तिलयाधारस्य मनोवृत्तिलयाधारं दर्शयति—“तन्मनः प्राण  
उत्तरात्” (४. २. ३.) इति ॥

तस्यापि प्राणस्य वृत्तिलयाधारं दर्शयति—“सोऽध्यक्षे तदुपगमा-  
दिभ्यः” (४. २. ४.) इति ॥

प्रतिपादितोक्तान्तिः सगुणब्रह्मविदुषामपि विद्यत इत्याह—“समाना  
चासृत्युपक्रमादमृतत्वं चानुषोष्य” (४. २. ७.) इति ॥

अभिहितोक्तान्तिसमये यावत्संपत्तिः तत्स्वरूपं निरूपयति—“तदापीतेः  
संसारव्यपदेशात्” (४. २. ८.) इति ॥



अभिहितोत्क्रान्तेर्निर्गुणब्रह्मवेदिष्वभावं दर्शयति—“प्रतिषेधात् इति चेन्न शारीरात् ” (४. २. १२.) इति ॥

पूर्वं ब्रह्मविदः प्राणानां ब्रह्मण्येव लयो दर्शितः । तदयुक्तम्, अन्यत्रापि लयश्रवणादित्याशङ्क्याह—“तानि परे तथा ह्याह” (४. २. १५.) इति ॥

तस्यैव कलाप्रलयस्य निरवशेषतामाह—“अविभागो वचनात्” (४. २. १६.) इति ॥

प्रासङ्गिकीं परविद्विषयां चिन्तां परिसमाप्य संप्रत्यपरविदः पूर्वसूचितासृत्यु-प्रक्रमं दर्शयति—“तदोकोग्रज्वलनं तत्प्रकाशितद्वारो विद्यासामर्थ्यात् तच्छेष-गत्यनुस्मृतियोगाच्च हार्दानुगृहीतश्शताधिकतया” (४. २. १७.) इति ॥

नाडीद्वारा निष्क्रान्तस्य यद्वद्रस्म्यनुसारित्वं तन्निशायामपि समानमित्याह—“रश्म्यनुसारी ” (४. २. २८.) इति ॥

पूर्वोक्ताभिरेव युक्तिभिर्निशायामिव दक्षिणायनेऽपि प्रयतः फलावाप्ति-रविशिष्टा इत्याह—“अतश्चायनेऽपि दक्षिणे” (२४. २. २०.) इति ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

एवं प्रयाणसमयप्रकारं निरूप्य प्रयतो देवयानाख्यां गतिं निरूपयति—“अर्चिरादिना तत्प्रथितेः” (४. ३. १.) इति ॥

अनेकपर्वणां गतिरंकैवेत्युक्तम् ; तेषां पुनः पर्वणां यादृशः सन्निवेशः तन्निरूपयति—“वायुशब्दादविशेषाभ्याम् ” (४. ३. २.) इति ॥

वायुसन्निवेशविमर्शानन्तरं विद्यान्तरनिर्दिष्टवरुणादेर्निवेशस्थानं विमृशति—“तटितोऽधि वरुणः संबन्धात् ” (४. ३. ३.) इति ॥

एवमर्चिरादीनां सन्निवेशं विमृश्य तेषामेव देवतात्वं साधयति—“आति-वाहिकास्तल्लिङ्गात्” (४. ३. ४.) इति ॥

एवमर्चिरादिकां गतिं निरूप्य तया गन्तव्यं निरूपयति—“कार्य-बादरिरस्य गत्युपपत्तेः ” (४. ३. ७.) इति ॥

अर्चिरादिपथेनापरं ब्रह्म प्राप्यत इत्युक्तम् । तत्र प्रतीकालम्बवचनानामपि तत्पथेन गमनात्तत्प्राप्तिप्रसक्तावाह—“अप्रतीकालम्बनान्नयतीति बादरायणः उभयथा दोषात्तत्कतुश्च ” (४. ३. १५.) इति ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥



॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

संप्रत्यपरविषया प्राप्तव्यं निरूप्य परविद्याप्राप्तव्यं निरूपयति—“संपद्या-  
विर्भावः स्वेन शब्दात्” (४. ४. १.) इति ॥

मुक्तो येन स्वरूपेणाभानोपपद्यते तस्य ब्रह्माविभक्ततां साधयति—“अवि-  
भागेन दृष्टत्वात्” (४. ४. ४.) इति ॥

येन ब्रह्मात्मना मुक्ताववतिष्ठते तत्सविशेषं निर्विशेषं वा इति विमृशति—  
“ब्राह्मणेन जैमिनिरूपन्यासादिभ्यः” (४. ४. ५.) इति ॥

परमार्थतो निर्वेशषत्वेऽपि व्यवहारदशयामैश्वर्यं दर्शितम् । तस्यां चैश्वर्य-  
दशायां विभूतिनिर्माणसाधनं निरूपयति—“सङ्कल्पादेव तच्छ्रेतेः” (४. ४. ८.)  
इति ॥

इदानीं तस्यैव मनस्सद्भावाद्देहोन्द्रयसद्भावोऽस्ति वा न वेति निरूपयति  
—“अभावं वादरिराह ह्येवम् (४. ४. १०.) इति ॥

“भावं जैमिनिर्विकल्पामननात्” इत्यात्रानेकशरीरनिर्माणं दर्शितम् ।  
इदानीं तेषु प्रवेशप्रकारं योगिनो निरूपयति—“प्रदीपवदावेशस्तथा हि  
दर्शयति” (४. ४. १५.) इति ॥

एवं योगिनो यदैश्वर्यं निरूपितं तत्किं निरवग्रहम् उत सावग्रहमिति  
निरूपयति—“जगद्व्यापरवर्जं प्रकरणादसन्निहितत्वाच्च” (४. ४. १७.)  
इति ॥

सुललितपदङ्कत्या भावगमैर्वचोभि-

हृदि मुदमनवधामादधाना बुधानाम् ॥

अधिकरणमणीनां संगतिः संहतान्ध्या [व्य]

प्रसरतु चिरमेषा मानिनी मानिनीव ॥

इति ज्ञानोत्तमपूज्यपादशिष्येण चित्सुखमुनिना

विरचितायाम् अधिकरणसङ्गतौ

॥ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

## A QUERY

(from one of our readers)

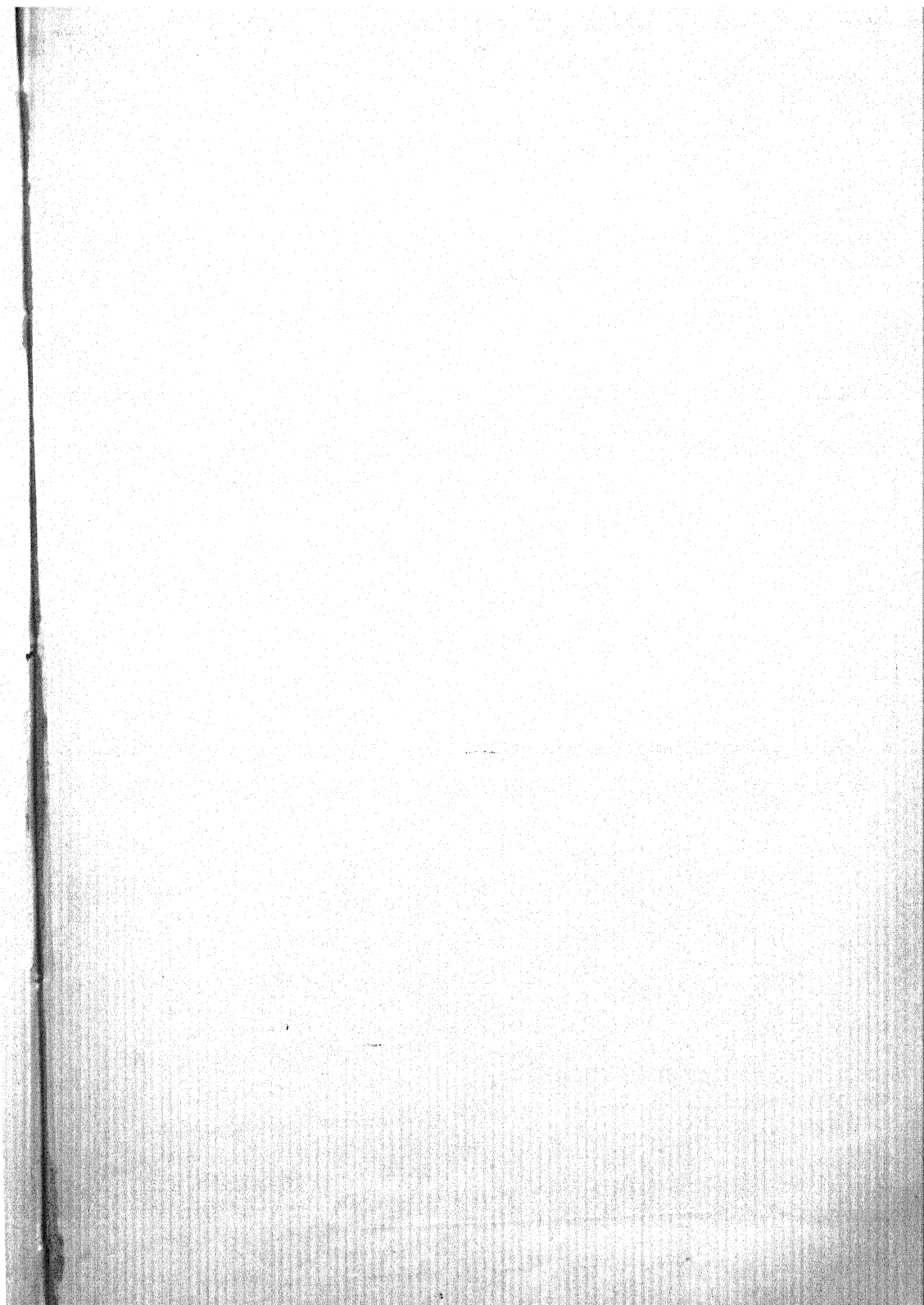
*Mercury* : Latin *Mercurius*—*Merx*, *Mercis* : English *Merchandise*  
(Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary).

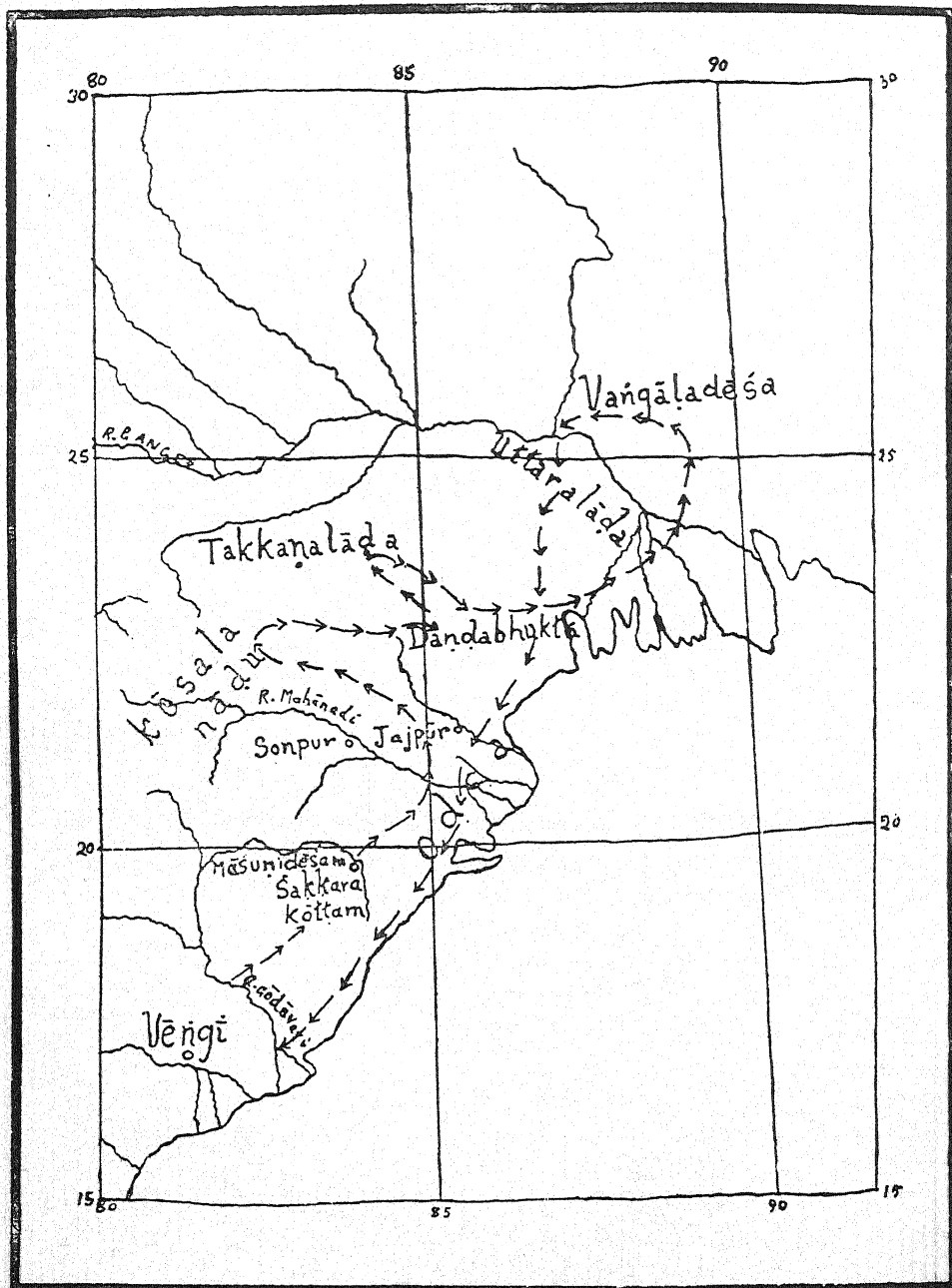
What is the corresponding Sanskrit root ? That Astrological works describe *Budha* as a *Vaiśya* is the only clue I have, if clue it is. Every thing depends on the corresponding Sanskrit root which may be *Mrś* for aught I know. Whether Grimm's Law applies is more than I can say. Any how I think the subject is worth the attention of a philologist and I invite those who have devoted some time to a study of the most interesting subject to put forward their valuable suggestions.

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1/12, Adam Street,

Mylapore.





Map showing Rājendra's Expedition to the Ganges.



(To face page 199, Vol. VII, Part III.)

# THE ROYAL ARTIST, MAHENDRAVARMAN I

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,

Madras.

(Continued from page 246, Vol. VII, Pt. iii.)

## (b) Music.

We saw under Pallāvaram that the king bore the *biruda* "Saṅkīrṇajāti", because he was probably the inventor of a method of keeping musical time (*tāla*) which was called or which he named *Saṅkīrṇajāti*. While examining the Māmaṇḍūr inscription we remarked that the record praised the musical talents of the king also. In line 1 of that record, the term *Gandharva-śāstra* occurs which refers to music in general, *gandharvas* being celebrated for music. Any song beautifully sung goes down as *gandharvagūna* in Indian parlance. In line 9 there is a reference to musical sounds in the pitch (*guru*) expressed in sounds; but it is not clear what this reference meant, whether it meant that that was the system in vogue or was the system sought to be introduced by the king. Lines 12 and 13 contain the expressions already examined which show the king as a Master Musician, and as an inventor of a notation of musical sounds in vocal music. It is said that by his invention he was able to find a place in vocal music for all the intonations of sounds that a *vinā* could produce. As luck would have it, the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription contains this invention of his and immortalises his achievement in this field. It has been very ably edited by Rao Bahadur Bhandarkar in the *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. xii, pp. 226-237.

It is a matter for regret that we have very few works on music. In fact, the only ancient work on the subject known is Bharata's "Nāṭya-śāstra" which defines only the *jātis* or the modes of music and records no system of notation that could enable us to know the nature of music of that period (4th century A.D.). The next work that gives us some information on this subject is *Nārādī-Śikṣā*, the date of which is not known, but which

is certainly earlier than the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva (1210-1247 A.D.). The system of notation given in the last work was probably a mixture of an earlier and current notations, the only one available to us of the earliest music for a pretty long time. But it is a pity that Śārṅgadēva cannot be said to be giving us the earliest notation that came down to him in his time, since, to explain away certain discrepancies, he interpreted ancient rules so as to make them agree with the actual practice of the day.

As though foreseeing this dearth in materials concerning ancient music, the Master-Musician, Mahendra, the seer (*ṛṣi*) that he was, has given us in his characteristic immortal way the notation of music that was either current then or was invented by him. The latter is more probably the case for we have learnt sufficient of the king to know that he was not content with things old, the "*vicitra-citta*" that he was. Mr. Bhandarkar thinks that the notation was intended for the *viṇā*, but as the Māmaṇḍūr record proclaims, which we have stressed already, it was the king's ambition to design a way by which what would appear to any one as possible in stringed instrument was brought within reach of vocal music also.

In the light of this explanation Mr. Bhandarkar's difficulty to give satisfactory explanation of the marks over the letters in the inscription which he calls "vowel endings" is solved. They are just marks by which the needed intonations, known, of course, to the *viṇā*-players but not to the vocalists—(I mean as marks which they could study or teach their disciples),—had to be expressed, and that satisfactorily, so that even vocalists may easily get habituated to the new course. The point can be easily made clear by giving the instance of the diacritical system. As Sanskrit letters had to be expressed in English, the need for a system of transliteration and diacritical marks had to be introduced which is a nuisance and despair to most Indian writers. Yet another instance is the device adopted for indicating the *udātta* and *anudātta* and *svarita* sounds (*svaras*).

Another difficulty of Mr. Bhandarkar is how to account for the presence of some dots on the tops of some of the notes. They are probably intended to mark the time of each intonation or to indicate timed vibrations or perhaps the gradations of sound. The analogy of the device that we adopt in expressing *pluta* will explain our point. Just as all these transliteration and diacritical devices had to be manipulated so that one language

richer in every respect, had to find the best expression in another language, poorer when compared with the former, so also music and that stringed music, had to be so manipulated that, although it was richer in sounds that could not ordinarily be vocally expressed, it had to go into the smaller compartment of vocal music, without losing anything and none the worse for it. Even the diacritical system is a despair to many Indians. What then have we to say regarding this *Vicitracitta's* mad idea (*mattavilāsa*) of converting stringed music into vocal music by the introduction of a device, *viz.*, the ushering of an invention in notation. Surely his title "*Śaṅkīrṇajāti*" was bestowed on him more for an invention of his in the realm of modes of music (*jātis*) than for his "mixed-caste" as the late Gopinatha Rao unfortunately observed.

Coming to the inscription itself, it is divided into seven sections corresponding to the seven classical *rāgas*, *viz.*, (1) *Madhyama-grāma*, (2) *Ṣaḍjagrāma*, (3) *Ṣaḍāba (va)*, (4) *Sādhārīta*, (5) *Pañcama*, (6) *Kaiśikamādhyama* and (7) *Kaiśika*. The arrangement of the notes on the stone is described by Mr. Bhandarkar as follows:—"Each section consists of a collection of groups of four notes, arranged in sub-sections of 16, each sub-section taking up one line of the inscription. . . . Each group in a sub-section ends in the same note. The note in which a particular *rāga* must be ended is called the *nyāsa* (final). That sub-section which consists of groups having the *nyāsa* for their ending note, is put the last in a section. The other sub-sections are arranged according to the position of the ending note in the Hindu *gamut* "sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni," a sub-section consisting of groups ending in *sa* preceding one of groups ending in *ri* and so on."<sup>1</sup> The seven *rāgas* mentioned in this inscription are not mentioned in the work of Bharata. The later works such as *Nārādī-śikṣā* and the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva have them, though with slight differences.

Thus our inscription is the earliest, permanent record of a wonderful system of notation designed by King *Śaṅkīrṇajāti*, whom we can call unhesitatingly "the father of South Indian Music". On comparing this with the definition of the *rāgas* found in the other two later works, Mr. Bhandarkar has demonstrated that the music of our record agrees more with the *Nārādī-śikṣā* than with the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, a point that establishes

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1. *E. I.*, Vol. XII, p. 227.



the indebtedness of the *Nārādī-Śikṣā* to our record. This is further corroborated by a South Indian tradition<sup>1</sup> that the present South Indian Music is based on the teachings of sage Nārada. Nārada is the arch-songster of Hindu mythology. If he is the author of the *Śikṣā* named after him, is he after all the follower of Mahendra, the Father of South Indian Music? Surely even the superior musical accomplishments of the celebrated sage-musician pale into insignificance before the high musical equipment of a "Mattavilāsa." The peculiarities in the engraving of this record that reflect the rollicking funny temperament of their royal engraver are:—

(1). It begins with "Siddham", a term of auspicious commencement that is most common in Buddhist records such as the Aśokan edicts, the Amarāvātī and other Buddhist inscriptions. This is followed by "Namaḥ Śivāya" in which the so-called convert to Śaivism is offering worship to the "Destroyer of the Universe."

(2). Each *rāga* has got its label or heading on the left side in a margin and is placed against the section concerned, mostly at the beginning of each section.

(3). The letters are in an excellent state of preservation and are written exactly in the same way as other inscriptions of Mahendra are at Trichinopoly, Kāñcīpuram and Pallāvaram. Their palaeography easily points to the record being assigned to Mahendravarman.

(4). At the bottom of the record, on the left hand side again, a colophon reading as "Śrī-Rudrācāryaśiṣyeṇa Paramamāheśvareṇa rājñā śiṣya-hitārtham kṛtāḥ svarāgamāḥ" announces the author of this musical treatise, who is a king, the devoted disciple of Rudrācārya. He is said to have made the classification of the *svaras* for the good of the *śiṣyas*. Who are the *śiṣyas*? Surely those vocalists that were required as a result of his invention to learn to produce in vocal music (*kañṭhaśruti*)<sup>2</sup> all the *svaras* that a *vīṇā* can easily produce. The term *śiṣyas* would mean all lovers of music or students of music.

The above colophon is followed by four words in Tamil of about the same period which serve the purpose of a correction-

1. Even Chinnaśwami Mudaliar records it in his *Oriental Music*.

2. See Māmaṇḍūr inscription.



slip or general remark on the whole subject. They run as "eṭṭirkum ēlirkum ivai uriya" and mean "These (*svaras*) are common to eight and seven." This statement is another stunt probably. Knowing as we do by now Mahendravarman's ways, we are tempted to suspect that Mahendra probably introduced another *rāga* also, thus making the total number of *rāgas* eight. The statement would either mean that all the *svaras* mentioned in all the seven sections would apply to the eighth *rāga* that he had invented or that the *svaras* mentioned in the seventh section under the seventh *rāga* would also apply to the eighth *rāga*.

Who is the Rudrācārya, whose disciple the king is said to be? Dr. Pischel, the learned editor of Rudraṭa's *Śṛṅgāratilaka* speaks of Rudraṭa as the greatest Indian rhetorician who occupies a prominent place both by his age and the value of two of his known works, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* and *Śṛṅgāratilaka*. From internal evidence in his works we come to know that he was also known as Rudra, Rudrabhaṭṭa, Rudrabhaṭa or Bhaṭṭa Rudra, that he was a Śaiva and that he was an admirer of courtesans. The last mentioned interesting fact about this author gives room for the inference that our Rudrācārya and Rudraṭa are one and the same, for it is too well known that courtesans and society girls were taught music and dance (*abhinaya*) by male music-masters who were called *ācāryas*<sup>1</sup>. If he was derided as a lover of courtesans he could not help it, for, as Professor of Music and Dancing at the court of King Mahendravarman he had to like his students in the two faculties. Was not Kālidāsa also reviled as a lover of *gaṇikās*? Has he gone down in the estimate of the world as a result of his infatuation for *gaṇikās*? No, not a whit. Let it be so too in the case of our Rudrācārya, the Grand Music-Master of King Mahendravarman!

Bāṇa mentions a Rudra as one of his friends<sup>2</sup> who is probably identical with our Rudrācārya. Dr. Pischel thinks that the Rudra of Bāṇa is different from Rudraṭa, who was a native of Kashmir. He agrees that Rudraṭa was a pretty old author and that in his works he quotes only Bharata, the author of the "Nāṭyaśāstra", though he is himself quoted by several writers including Daṇḍin. Still he assigns him to the middle of the ninth century

1. Cf. Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

2. Peterson, *Kādambarī*, p. 51.

A.D. If he quotes Bharata only, it is because he was an earlier writer and was engaged in the study of rhetoric (*alaṃkāra*) and music that formed a part of Bharata's work. The only work on music then current was probably that of Bharata, he himself being destined to help Mahendra in the latter's noble task of inventing a notation of music. If Daṇḍin and Bāṇa quote him, it was because he was very popular then. Taking all these data into consideration we can identify Rudraṭa with our Rudrācārya, the contemporary of King Mahendravarman.

Another rock-cut shrine dedicated to Śiva contains a musical composition or notation and is located in a village called Tirumayyam, also in the Pudukottah State, and consequently contiguous to Kuḍumiyāmalai. The late Gopinatha Rao, who discovered it has the following remarks on it:—"The Tirumayyam Cave also contained a musical treatise similar to the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription. It is engraved on the wall of the shrine to Śiva (rock-cut). A very late Pāṇḍya king has erased a portion of the inscription, stating that it is in an unintelligible script, and has engraved thereon a useless inscription of his own recording perhaps a gift of a few coins. The 'beggar' did not know what serious damage he was doing to an invaluable inscription. The fragments that are available now read here and there :—*Sha* (*ḍja*), *Gāndhāram*, *Dhaiva* (*ta*),—terms of Indian music, written in the same characters as the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription"<sup>1</sup>. Both the script, and the fact that Mahendravarman was a great music-master, keen on spreading his inventions, will warrant this inscription being assigned to him.

### *Literature (Poetry, Drama, etc.)*

#### *(a) Poetry.*

The Māmaṇḍūr inscription gives us also an insight into the poetical talents of this king. He was an admirer of poets like Vālmīki, Bharata and others (*kavis*), and moving as he did in a galaxy of poetical stars, he has given us in his many inscriptions and in the two farces that have luckily been discovered recently his achievements in the field of poetry. Surely he was the *royal poet-laureate* of the day. He gives us also to understand that he was also aware of the *sūtra* form of composition such as we have in the short expressions of the *sūtra* literature, whose main

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1. *I. A.*, Vol. LII, p. 47.

feature was brevity<sup>1</sup>. The short prose passages and the titles such as we get at Pallāvaram, Kāñcīpuram and Trichinopoly can be explained only in this way. They are pithy and abbreviated expressions of vast ideas which poetry would make a big epic of. Luckily he has not imitated our venerable Pāṇini as otherwise he would have given us *sūtras* like "A A" of the latter, which would have left us only in the dark about his achievements. In the case of Pāṇini he had commentators to explain his ideas expressed in those brief *sūtras*. But not so Mahendra. Probably realising or foreseeing that his *sūtras* will be a despair to posterity and, thanks also to that galaxy of poetical and musical stars which had at its centre the *uḍupati* (moon) Mahendra, he has given us his ideas in excellent poetic compositions, some of which are engraved on rocks, while the majority of them are introduced in the two farces that have come down to us.

The verses that he composed for engraving are excellent pieces in various metres ranging from the common *Anuṣṭubh* to the uncommon *Kokilaka*, with a display of a few varieties of the *Āryā* and the *Vasantatilakā*. The Mahendravāḍi verse is in the *Kokilaka* metre, each *ṣṭaka* occupying a separate line as usual. *Māmaṇḍūr* contains pithy *Anuṣṭubh* verses. *Maṇḍagapaṭṭu* has an excellent piece in the *Gīti*, a variety of *Āryā*. *Dalavānūr* is again in *Anuṣṭubh* with a *prāsa* on the words "narendra" and "śatrumalla". *Siyamaṅgalam* has an *Āryā* verse. Trichinopoly supplies an excellent leaf from the poetic book of the king. It has verses in *Anuṣṭubh*, *Āryā*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, etc., with a fair sprinkling of *prāsa* words. (Such a sprinkling produces a better effect in the minds of *vidagdhas* than a thorough riddling of the verses with *prāsa* words alone). These verses are published in S. I. I. Vol. I, pp. 28-30. The celebrated verse beginning with "Kāverīn-nayanābhirāma—" is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Verses 2 and 3 on page 29 are in *Āryā*. Verse 1 on page 30 is in the *Vasantatilakā* with a *prāsa* on "śaila" and "sthāṇu". Verse 2 on the same page is in *Āryā* and has a *prāsa* on "giri", "giriśa" and "ārtha". Verse 4 is in the *Vasantatilakā*, with a mild attempt at *prāsa* suggested by the term "kṛta" in the last line.

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1. It is said of such *sūtra*-composers that cutting down an expression even by a single letter gave them a joy equivalent to that joy that one will have on becoming a father—*akṣaralāghavam putrotsavam manyante*.

If we examine the verses in the farce "Mattavilāsa"<sup>1</sup>, the authorship of which goes undoubtedly to Mahendravikrama, we find almost all the principal metres are represented. They are for instance, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (vv. 1, 3, 6, 17, 20), *Sragdharā* (v. 23), *Anuṣṭubh* (vv. 4, 12, 16, 18, 22), *Upēndravajrā* (vv. 2, 19), *Āryā* (vv. 5, 11, 14), *Vasantatilakā* (vv. 7, 10), *Indravajrā* (v. 8), *Mālinī* (v. 9), *Upajāti* (vv. 13, 15), *Rucirā* or *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* (v. 21). Relying on the evidence of Māmaṇḍūr inscription we have treated "Bhagavadajjuka" as another work of Mahendra. While we shall discuss its authorship under "drama", we shall speak here about the poetical talents of the king as revealed from the verses in the work. There are in all 37 verses in almost all the popular metres. The metres that occur are as follows:—*Anuṣṭubh* (vv. 11, 13, 15, 16, 24, 29-34), *Āryā* (vv. 1, 2, 12, 18, 19, 27, 37), *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (vv. 3, 21), *Upajāti* (vv. 4-7, 14, 17, 22), *Praharṣiṇī* (vv. 8, 10), *Mālinī* (v. 9), *Vasantatilakā* (vv. 20, 23, 28, 35, 36), *Sragdharā* (v. 25), and *Indravajrā* (v. 26).

(b) *Drama.*

*Mattavilāsa.*

This is a tiny farce, the work of Mahendravikrama of the Pallava family, who is referred to in it as the son of Simhaviṣṇu and the ruler of Kāñcīpuram. It derives its name from one of the titles of the king himself, *Mattavilāsa*, bestowed on him in the manner we have described already. "With a thoroughly Indian play on words, however, the title *Matta-vilāsa* is also applied to the play, inasmuch as it represents the wild pranks of a drunken Śaiva ascetic." The play has been published as No. 55 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and we owe an excellent translation of it to Dr. L.D. Barnett published by him in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.<sup>2</sup> Some of the titles of the king such as *Mattavilāsa*, *Guṇabhara*, *Avanibhājana*, and *Śatrumalla* occur in the prelude and the *Bharata-vākya* or the last verse of the play. The scene of the play is laid in the city of Kāñcīpuram itself, the capital of the Pallavas about this time.

The play is a first-class farce with a plot relating to "the wanderings of a tipsy Kapālin or "Skull-bearer" (a Śaiva ascetic of a very low order who carries for alms-bowl the *kapāla* or half

1. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 55;—edited by Ganapati Sastri.

2. Vol. V, part IV, pp. 697-717.

of a human skull), with his girl through the streets of Kāñcī, the disappearance of his skull-bowl, his encounter with a Buddhist friar of rather lax virtue named Nāgasena<sup>1</sup>, whom the *Kapālin* accuses of having stolen his bowl, the squabble that thence arises between them, the interposition of a *Pāśupata* (a member of another class of Śaiva votaries) in the dispute, and the appearance on the scene of a wandering lunatic who brings back the missing bowl, which has been carried away by a *pariah* dog and picked up by the lunatic, whereupon all ends happily."

As Dr. Barnett observes, "within this loosely jointed framework there is much rollicking fun of the knock-about kind, with no small measure of wit and humour. The characters are vigorously drawn, especially the tipsy *Kapālin* with his unfailing flow of logic and theology and the Buddhist monk with his leaning towards wine and beauty and his desire to find scriptural warrant for them, while the damsel's shrewish femininity is cleverly sketched, and the poor lunatic babbles and acts with a consequent inconsequence that reminds the reader of Lewis Carroll. Altogether the little play is a remarkably smart production of the *picaresque genre*, replete with mirth and satire."<sup>2</sup> The Doctor suspects that there are hidden in the text some topical allusions, which is too true. I am discussing these points in two papers to be published elsewhere, entitled "Bhagavadaj-jukam—and its authorship", and "The Religion of Mahendrarvarman I". I shall, however, give here some of the conclusions that I have arrived at there that have a bearing on the subject on hand.

The style in both the farces is the same, the characters are drawn vigorously and the Buddhist monks are ridiculed for the very comfortable lives they were leading about the time of Mahendrarvarman, thanks to the munificence of *Śreṣṭhis* like Dhanadāsa in the play *Mattavilāsa*. That Kāñcīpuram was almost flooded with the Buddhist priests is evident from what the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang says about Kāñcīpuram when he visited that city in about 640 A.D. According to him there were in the

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1. Possibly it is more than a coincidence that this is also the name of a celebrated Father of the Buddhist Church, the learned protagonist of the *Milinda-pañha*.

2. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. V, Pt. IV, pp. 698-9.

city some hundreds of *saṅghārāmas* and 10,000 priests, studying the teachings of the *Sthavira* school belonging to the Great Vehicle (*Mahāyāna*). We have it also from him that there were some 80 temples of the *Devas* (probably Hindu) and that there were many heretics called *Nirgranthas* (i.e., Jainas). Thus, we learn that in the earlier half of the seventh century, the Pallava country, and especially Kāñcīpuram, the Pallava capital, was the abode of quite a number of Buddhists and Jainas, not to speak of Hindus and that there were also in the city some 80 *Deva* temples. These *Deva* temples were probably erected by Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, and other subjects of these. So many structures of diverse faiths could not have come into existence in the Pallava country if the Pallavas were not tolerant to all. Whatever may be said of the faiths of these Pallava monarchs, I can never subscribe myself to the belief propagated by the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who, of course, relies on Periyapurāṇam and the Trichinopoly inscription, that Mahendravarman I was a Jaina to start with, that he prosecuted Appar first and then became converted by that saint to Śaivism.<sup>1</sup> This point will be discussed at the end of this paper.

The introduction of the *Kāpālīka* and the *Pāśuṣṭa* in the play shows that they too found a place in Kāñcīpuram, that their stay there was suffered by the king who was no believer in persecution of any faith that did not appeal to him. Of course he jokes at them, the artist that he was, and ridicules them to his heart's content. Thereby he enjoys the hilarious fun that a philosopher and poet would enjoy, a fun that he has luckily imparted to us in his immortal farces. In his criticism he spares none. The *Kāpālīkas* come first and they find no favour in his eyes for their filthy habits, addiction to drink and women, hypocritical devotion to Śiva in their own ways, which in their opinion were the only ways, all others being false or misleading, and for their ready running to the *śrutis* and the *smṛitis* for finding sanction to their filthy habits and ideas. In short these *Kāpālīkas* appear to have led a licentious and debaucherous life, in the company of lasses, frequenting taverns and drinking intoxicants in season and out of season as if it was their *dharma* to do so, comparing their drunken revelries to the activities of those sincere ritualists, the believers of the Vedas engaged in performing

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1. *E. I.*, Vol. III, p. 278.

sacrifices (*yajñas*), and yet calling themselves devotees of Śiva who would give them untold pleasure and vouchsafe a paradise for them if only they pursued such a life.

Next come the Buddhists of the place, who, in the name of the Lord *Tathāgata*, his noble preachings (*dharma*) and the nobler *saṅgha* that he had established for propagating his teachings, made themselves as comfortable as possible and led an indolent and licentious life almost like that of the *Kāpālīka*, though perhaps not so filthy as the latter. Surely, such indolent, easy-going priests, that had forgotten their Lord's teachings but saw only in his noble creation of the *saṅgha* an opportunity to lead comfortable lives can find no favour in the eyes of any king of a serious bent of mind, not to speak of the *Citrakūṭa-pūli* to whom art was long and time was fleeting. These Buddhist *bhikṣus*, as Mahendra represents them to be (in both the farces), appear to be just gluttons, provided with palatial residences in the name of *vihāras*, excellent food including fish and mutton in the forenoon, sweet drinks in the afternoon, *paṇsupari* and nice and elegant clothing, thanks to the munificence of some innocent *upāsakas* like the merchant Dhanadāsa in the present case. Mahendra felt that such comfort would lead even the most active into lethargy and indolence so that they can never be fit to discharge the noble functions that Lord Buddha expected of them when he established the *Bhikṣu-saṅgha*. He is afraid that such comfort as they were placed in would make them yearn for women and liquor. Probably he is recording actual cases of abuses in the Buddhist *Bhikṣu-saṅgha* at Kāñcīpuram. In his own characteristic jolly manner he depicts the above fear of his by making the *bhikṣu* in the play speak out his mind.

The *bhikṣu* demands women and drink and is wild with the *Sthaviras* of the *Saṅgha*, whom he considers as unworthy disciples of the *Tathāgata*. He argues that if the Lord *Tathāgata*, the embodiment of kindness that he was, could procure for them so much comfort as they could actually command, how then could he not foresee their wants in the direction of women and drink? Surely the All-knower (*Sarvajña*) that he was, he did foresee and included them too in his sayings which were recorded in the scriptures. But the old members of the *Saṅgha*, the *Sthaviras*, who could neither enjoy women nor drink on account of age, but, however, jealous of the youngsters in the *Saṅgha*, not only acted as the



dogs-in-the-manger but also did them a positive injustice by erasing from the old scriptures (*i.e.* from the copies available at the *Saṅgha's* head-quarters) the actual lines containing the Lord's injunctions prescribing to the *bhikṣus* women and liquor. So arguing the *bhikṣu* of the play resolves to find out the originals containing the Lord's sayings admitting women and liquor and hopes to receive the sincere thanks of the whole *Saṅgha* if he should succeed in discovering such texts. Later on the same *bhikṣu* licks his lips when the *Kāpālīka* and his woman drink and the former offers him to partake of it, and reveals to them by his greedy looks his readiness to do so, the only bar being that people may see (*mahājano draṣṣyati*). The drink that the *Kāpālīka* offers him attracts him on one hand and the charming lass by his side, the *Kāpālīkā*, on the other. He cannot help murmuring repeatedly that the lass by the side of the *Kapālīn* was charming (*aho lalitarūpā upāsikā*—, p. 14). Oh! how he wished to possess her. He demonstrated his eagerness to have her later on by rushing to her side and helping her to get up when she had fallen down while attempting to snatch the *bhikṣu's* almsbowl from him. Probably the way in which he lifted her up should have alarmed the *Kapālīn* who bursts out as “*paśyantū... māheśvarāḥ anena duṣṭa-bhikṣunām adhāraṇa Nāgasenena mama priyatamā.....pāṇigrahaṇam kriyamāṇam*” (p. 18).

An interesting point to be noted is that the *bhikṣu*, while sighting the *Kapālīn*, wants to avoid him remarking “*ayam Ekāmraṇvāsī duṣṭakāpālīkaḥ*” (p. 13), *i. e.*, “it is that rascal of a *Kapālīn* who lives in *Ekāmra*”. This gives room for the conjecture that the *Kapālīn* (he had no fixed abode) was living in the precincts of the *Ekāmra* temple which is probably the present *Ekāmbaranātha* temple or more probably the earlier shrine around which the present temple grew.

The King does not spare the Jains also. He does not approve of Jaina philosophy contained in the expression “*duḥkhasya kāryam sukham*” which lays down that souls must be freed from the influences of matter by means of mortifications such as celibacy, plucking out hair in a most torturing manner called “*loch*”, keeping the body filthy, fixing time for food (this refers to the periodical *pāraṇās* after a period of fasting peculiar to Jaina ascetics), being scantily dressed (or almost sans-clothing)



etc. He remarks that these mortifications only tend to torture living beings (p. 7).

The King has also a hit at the *Pāśupata*, whom he depicts as also dissipated, running after women. In fact, the *Pāśupata* is smitten with love for the same woman that follows the *Kapālin* and wants to win her. He comes on the scene when the *Kapālin* cries out for help just when the *bhikṣu* had helped the woman to get up, and not comprehending the scene well, he comes to the conclusion that the lady is "at her old games" and that after "various affairs of the heart she is now flirting with the Buddhist friar." The woman attracted him so much that he resolves a scheme to win her. He would feign to support the *bhikṣu* first against the *Kapālin* and when the latter is discomfited he would no doubt cut out the *bhikṣu* and come out such a victor that the lady must needs be attracted to. Victory over the *pratihastin* (the *bhikṣu*) should mean that, if it would mean anything at all. In verse 14, he describes the lady as his (*dayitā*) who was lured by the Buddhist friar "with a farthing (*kākaṇṭi*) that he shows her in the pocket of his robe" just as a cow is drawn along with a handful of fodder held before it (p. 19).

In short, all these so-called religionists, whether Buddhist, *Kāpālika* or *Pāśupata*, are so corrupt that they are depicted here as doing just the things prohibited, prohibited not only by their own respective scriptures but also by the ordinary moral codes relating to behaviour etc., without feeling any compunction for what they were doing.

The *Pāśupata* leaves the scene at the end after blessing the reconciled parties thus :—"May this feud which kept you asunder till you became reconciled become eternal source of mutual goodwill and love, like the *Kirāta's feud with Arjuna*." This allusion to the strife between *Arjuna* and the *Kirāta*, i.e., Śiva, is more than a mere allusion. It reveals the personality of the famous poet Bhāravi behind the composition of the *Mattavilāsa* or for the matter of that any composition of King Mahendra in literature. It perhaps proves the existence of Bhāravi at the court of King Mahendra, as we shall see.

The date of Bhāravi, the author of the immortal *Kirātārjuna*, was hitherto known from an inscription<sup>1</sup> dated Śaka 556

1. Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II,—*E. I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 3 and 7.

(634 A. D.) in which he and Kālidāsa are spoken of as great poets.<sup>1</sup> Daṇḍin, author of *Daśakumāracarita* and *Kāvyaadarśa*, was, according to Mādhavācārya, a younger contemporary of Bāṇa, who flourished in the court of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja. It appears that Bāṇa was a younger contemporary of Bhāravi, and Daṇḍin was perhaps a younger contemporary of Bāṇa himself.

Luckily two works in Sanskrit, entitled *Avantisundarī-kathā*, and *Avantisundarī-kathāsāra* throwing light on Pallava history were discovered some time back and published in 1924 by Messrs. Ramakrishna Kavi and Pandit Ramanatha Sastri, as No. 3 of the *Dakṣiṇabhārati* Series. The former is in prose with a poetic introduction and the latter is a summary in verse of the former. The prose work was done by Daṇḍin, who gives his own ancestry in which luckily Bhāravi finds a place according to the above edition. According to the *Avantisundarī-kathāsāra* (pp. 2-4) in this edition, we get the following account of the family to which Bhāravi and Daṇḍin belonged:—A brahmin-family of the *Kauśika-gotra* had removed from Gujarat to Acalapura (Ellichpur in Central India) where Bhāravi or Dāmodara<sup>2</sup> as he was also called was born to a Nārāyaṇasvāmī. Viṣṇuvardhana was then the *yuvārāja* and Bhāravi had become a bosom-friend of his. The crown-prince, being a lover of literature, Bhāravi's poetical talents endeared the latter to him so much that Bhāravi had to accompany the crown-prince even in the latter's hunts, in one of which he was forced to eat flesh for want of any other food, for

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1. "...sa vijayatām Ravikīrtiḥ, kavitāśrita-Kālidāsa-Bhāravikīrtiḥ||" (*Ibid*, p. 7.)

2. Cf. Harihara Sastri, *Bhāravi and Daṇḍin* (4th Oriental Conference Proceedings, 1927, pp. 44-46). The summary of this article of his and the details that come out clearly from a Ms. copy of the Prose work *Avantisundarīkathā* as preserved in the Trivandrum MSS Library have been given by Dr. S. K. Iyengar as follows: "This work traces the descent of Daṇḍin in its introductory chapter. In doing so it brings his great grand-father Gopāla as a fellow-pupil of Bhāravi whom it brings into contact with three kings of South India, viz., Viṣṇuvardhana..., Durvīṇa, among the Gāṅgas who was his own pupil and commented upon the 15th sarga of the *Kirātārjunīya* and wrote a Sanskrit version of the *Brhatkathā* and *Śimhaviṣṇu* of Kāñcī". See Dr. S. K. Iyengar's note 1 in Gopālan's *Pallavas of Kāñcī*, p. 229.

which sin he was so ashamed that he went out on a self-inflicted exile. While in exile, another prince, this time Durvinīta, a Western Gāṅga *yuvārāja*, who was exiled by his father, became his friend and spent his period of exile basking in the sun of Bhāravi's poetry. It was probably in this exile that the latter composed his *Kirātārjunīya*, probably inspired by the forest scenes, and the Gāṅga prince wrote a commentary on his friend's work (upon the 15th *sarga*) as revealed by some Gāṅga inscriptions.

The fame of Bhāravi reaching the ears of Śirṇhaviṣṇu, the father of Mahendravarman, he invited him to his court at Kāñcīpuram, gave him all comforts and treated him like his son.<sup>1</sup> Bhāravi was 20 years of age<sup>2</sup> when he came to Śirṇhaviṣṇu and was by then the author of his *Kirātārjunīya*, a marvellous achievement for one of the teens. His commentator Durvinīta was also young. Bhāravi was blessed not only in his patrons but also in his friends, for whom should he have as his friend now but the *yuvārāja* Mahendravarman! Śirṇhaviṣṇu appears to have died soon after and it was given to Mahendravarman to enjoy fully the company of the poet, as a result of which of course we get the "royal poet and artist." The narrative goes on saying that the poet had a son,<sup>3</sup> called Manoratha, whose fourth son was one Viradatta, to whom the *Kavi* Daṇḍin was born. Daṇḍin we have seen was a younger contemporary of Bāṇa, the court-poet of Harṣavardhana.

On the invitation of a great architect, Lalitālaya, Daṇḍin went to *Mahāmallaṭṭura* (Mahābalipuram) and witnessed the skill of the architect who had joined the broken hand of the image *Anantaśayana* (Viṣṇu on the serpent) without there being any trace of the joint. This image is described to be near the sea. Surely, there is a reference in this to the shore pagoda at Mahābalipuram. And the place Mahāmallaṭṭura and the image of *Anantaśayana* (*Mukunda*) are referred to in the work as of common knowledge. The fact that Daṇḍin is invited to witness the skill of the sculptor is significant in this way. As Daṇḍin was the Court-poet at the Pallava court and as he had the legacy of his great-grandfather Bhāravi<sup>4</sup> who was

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1. *Avantisundarikathā*, p. 7, 1. 5—*putrikaranena*.
  2. *Ibid*, p. 7, 1. 2.—*vimśatideśa-varṣa-deśīyah*.
  3. Cf. Dr. S. K. Iyengar's note in Gopālan's *Pallavas of Kāñcī*, p. 229.
  4. We rely on Rāmakrishṇa Kavi's edition.

probably associated in some form or other with the erection of either temples or the carving of sculptures at Mahāmallapuram, Daṇḍin as a representative of the family to which belonged Bhāravi had probably to supply the architects and the sculptors themes from ancient lore or mythology which they could translate into stone. Bhāravi was probably similarly engaged by Mahendravarman, a noble and pleasing task indeed for that young poet. Should it surprise us therefore if we say that the first theme that suggested to Bhāravi or to the king himself was the glorious theme of the poet's *Kirātārjunīya*, which was a classic then, spoken of by every one and so very popular that it was commented upon by Durvinīta! The theme of the *Kirāta* and *Arjuna* would suggest itself to any one, especially if it is borne in mind that the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi won for him the unique honour of being ranked with Kālidāsa himself as revealed from the Aihole inscription dated Śaka 556 (".....kavitāśrita-Kālidāsa-Bhāravi-Kīrtiḥ"). Such an honour undoubtedly indicates that Bhāravi was indeed the poet of the day, beloved by Viṣṇuvardhana who was ruling probably at Ellichpur, admired by the western Gāṅga Durvinīta who drank the nectar of the poet's immortal classic *Kirātārjunīya* as manifested by his commentary on the poet's work and treasured by King Mahendra of an equally poetic bent of mind. It should not surprise us therefore to find the king devising means by which he could perpetuate the glorious theme of his friend's immortal prize-classic. To the "Vicitra-citta" nothing else but rock would suggest itself as we have had occasions to see in the earlier pages of this paper. He drags the poet to Mahāmallapuram,<sup>1</sup> and gives the poet the deserved honour of carving in his presence the theme of *Kirātārjunīya* so that the glory that was Bhāravi's could go from transitory mouth to permanent stone. Such then is indeed the explanation of the carving at Mahāmallapuram which Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar has so ably identified as "Arjuna's penance." The authorship of this can certainly go to Mahendra rather than to his son, in the

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1. Probably the Pallava port from where later on in the time of his son Narasimhavarman I a fleet was fitted out to sail for Ceylon to help Mānavamma against the usurper Hattha-Datta II. Dr. Dubreuil has proved in his *Pallavas*, (p. 41) that this place was the naval station for the Pallava fleet. The place serves as a landmark for ships even now like Negapatam further south.

absence of evidence pointing towards the latter, and then in the light of our interpretation.

This receives confirmation from the presence of caves in the place such as the Varāha cave which contains portraits of Śiṃhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarman and were probably carved by Mahendra himself. That Mahendra had no religious fanaticisms nor did he share the persecuting zeal of a religious fanatic is borne testimony to in the first place by Hiuen Tsiang's account of Kāñcīpuram, secondly by the nature of the cave-temples built by him, such as Śittannavāśal dedicated to the Jaina gods, Mahendravāḍi dedicated to Viṣṇu, Maṇḍagapaṭṭu dedicated to the *Trimūrti* and several others dedicated to Śiva, and thirdly by his presence with family in the cave temple here dedicated to the Varāha *avatār* of Viṣṇu, and by his declaration in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription that he was carrying out "the mandate of God Narasiṃha (Viṣṇu), as dark as thousands of clouds, with head bent 'low with devotion to the god.'" Indeed Siṃha or Narasiṃha appears to have appealed to him so much that he named his son Narasiṃha after that god. The other crude carving at Mahāmallapuram, which appears to be a copy of the one under discussion, can be explained as a rough trial plan designed by Mahendravarman earlier than the latter but dropped either because of technical flaw or lack of fidelity to the original or as a later copy of that well-executed one relegated to less-skilled hands, betraying a decadence of Pallava art that could not have set in either in the time of Mahendra or of his nobler son Narasiṃha even. It could have come in at a later period in Pallava history, probably about 700 A. D.

Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi attributes a work called *Gandhamādana* mentioned in the *Avantisundarī-kathā* to Mahendra on the ground that the *Śrīvara* who is cited in the work as its author (p. 7, ll. 9-10) was probably a *biruda* of the title-monger Mahendra<sup>1</sup>. It is a pity we have no data to verify this interesting piece of information which awaits further investigation. But we cannot help thinking that the author who is cited as a king, bearing the titles "Sāhasāṅka" and "Śrīvara" was probably our Mahendra. This, if admitted, would add to the already long list of the king's *birudas* two more which rhyme well with the

1. ".... Sāhasāṅkaḥ sa bhūpatiḥ (I) Sevyam sakala-lokasya vidathe Gandhamādanam (II)"—Introduction, p. 3.

others known. The statement "sevyam sakalalokasya vidadhe," i.e., "he made it within reach of the whole world" reveals the too well-known temperament of Mahendra, which we had seen under Kuḍumiyāmalai (*Śiṣyahitāṛtham*), to dedicate his works for the world, surely the dictates of an artistic instinct. In short he perpetuated everything of beauty that he did preferably in stones and secondarily in books, of which only a few have come down to us.

*Bhagavadajjukam.*

This is a tiny farce like the *Mattavilāsa*, the authorship of which, though unknown, is assigned to Bodhāyana by its commentator, who too strangely enough does not give out his own name. Later writers such as Sukumāra speak of a Bodhāyana as a poet. My friend, Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri of the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, who has edited this farce excellently in Telugu and Sanskrit has discussed the question of its authorship in his introduction to his Sanskrit edition<sup>1</sup> and has come to the conclusion that the author must have lived prior to the seventh century and that there is a likelihood of Mahendra being its author, though it is equally possible to assign its authorship to Bodhāyana, relying on the anonymous commentator of the work, whose date is unknown.<sup>2</sup> As against the latter possibility it may be pointed out that the commentator's time is not known, nor his name. By the time of the commentator the real author's name might have got dimmed and somehow the name of Bodhāyana, the *sūtrakāra*, came to be associated with the work. As the author has not mentioned his name in the *prastāvanā*, sufficient room is given for wild conjectures. In all probability this farce should have been more popular in the time of Bodhāyana, probably because of the ridicule that it contains regarding the then Buddhists, that Bodhāyana taught it to his *śiṣyas* and thus made it popular. To our mind it appears therefore that Bodhāyana was so much attracted by this farce that he almost made it his own and popularised it. Probably even in his time its author was unknown; consequently his disciples and later commentators took Bodhāyana to be its author though he was only author to its popularity. If the *prastāvanā* did contain the name of the *Kavi*

1. Published by Messrs. Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, 1925.

2. The authorship of *Bhagavadajjukam* forms the subject of a separate paper of mine to be published shortly.

as does the other farce, the *Mattavilāsa*, much speculation regarding its authorship could be avoided.

The verse in the 6th line of the Māmaṇḍūr inscription is so constructed as to give room for the supposition that the "hāsyam" called "Bhagavadajjukam" was probably a work of Mahendra in the same way as "Mattavilāsa" was. Internal evidences from both *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjuka* would point towards a single author for both. In the first place, both are farces with much rollicking fun of the knock-about kind that appealed to the satirical artist Mahendra. In the second place, the style of the composition is the same in both, the style lucid and the verse simple, yet charming. In the selection of the metres of the verses there is a distinct and remarkable preference in both to the *āryā*, *anuṣṭubh*, *indravajrā*, *vasantatilakā*, *mālinī*, *upajāti*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *sragdharā*. Of these again, *āryā*, *anuṣṭubh*, *vasantatilakā* and *śārdūlavikrīḍita* find a place in the king's rock-inscriptions.

But the most telling evidence is, however, the theme in both—ridicule. In both, the Buddhists are ridiculed to the king's heart's content. We saw how they were ridiculed in the *Mattavilāsa*. We shall see how they are similarly treated in this work. On page 4, the *śiṣya*, a brahmin by birth, confesses how he became a Buddhist *bhikṣu* because he had nothing to eat in his house, and how when he thus changed his faith he was provided by the *Bhikṣu-saṅgha* with a robe, an alms-bowl and an umbrella and how later on he had to renounce that too, because the Buddhists had meal only once in the day. What they had for the rest of the day is supplemented by the *Mattavilāsa* (p. 12), viz., drinks, *paṇsupāri*, etc. But to a glutton of the type of the *śiṣya* in the *Bhagavadajjukam* even such comforts as the Buddhists had were not sufficient. So he discards the robe and the alms-bowl (probably because he can get them anywhere) but treasures the umbrella alone, for in no other faith are mendicants supplied with umbrella (p. 4) and becomes the attendant of the ascetic (*parivrājaka*).

The umbrella is also significant in another way. It shows that the seat of the play was a hot place, nearer the equator; hence the particular care of the *śiṣya* to retain it. Again on page 13 the *śiṣya* finds in the shavenness of the ascetic's head only a bread-winning device, a conclusion

which he arrives at with a preliminary remark that so far as he was concerned, what was nearer his heart was the heap of choice food (of various kinds) that was stored in the Buddhist *saṅgha* for the “Śākya-Śramaṇakas” (p. 13—*mama abhipretam śākya-śramaṇakānām kīraṇāt (su)sādhitāni saṅghapravṛttāni bhojanāni aśitum*). On page 14 the *śiṣya* offers his thanks to the Buddha, for he was wise enough to lay it down as one of the rules that no Buddhist should fail to partake of food and that in time (*āhārapramādaḥ sarvāpramādaḥ iti mantrayamāṇāya namo Bhagavate Buddhāya*). Asked by the ascetic to explain what he meant the *śiṣya* tells the ascetic again that he had joined the Buddhist *Saṅgha* first because of love of food and comfort (*prātaraśanalobhena śākyaśramaṇakam pravrajito'smi*), and had learnt in the Buddhist camp much of their huge nonsense. When the ascetic expresses willingness to listen to him he comes out with *Sāṃkhya* first and when corrected repeats the Buddhist five kinds of *śikṣāpadas* winding up with the usual “Buddham, dharmam, saṅgham śaraṇam gacchāmi” even as the *Śākya-bhikṣu* does in the *Mattavilāsa* (p. 19). While narrating the *śikṣāpadas* he lays emphasis on that rule which relates to food (*akālabhojanād-viramaṇam śikṣāpadam*, p. 15).

The author gives to the *śiṣya* the character of a misguided youth, attracted to Buddhism by the comfort that the Buddhist *Saṅgha* could warrant him, and impressed not a whit by the teachings of the Lord even as were perhaps most of the *bhikṣus* in the *saṅgha* of his day. He understands Buddhist philosophy as speaking of only *pratyakṣa* things and that consequently he should not believe in the existence of *apratyakṣa* things nor recognise *śabda* as a separate *pramāṇa*. The Buddha's precept with regard to pity and kindness to beings (*karuṇā*) is taken not on its spirit but on its letter with the result that we find the *śiṣya* becoming a prey to an exaggerated over-dose of pity (*anukrośa*) as revealed by his attempts to lament the death of the courtesan. He catches hold of her feet, feels her dead body and so on and raises a huge cry of lamentation (though she was a stranger to him), and when his *guru* chides him for doing so, especially when the woman was dead, he scolds him downright as “heartless” (*nisneha*, pp. 22, 24-25). If one should read this farce fully or see it staged, what would easily suggest itself to one would be satire on Buddhism and the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. As we



had pointed out elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, the Buddhist order had probably degraded to such an extent that the king of the land himself, Mahendra, takes the axe of reform, the axe that he took being mild satire, surely the prompting of an artist.

Other evidences in the play showing Mahendra as its probable author are as follows :—*Mattavilāsa* is so called because of the activities of a mad man who is introduced in the play at the final stage. Similarly, the name *Bhagavadajjuka* is suggested to the play at its end by the *śiṣya* who, on seeing the ascetic in the *gaṇikā*, and the *gaṇikā* in the ascetic, remarks that the whole scene is highly funny and should be called “the episode of ascetic-courtesan”. There is a similar suggestion in the other farce, *Mattavilāsa*, to the naming of that work, it being a record of the sports of *mattas* (a really mad fellow, a mad (*i.e.*, tipsy) *Kāṇḍika* with his girl also drunk, a fanatically mad *Pāśupata* and a mad, *i.e.*, indolent *bhikṣu*).

The opening verse in both is dedicated to Śiva, in the *Mattavilāsa* to the *Kāṇḍikā*, and in the *Bhagavadajjuka* to Rudra. In the *prastāvanā* of both, the *hāsyā-rasa* is said to appeal most to people. Probably it appealed so to the king. The words “matto yo balarūpayauvanaguṇaiḥ” in verse 3 of *Bhagavadajjuka* would recall a similar expression in the *Mattavilāsa* “yauvanaguṇabhara-mattavilāsa” (p. 1).

The *śiṣya*, it was remarked, took the umbrella alone from the *Saṅgha* probably because the place was hot. The heat of South India is well known, and in it that of Guntur and the Ceded Districts is too well known. Can we look for the seat of the play in this part of the country?

The place is said to be just a “nagara” which is interpreted to mean “Pāṭaliputra” by the anonymous commentator, because there is a tradition that “nagara” usually meant *Pāṭaliputra*. This appears to receive some support from the statement of the *Yama-puruṣa*, who after taking the life of the harlot crosses the Ganges, then the *Vindhyas* and so on (verse 25). But this verse containing the statement of the *Yama-puruṣa* need not be taken to mean that an attempt is made here to describe in order the things that the *Yama-puruṣa* saw on his way to *Laṅkā*. It may probably only be a casual statement enumerating the geography

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1. “Buddhist sculptures from a *stūpa* near Goli village, Guntur Dt.” pp. 42-44.

of India, and naturally river *Gaṅgā*, the pre-eminent river finds her place of honour in the list. But there is something else in the self same verse that would probably indicate the seat of the play or perhaps the seat of the author (more probably the latter). Mention is made of *Gaṅgā*, the *Vindhyas*, *Narmadā*, *Sahya* mountains, *Goleyī* (i. e. *Godāvarī*), *Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā* (R. *Kṛṣṇā*), *Paśuṣatibhavana*, i.e. *Śrīśailam*), R. *Suprayogā*, *Kāñcī*, R. *Kāverī*, R. *Tāmbraṇā*, *Malaya* hill, the ocean, and *Laṅkā*. While it is conceded that only the geographical features of India are mentioned here, we cannot help noting the author's partiality to a particular region in South India. While it is a hop from the Ganges to the *Vindhyas*, to the *Narmadā*, to the *Sahya* and to the *Goleyī* (*Godāvarī*), it is not so for the next three items. They are the river *Kṛṣṇā*, *Paśuṣatibhavanam* (*Śrīśailam*) and the river *Suprayogā*. Such a treatment is significant as we shall see later on. From the river *Suprayogā* it is a hop to *Kāñcī*, the Pallava capital, and from the latter it is a similar hop to *Kāverī* and so on.

The region in which the river *Kṛṣṇā*, *Śrīśailam* and the river *Suprayogā* are situate is most important for our study. We know that the river *Kṛṣṇā* passes through the Guntur and Krishna districts. *Śrīśailam* is in the Kurnool District, one of the Ceded Districts. The river *Suprayogā* is not so easy to be located. Luckily the river is mentioned in the Uruvapalli plates of the Pallava *Yuvarāja* Viṣṇugopavarman<sup>1</sup> as forming one of the boundaries of the village of Uruvapalli situate in the district of *Muṇḍarāṣṭra*. *Keṇḍakūra* or *Kaṇḍukūra*, another boundary of Uruvapalli, mentioned in the same plate, is, according to the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, identical with the modern *Kandukūru*, the headquarters of the Kandukur Taluk of the modern Nellore District. The river occurs also in the *Māleṣāḍu* plates of the Telugu-Cola, *Puṇyakumāra*<sup>2</sup>, who appears to have held sway in the Nellore and Ceded Districts and who took a fancy in imitating Mahendravarman in assuming titles such as "mārdava-citta" and "madana-vilāsa". This *Puṇyakumāra* is said in these plates to have granted 50 *nivartanas* of land in the south-east corner or quarter of *Birapāru*, situated in *Hiraṇya-rāṣṭra*, on the southern bank of the river *Suprayogā*. Both Venkayya<sup>3</sup> and

1. *I. A.*, Vol. V, p. 53.

2. *E. I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 337-345.

3. *I. A.*, Vol. V, p. 53.

Hultzsch<sup>1</sup> are of opinion that the river *Suprayogā* is a small river to be looked for in the Nellore district probably in the vicinity of modern Kandukūr. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, himself a native of Nellore, tells me that the river *Mutteru*, a tributary of *Munneru* flows very near *Kandukūru* and that consequently it may be identified with our *Suprayogā*.<sup>2</sup>

The mention of this otherwise insignificant river in such early Pallava records as that of *Yuvarāja* Viṣṇugopavarman and in the Telugu Cola *Puṇyakumāra*'s plates and its mention in *Bhagavadajjukam* in contrast to other important rivers like the well-known *Pinākinī* which are strangely omitted may be accounted for as indicating the author's special attraction to that river. In this case, the author was probably a native of the territory watered by this river. Its mention in the Uruvapalli plates and the hope that the *Yama-puruṣa* makes from the *Suprayogā* to *Kāñcī*, the Pallava capital, show that the *Suprayogā* stood as a land-mark. Shall we put it down then as the boundary of the Pallava territories in the north over which Mahendra, as the *yuvarāja* of his father who was evidently ruling the whole land from *Kāñcīpuram*, was ruling? He should have been ruling from some place in the vicinity of the river *Suprayogā*. And in all probability he composed this farce here, in this Telugu country. Thus the zeal of the *śiṣya* in the play to possess the umbrella is also significant inasmuch as Nellore and Guntur Districts are noted for their extreme heat. According to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, Nellore served as the boundary line of the Pallava territory later on in the time of Narasimhavarman; and in all probability this river marked this boundary.

The ridicule to which the Buddhists are subjected to in the farce is due to the fact that Mahendra did come across these Buddhists in the northern Pallava territories, whose existence here is attested to by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuën Tsiang<sup>3</sup>. The Buddhists were swarming the land, with their head-quarters at *Amarāvati*, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, *Ghaṇṭasālā*, *Bhaṭṭiprolu*, *Bezwada* etc. The *Saṅghas* were surely there along with the corruption that had set in. And our royal artist imbibed a satirical attitude towards the Buddhists here which he recorded in the *Bhagavadajjukam*.

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1. *E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 342.

2. I am indebted to the learned Doctor for this suggestion.

3. *Beal*, Vol. II, p. 97.

Thus we find only the Buddhists reviled. But when he goes down to Kāñcīpuram to take charge of the whole Pallava domain he finds a new experience at Kāñcīpuram. Not only the Buddhists there but also several others such as the *Kāpālikas*, *Pāśu-patas* etc., have to be similarly treated. The result is the "Mattavilāsa", which is therefore *Bhagavadajjukam* plus something more (of satire). The mention of Śrīśailam in *Bhagavadajjukam* as "Paśupatibhavanam", i.e., the abode of Śiva, shows that Śrīśailam, which was for a long time a Buddhist centre<sup>1</sup> known as *Śrīparvata*, had changed hands and had become a centre of Brahmanism about or prior to the time of Mahendra.

The sway and probably stay of Mahendra in the Telugu country is borne testimony to by the find of an inscription of his in the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezerla in the Guntur District<sup>2</sup>. The temple itself is of peculiar shape and is modelled on the Buddhist *cāitya*. The inscription, though fragmentary, contains sufficient to indicate that the Pallava king of the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, Mahendravikrama Mahārāja, who bore the birudas "Avanibhājana" and "Guṇabhara" and who was the ruler of Kāñcī situate on the banks of the river *Vegavatī* made certain grants or gifts to the 12 temple-architects (*devakarmīns*-line 38), under whose care the temple of Kapoteśvara was entrusted probably for their services in doing repairs or perhaps for their renewing the temple itself that had fallen or disappeared (*kāraṇāntaraiḥ asta-mita*-line 15).

#### *The faith of Mahendravarman.*

Relying on some of the verses in the *Periyapurāṇam*<sup>3</sup> the late Mr. Venkayya started saying that the Tamil saint Appar was "first persecuted and subsequently patronised by a Pallava King, who is said to have demolished the Jaina monastery at Pāṭaliputtiram and built a temple of Śiva called Guṇadaraviccaram".<sup>4</sup> Since the term *Guṇadaraviccaram* reminds one of the title of Mahendravarman, viz., *Guṇabhara* and as the Trichinopoly inscription contains in one of the verses an allusion to the king called *Guṇabhara* turning back from hostile conduct<sup>5</sup> his theory receives strength

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1. See Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions.
  2. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI., no. 595.
  3. Śēkkilār, *Periyapurāṇam*, part I, 1893, VV. 84, 88, 145 and 146.
  4. *A. S. I.*, annual report, 1906-07, p. 235.
  5. *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 29, V. 2.

that it was Mahendravarman I that came under the influence of Appar. While it is possible to agree with him when he says that "Mahendravarman I must have excavated a number of rock-cut caves and dedicated most of them to the god Śiva", we are unable to agree with him when he says that the king dedicated the temples to Śiva alone "with the proverbial zeal of the new convert."<sup>1</sup> We have learnt sufficient of the king to feel that the king's zeal was that of an artist, not that of a fanatic. The Trichinopoly verse may be interpreted as just indicating that the king had a regard almost amounting to veneration for the saint Appar, whose selfless life and poetic talents must have appealed to him more than even his religious preachings, for we know that the religion of the king was *art* and *poetry*.

If we are to believe the statement in the *Periya-purāṇam* which says that the *Kāḍava* (a synonym for *Pallava*) erased all the Jaina temples and monasteries of the Jainas at Pāṭaliputtiram and built a temple for Śiva at Tiruvadi called *Guṇadaravīccaram* near the Jaina city of Pāṭaliputtiram (verse 146), we have to expect in the king a mettle totally different from what he reveals himself to be in his writings. How can an architect and a builder of art be an iconoclast also? If indeed he was the persecutor of other faiths as the *Periya-purāṇam*, a work of the 12th century, represents him to be, why should he have not treated the Buddhists similarly. The king's dislike of the Buddhists' ways are manifest in his writings. Beyond satirically ridiculing them he does not appear to have persecuted them or destroyed their *saṅghārāmas*, for, if he had done so, on the analogy of what he is said to have done to the Jaina monasteries at Pāṭaliputtiram, we could not expect to hear Hiuen Tsiang telling us in 640 A. D. with evident gratification, that in Kāñcīpuram, the Pallava capital, "there are some 100 *saṅghārāmas* and 10,000 priests.... There are some 80 *Deva* temples and many heretics called *Nirgranthas*."<sup>2</sup> One who destroys the Jaina relics at Pāṭaliputtiram suffers Buddhist *saṅghārāmas* and the Buddhist *saṅgha* to grow in his very capital under his very nose, especially when he has manifested his disapproval of the Buddhist conduct and life in the *Bhagavadajjuka* and the *Mattavilāsa* in the manner we have already seen. This is surely an irreconcilable conclusion. Also the Chinese pilgrim's account speaks of several

1. *A. S. I.*, Annual Report, 1906-07, p. 235.

2. *Beal*, Vol. II, p. 229.

Jainas (*Nirgranthas*) as occupying Kāñcīpuram. Why has the royal persecutor spared them and why has he allowed their number to increase at the capital city ?

Examining the verse itself in the *Periya-purāṇam*, we find that the persecutor is referred to as a “Kāḍava” and as a “Pallava” also. The term “Kāḍava” is equivalent to *Kāḍuvaṭṭi*, *Kāḍvaṭṭi* and *Kāḍupaṭṭi* as proved by certain inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> We find this term in vogue in the country as late as 1300 A.D. denoting certain chiefs. In the time of the Coḷa King Vikrama Coḷa (1118-1135 A. D.) there was a chief of Giñjee in the South Arcot District, where also Tiruvadi is situated, who called himself a “Kāḍava.”<sup>2</sup> Kōpperuñjiṅga, a mighty chief, who plagued Rājārāja III to a great extent and even imprisoned him (1243 A. D.) called himself a “Kāḍava” and a Pallava.<sup>3</sup> Can we not suppose that Kōpperuñjiṅga ruling from Śēndamaṅgalam in South Arcot District, and the chief ruling from Giñjee, also in the same district during the reign of Vikrama Coḷa, were the descendants of a line of *Kāḍavas*, the feudatories of the Pallavas. They were probably the descendants of the *Kāḍava* who, according to Venkayya, was a Pallava feudatory and the ruler of Tiruvadi, also in the South Arcot District. The work of destruction of the Jaina monasteries at Pāṭaliputtirāma near by attested to in the *Periya-purāṇam* was perhaps the work of this over-zealous vassal of Mahendravarman I. That the Pallavas had feudatories is proved by the Śiyamaṅgalam inscription which speaks of a Skandasena, the son of Vasanta-priya-rāja, who was a feudatory of Mahendravarman I. The Tiruvadi ruler was perhaps another.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar speaks of a third feudatory in the preface to *S. I. I.* Vol. VI. According to him two inscriptions in the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezerla, Guntur District (Nos. 594 and 595) are important, for they have “revealed the fact that the Pallava King Mahendravikramavarman who is there called also by his titles *Avanibhājana* and *Vegavati-sanātha*”

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1. *E. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 25.

2. *I. A.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

3. *E. I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 164 & 167.

4. It is difficult to understand how Mr. K. V. S. Ayyar takes *vegavatisanātha* to be a title of the King. The term *sanātha* can never convey the idea of a ‘lord’ if that is what he means. It means ‘occupied by, possessed by, endowed with, possessed of, possessing, having’ and hence can only refer to the city of Kāñci, which is endowed with the *Vegavati*, i.e., where the river flows.

had a feudatory in the grandson of king Kandara of the *Ānandagotra* through his daughter". While the statement of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar will be welcomed by all students of Pallava history and will be particularly useful to us in our hunt for Pallava feudatories, we regret to state that on examining the inscriptions on which Mr. Ayyar relies for his theory we find there is not a scrap of evidence to point as Mr. Ayyar has suggested. The inscription of the Kandara king, the grandson of king Kandara through his daughter, speaks of certain gifts such as temple utensils used in worship (bell, cymbals, parasol, etc.) made by the king for the temple. It also speaks of the strengthening (probably repairs) of many temples by the same king. The other record (No. 595) *i.e.*, that of Mahendra, speaks of certain gifts made by the Pallava king to 12 temple-architects for the restoration work in the temple that they attended to. We are unable to see in these two inscriptions any trace of any relationship between the Kandara king and Mahendra. Surely we cannot make anything capital out of the fact that these two records are found on a single slab, that of the Kandara in its front and that of Mahendra on its back.

We shall now turn to the *Mahāvamsā* for another feudatory of the Pallavas. Chapter XLVII speaks of Mānavamma, the friend of Narasimhavarman I who refers to a *Kāṇḍuveṭhi* (*Kāḍuveṭṭi*). Mānavamma is said in it to have gone over to India "and having made himself known to Narasimha, he entered his service and with much labour found favour in the sight of that king. And when he saw that the king's friendship was unfeigned, he brought his wife also to India and lived there with her, ministering to the king day and night, and another king, *Kāṇḍuveṭhi*, with whom also he had found favour gave him such possessions that it seemed as if the whole of that king's dominions had been granted to him". The last clause in the quotation not only introduces us to a *Kāṇḍuveṭhi*, *i. e.*, a *Kāḍuveṭṭi*, but also acquaints us with a significant information. If he allowed Mānavamma the possession of his own dominion which to the latter, who was moved by gratitude, appeared like the whole dominion of his, it was because his dominion was small. Surely such a comparison precludes the possibility of Narasimhavarman being intended. Can it be that Mānavamma's *Kāṇḍuveṭhi* was perhaps the *Kāḍava* ruler of Tiruvadi, the forerunner of the later *Kāḍavas*, such as the Giṇṇee ruler and Kōpperuṇṇiṅga, the ruler of Śēnda-

maṅgalam? If we admit this, it is obvious that the *Periya-purāṇam* account centres round a later Pallava feudatory who was contemporaneous with Narasiṃha and probably too with Rājasimha (Narasiṃhavarman II). If he was indeed a contemporary of Narasiṃhavarman and also of Rājasimha, we have to take it that he was a younger contemporary of the former, a point that may receive strength from the following fact:—

The royal persecutor is said to have built at Tiruvadi the *Guṇadaraviṅṇam*. Where is this temple and what are its architectural characteristics? The present Śiva temple, which is Pallava in style, is probably the temple referred to. On examination one is surprised to find that it is not in the "Mahendra Style"; it is not a rock-cut cave. On the other hand, it resembles in every respect the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram attributed to Rājasimha (690 A. D.). Dr. Dubreuil has summed up the temple features as follows:—

".....the vimāna of this temple strangely resembles that of Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram. The plans of the two temples are alike; the vimāna at Tiruvadi is surrounded by collateral niches. The rearing lions are in profusion.... the shrine contained a prismatic *liṅgam* and an image of Somāskanda"<sup>1</sup>.

Are the above details not sufficient to prove that the royal artist Mahendravarman shared not a bit "of the persecuting zeal of a new convert", that he was no convert and that, if he was indeed one, he was a convert to the *Muses*, poetry, literature, in short a convert to ART.

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1. G. J. Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 72.



# ŚRĪ HARṢA'S OBSERVATIONS ON PAINTING WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NAIṢADHĪYACARITA.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

Of the many and varied subjects of general interest that Śrī Harṣa was acquainted with, not to speak of the various śāstras of a purely academic type in which he was an adept, not the least insignificant is the art of painting. His Naiṣadhiyacarita is a book teeming with encyclopædic learning and even the eye of a casual reader must needs be attracted by the very striking variety of information. Though he appears to have been a very prolific writer, very little of his compositions has been spared to us. We have his book of polemic—the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā and his poetic work—the Naiṣadhiyacarita. The matter of this paper is culled purely from the latter book.

The possibility of painting in various mediums on divers grounds is very well known to Harṣa. We have the fresco painting on the wall, design on every possible surface—the grounds for design have been described at length in the papers 'Painting and allied arts as revealed in Bāṇa's works'<sup>1</sup> and 'Kālidāsa and Painting'<sup>2</sup>—, mosaic decoration of the floor and a host of similar allied branches of artistic ingenuity named and described in the Naiṣadha.

The art of examining the form and shape, the peculiar characteristic, of the letters of the alphabet from a decorative point of view, is a subject taken up for consideration by Śrī Harṣa. Though he does not dwell on it at length he has given us sufficient to indicate his knowledge of the subject. In the śloka:

भ्रुवौ दलभ्यां प्रणवस्य यस्यास्तद्विन्दुना भालतमालपत्रम् ।

तदर्धचन्द्रेण विधिविपञ्चीनिकाणनाकोणधनुः प्रणिन्ये ॥ X, 85.

The letter ओम् is taken up and its various parts, *i.e.*, the two *dalas*, the *bindu* and the *ardhacandra*, are compared to the eyebrows,

1. J. O. R. M., Vol. VI part iv, pp. 395—414 and Vol. VII part i, pp. 59—81.

2. *Ibid*, Vol. VII part ii, pp. 158—185.

the *tilaka* and the *vīṇā-kōṇa* (lute-bow) of Damayantī respectively. The commentary is elucidative and gives us what sort of a letter it is. अत्र नागरलिप्या ओंकारो शातव्यः It is the ॐ of the Nāgara script. Another śloka,

द्विकुण्डली वृत्तसमाप्तिलिप्या कराङ्गुली काञ्चनलेखनीनाम् ।

कैश्यं मषीणां स्मितभा कठिन्याः काये यदीये निरमायि सारैः ॥ X, 86.

gives us the shape of the *visarga* which is compared to the rounded breasts of Damayantī. The commentary is again informative on the point and quotes a verse for elucidation.

‘शृङ्गवद्वालवत्सस्य बालिकाकुचयुग्मवत् ।

नेत्रवत्कृष्णसर्पस्य स विसर्ग इति स्मृतः ॥’

#### TYPES OF PICTURES.

“..... I am sitting before your portrait; which when I look off the paper, is so extremely like, that I can hardly help going up to it. I never before knew the real pleasure a portrait can afford.”<sup>1</sup> So writes Constable in one of his letters to Miss Becknell—afterwards Mrs. Constable. The lines ‘I found all my friends here quite well, and we make a large family party, nine with Mrs. Whalley’s two children, and your portrait (which gives great pleasure here, as an additional proof of your kindness to me).....’ from an earlier part of the same letter, go to prove the tremendous potentiality of portraits. Now, it is made all the more emphatic by comparing this with the śloka

त्वं हृदता भैमि बहिर्गतापि प्राणायिता नासिकयास्यगत्या ।

न चित्रमाक्रामति तत्र चित्रमेतन्मनो यद्वदेकवृत्ति ॥ III, 105.

taking its simplest meaning—of course Śrī Harṣa’s verses can be interpreted in a number of ways and this verse gives scope for annotative ingenuity—*viz.*, the one giving out the beauty of the clean-cut features of her face, especially the nose, and the power of her picture in captivating Nala’s heart. The line in Nārāyaṇa’s commentary,

‘चित्रं कर्तुं एतन्मनः कर्म यत्र स्वाधीनं करोति तत्र चित्रम्, अपि तु नेति काकु’ makes this clear.

Apart from pictures of individuals portrayed separately we

have the type of double portraits on the same canvas.<sup>1</sup> We have it stated in the śloka

वेत्थ मानेऽपि मत्यागदूनां स्वं मां च यन्मिथः ।

मद्दृष्टालिख्य पश्यन्ती व्यबाधा रेखयान्तरा ॥ XX, 77.

where Nala addresses Damayantī and asks her jocularly whether she remembers her drawing a line between the picture of herself and himself just on seeing him to keep up a false prestige which she had given the go by when she attempted the portrait-drawing in his absence. We have another picture of the same type, in the verse of the Meghadūtā, wherein the one or the other of the lovers portray both:

त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरगैः शिलायाम्

आत्मानं ते चरणपतितं यावदिच्छामि कर्तुम् ।

अस्रैस्तावन्मुहुरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालुप्यते मे

क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते सङ्गमं नौ कृतान्तः ॥ II, 42.

There is yet another in the picture of Udayana and Vāsava-dattā portrayed on canvas and used—note the importance given to the portrait—as substitutes for the real persons in flesh and blood for the conducting of the various Vaidic ceremonies of their marriage.

But the portraits so far stated are mere miniatures on board or canvas. We have bigger ones drawn on the wall. The princes who come to Damayantī's *svayamvara* amuse themselves by gazing at the pictures of the beautiful princess executed on the walls of the various mansions in the city.<sup>2</sup> Important incidents from the life of Damayantī are the themes thereof. Pictures describing life-incidents appear to have been common in ancient India. We have in Rājaśekhara's Bālarāmāyaṇa the ariel car of Indra painted completely with pictures showing graphically the whole life of Paraśurāma and the detailed conversation of Daśaratha and Mātali over the pictures shows us how judiciously is chosen a careful

1. We have pictures of this type—double portraits on one canvas—mentioned in the second act of the Ratnāvalī, in the Udayasundarikathā of Sodḍhala and in the Rukmiṇīharṇa-ihāmṛga of Vatsarāja.

2. ते तत्र भैरवश्चरितानि चित्रे चित्राणि पैरैः पुरि लेखितानि ।

निरीक्ष्य निन्युर्दिवसं निशां च तत्स्वप्नसंभोगकलाविलासैः ॥ X, 35.

and exhaustive list of the main incidents of the hero's life.<sup>1</sup> Kālidāsa gives another series of pictures of this type in his verse

तयोर्यथाप्रार्थितमिन्द्रियार्था-

नासेदुषोः सद्गुणं चित्रवत्सु ।

प्राप्तानि दुःखान्यपि दण्डकेषु

संचिन्त्यमानि सुखान्यभूवन् ॥

Raghu. XVI, 25.

which is the basis of an elaborate description of the same in Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita where the whole story of Rāma is painted on the wall by the *citrakara*, Arjuna, for amusing Sītā.

These are picture-stories from contemporary life. There are also individual or group pictures of the kings and queens. We have examples of these in the Harṣacarita where Bāṇa describes defeated rulers as painted on the walls of the palace of King Prabhākaravardhana.<sup>2</sup> The picture of Agnimitra and Irāvati and that of Dhārīṇī amidst her companions and maids that we get in the Mālavikāgnimitra,<sup>3</sup> the group picture that attracts the attention of the Vidūṣaka in the Viddhasālabbhañjikā and described at length by the dramatist Rājaśekhara<sup>4</sup> are all

1. दशरथः—.....तन्नमुचिसूदनसारथे ! कथय स भगवान् पौलोमीवल्लभो  
भृगुपतिचरितानि बहुमन्यते न वा ?

मातलिः—किं नाम बहुमन्यते न वेति शृणु ; श्रावयामि ।

आस्थानसद्मानि विलासगृहे विमाने

जैत्रे रथे च सततं सुरचक्रवर्ती ।

रामस्य चित्रलिखितानि कुतूहलेन

वीरो विलोकयति पूर्वविचेष्टितानि ॥ 12

यदस्यैव पुरन्दरस्यन्दनस्य चतुर्दिशं मत्तवारणीयफलकेषु रामचित्रं लिखितम् ।

(अङ्गुल्या निर्दिशन्) तत्तावदितो दीयतां दृष्टिः ।

And then comes a discussion on a fine and exhaustive list of choice pictures depicting the important incidents in Paraśurāma's life. Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act IV.

2. आलेख्यक्षितिपतिभिरप्यप्रणमद्भिः संतप्यमानचरणौ H. C. p. 136

3. सखि ! कैषा ईषत्परिवृत्तवदना भर्त्रा स्निग्धया दृष्ट्या निध्यायते ?

नन्वियं पार्श्वगतेरावती । Mālavikā. IV.

ततश्चोपचारानन्तरमेकासनोपविष्टेन भर्त्रा चित्रगताया देव्याः परिजनमध्य-  
गतामासन्नतरां तां प्रेक्ष्य देवी पृष्टा । Mālavikā. I.

4. विदूषकः—इदं तत् केलिकैलासम्, प्रविश्यताम् ।

examples of this type of individualistic or group paintings of contemporary royalty.<sup>1</sup> It is this type of pictures that Śrī Harṣa describes when he talks of Damayantī as painted on the walls.

Pictures of a general character are also given. The paintings of women near the doorway<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere are of this type. There is also another—a picture of a typical pair of lovers got painted by Damayantī to amuse herself by an imaginary comparison of her love of Nala to the sentiment expressed in the painting.<sup>3</sup> One noteworthy feature about this picture is that it is *got painted* by Damayantī. It is the Kāruvara who executes it.

**विदूषकः**—इतस्तावल्ललितस्फटिकगर्भभवनभित्तिचित्रसंस्थेषु कर्मसु निवेश्यतां दृष्टिः । एष तावदेवो देव्या समं पाशकाभिनिवेशी आलिखितः, एषापि ताम्बूलकरण्डवाहिनी नागवल्ली । एषा चामरग्राहिणी प्रभाङ्गिनिका । एष रत्नकरण्डको नाम वामनकः । एष पुनर्मन्दुरामर्कटः टप्परकर्णो नाम ।

**राजा**—सखे ! त्वमेषोऽभिलिखितः ।

**विदूषकः**—(सक्रोधम्) नाहं लिखितुं ज्ञातो ब्राह्मणी जानाति यादृशोऽहं सा मां भणति त्वं प्रत्यक्षो देव इति ।

**राजा**—किमुपवने शुको वदति ?

**विदूषकः**—किमिव ?

**राजा**—अस्ति भवान् देवः किं पुनर्भृङ्गिरितिः ।

**विदूषकः**—को दुर्जनवचनानां कर्णं ददाति (अङ्गुल्या निर्दिशन्) एषा पुनः शोभासमुदयेनोपहसन्तीव काव्यपूर्वा आलिखिता ।

Viddhasālabbhāñjikā, Act I.

1. There are large life-size paintings of the Maharatta Kings in the big court-hall of the palace at Tanjore and also about the corridors of the temple of Subrahmanya in the Bṛhadiśvarālaya.

2. Paintings on the doorway suggested in the verse

ह्रीसरन्निजनिमज्जनोचितं मौल्लिदूरनमनं दधानया ।

द्वारि चित्रयुवातिश्रिया तथा भर्तृद्वृत्तिशतमश्रुतीकृतम् ॥ XVIII, 34.

is confirmed in the verse

पुरे पथि द्वारगृहाणि तत्र चित्राकृतान्युत्सववाञ्छयेव ।

नमोऽपि किमीरमकारि तेषां महीभुजामाभरणप्रभाभिः ॥ X, 31.

3. प्रियं प्रिया च त्रिजगज्यश्रियौ लिखाधिलीलागृहभृति कावपि ।

इति स्म सा कास्वरेण लेखितं नलस्य च स्वस्य च सख्यमीक्षते ॥ I, 38.

This is quite in accordance with the rule of the Viṣṇudharmot-tara which forbids painting pictures for one's own use.<sup>1</sup>

But the following of rules does not seem to be consistent. Śrī Harṣa goes against convention—perhaps convention was given the go by to some extent giving place to imaginative fancy—and describes the sports and amours of sages and anchorites as subjects of fresco paintings on the walls of the *citraśālā* in the palace of Nala. Quite against the rule of the Śilparatna

नम्रं तपस्विलीलां च न कुर्यान्मानुषालये । Citralakṣaṇa, Śl. 10.  
we have the picture of the love of Brahmā blandly given in the  
verse

भित्तिचित्रलिखिताखिलक्रमा यत्र तस्थुरितिहाससंकथाः ।  
पद्मनन्दनसुतारिरंसुतामन्दसाहसहसन्मनोभुवः ॥ XVIII, 20.  
that of Indra in

पुष्पकाण्डजयडिण्डिमयितं यत्र गौतमकलत्रकामिनः ।  
पारदारिकविलाससाहसं देवभर्तुरुदटङ्कि भित्तिषु ॥ XVIII, 21.  
and a general caricature, so to say, of the amours of sages in

नीतमेव करलभ्यपारतामप्रतीर्य मुनयस्तपोऽर्णवम् ।  
अप्सरःकुचघटावलम्बनात्स्थायिना कचन यत्र चित्रिताः ॥ XVIII, 26.  
All these come in fact under the general head 'pictures of a  
general character.'

#### PROCESS

We get a sufficiently detailed and clear conception of the process of picture-making if we put together in a cogent form the various bits of information that Śrī Harṣa has distributed all over his work. In one śloka Śrī Harṣa suggests that the first duty of an artist would be to stow away materials to be ready for use the moment they are required.<sup>2</sup> This is an essentially correct observation since if an artist lacks materials when he is in the mood to work he never can do that work, and what is more, it can almost be expected with certainty that he may not be in the mood to work when he gets them after all. A clean white surface is the next requisite for sketching *i.e.*, a clean draw-

1. चित्रकर्म न कर्तव्यमात्मना स्वगृहे नृप ॥ 1 Viṣṇudharmottara.

2. पूर्णेन्दुबिम्बाननुमासभिन्नानस्थापयत्क्वपि निधाय वेधाः ।

तैरेव शिल्पी निरमादमीषां मुखानि लावण्यमयानि मन्ये ॥ X, 61.

ing without colour, to set off the dark lines forming the picture. This is given in the verse

धौतेऽपि कीर्तिधाराभिश्चरिते चारुणि द्विषः ।

मृषामषीलवैर्लक्ष्म लेखितुं के न शिल्पिनः ॥ XX, 136.

where Śrī Harṣa speaks of a beautiful white surface as attractive enough to invite artists for sketching with ink. The commentary of Nārāyaṇa makes the verse further clear and adds.

अन्येऽपि शिल्पिनो जलधाराक्षालिते रमणीये कुड्यादौ मष्यादि-  
वर्णकैश्चित्रं लिखन्ति ।

Now, this drawing of lines *i. e.*, outline of the picture, is after fixing up of the general proportions indicated by certain preliminary indicative lines going by the name of *Sūtrapātarekhā*. The Sūtras, as we all know, are short pithy epigrams elaborated and explained by means of bigger commentaries. We have almost all the śāstras in India having their basic texts in the form of Sūtras; and the elaborate Vārtikas and Bhāṣyas and numerous commentaries all go to give us their purport. The rule is not different in the case of drawing and painting. We have the sūtra or short guide-lines to be drawn first to be elaborated by subsequent work. It is then that any lay man can identify the figure. Till about that stage it might be difficult and probably almost impossible for even a brother-artist to understand the picture in its fullness. It would be useful here, before proceeding further, to know what we mean by a sketch, since *Sūtrapāta* is after all a preliminary rough hasty sketch—hasty in the sense that it does not take much time to do it, and is not to be confused with slip-shod work, even a sketch being in its own way a careful studied drawing—and for an elucidation of the true import of that word one would do well to refer to what the Encyclopaedia Britannica has to say about it. ‘Sketch (directly adapted from Dutch *Schets*, which was from Ital. *schizzo*, a rough draft \* \* \* \*), a rough or hasty preliminary outline or draft serving as a note or material for a finished work. Though used of literary composition, as for a short slightly constructed play, or of a rapid delineation in words of an event or character, the term is chiefly used of the putting on paper or other material of the immediate impression of an object, figure, landscape, etc., by an artist, or of an artist’s first idea or conception of a work whether in painting or sculpture.’ The sketch is divided by

Ruskin into three types, experimental, determinant and commemorative.<sup>1</sup> The *Sūtrapātarekhā*, though it does not come up to the level of a sketch, can be said to function something like a Determinant sketch. Śrī Harṣa makes mention of this artistic devise in the verse

अपाङ्गमालिङ्ग्य तदीयमुच्चकैरदीपि रेखा जनिताञ्जनेन या ।

अपाति सूत्रं तदिव द्वितीयया वयःश्रिया वर्धयितुं विलोचने ॥

XV, 34.

and is much more informative than Bāṇa<sup>2</sup> on this point. The commentary is as usual quite elucidative.

शिल्पिनश्च किमपि लेखितुं वर्धयितुं वा लिख्यमानस्य वर्धमानस्य वाकारवक्रिमपरिहाराय मषीखटिकाद्युपदिग्धस्य सूत्राभिघातेन रेखापातनं कुर्वन्ति ।

As an example of the *Sūtrapātarekhā* we have one given by Bāṇa—the line that separates the head or rather the neck from the shoulders.<sup>3</sup> We have a much more important *Sūtrarekhā* given by Śrī Harṣa in the verse

गौरीव पत्या सुभगा कदाचित्कर्तेयमप्यर्धतनूसमस्याम् ।

इतीव मध्ये विदधे विधाता रोमावलीमेचकसूत्रमस्याः ॥ VII, 83.

A look at figs. 2, 3, 5 of A. N. Tagore's 'Some Notes on Artistic Anatomy' would elucidate this question of *Sūtrarekhā*. This *Madhyasūtrarekhā*, though quite essential to fix up general proportions in the case of any and every figure, is all the more essential when working the figure of Ardhanaṛiśvara and a sight of this *mūrti*—either a painting or a sculpture—would make the point clear.

Even before marking the *Sūtrapātarekhās* or determining lines that determine the sketch there is the *Hastalekha* or the Experimental sketch. This *Hastalekha* can also be called Practice sketch. It is by drawing some sketches like this preliminarily that the artist can determine how best to compose a

1. Modern Painters, Vol. V, p. 202.

2 वत्सस्य यौवनारम्भसूत्रपातरेखा Kā., p. 466.

नवीनप्रारम्भे शिल्पिभिः सूत्रपातरेखा क्रियते इति सर्वसम्मतम् ।

Commentary on Kā., p. 466.

३ श्रीसरस्वत्योऽरोवदनोपभोगविभागसूत्रेणैव पातितेन शेषेणैव च तदुज्जस्तम्भ-विन्यस्तसमस्तभूमारलब्धविश्रान्तिमुखप्रसुप्तेन हारदण्डेन परिवलितकन्धरम् ।



picture and to balance a group. This *Hastalekha* is alluded to thrice by Śrī Harṣa in the course of his poem—twice in the seventh canto where the verses run :—

पुराकृतिः स्त्रैणमिमां विधातु-

मभूद्विधातुः खलु हस्तलेखः ।

येयं भवद्भाविपुरन्ध्रिसृष्टिः

सास्यै यशस्तज्जयजं प्रदातुम् ॥<sup>1</sup> VII, 15.

and अस्यैव सर्गाय भवत्करस्य

सरोजसृष्टिर्मम हस्तलेखः ।

इत्याह धाता हरिणक्षणायां

किं हस्तलेखीकृतया तयास्याम् ॥ VII, 72.

and again in the twenty first canto in the verse

हस्तलेखमसृजत् खलु जन्मस्थानरेणुकमसौ भवदर्थम् ।

राम राममधरीकृततत्तलेखकः प्रथममेव विधाता ॥ XXI, 69.

The commentary in the former case says

उत्तरशिल्पापेक्षया हस्तलेखस्यातिहीनत्वाद्भैमीजन्मनः पूर्वं यः स्त्रीसमूहो हस्तलेखोऽभूत्स भैम्यपेक्षयातिहीनः, भैमी चातिसुन्दरीति भावः,

under one śloka, and

अन्योऽपि पूर्वं हस्तलेखां करोति पश्चात्सुन्दरतरं वस्तु निर्माति,

under the other, and in the latter case repeats the same idea in the line

उत्तमशिल्पनिर्माणार्थं हि हस्तलेखः पूर्वं क्रियते ।

We have another earlier eminent writer, Dāmodaragupta, talking of a Varṇaka. Though this is not exactly either the *Hastalekha* or the *Sūtrapātarekhā*, it combines in itself the elements of both and is evidently the best and the final *Hastalekha* which determines the nature of the picture to be executed. The verse of Dāmodaragupta wherein the Varṇaka is mentioned

1 Cf. वक्त्रं त्रिदश्या विजितात्मदर्शनिशामणिं प्रेक्ष्य हिरण्यगर्भः ।

सृष्टिं सिसृक्षुः किमहोऽनुरूपां विनिर्मिमीतेऽम्बुजहस्तलेखम् ॥

Hirasaubhāgya, VIII, 157.

The commentary says

हिरण्यगर्भो ब्रह्मा अम्बुजैः सकलकमलकलापैः कृत्वा हस्तलेखम् 'हस्तोलक' इति प्रसिद्धम् । विनिर्मिमीते कुरुते ।

त्रिभुवनपुरनिष्पादनकौशलमिव पृच्छतो विरिञ्चस्य ।

दर्शयितुं निजशिल्पं वर्णकमिव विश्वकर्मणा विहितम् ॥<sup>1</sup>

Kuṭṭanimata, 177.

is explained by the commentary which states—

वर्णकम् अनुकरणार्थं मूलभूतं चित्रम् । उक्तं च—

“रूपातिशयकर्तृणां प्रतिच्छन्दो हि कारणम् ॥” इति ।

Of the Determinant sketches Ruskin says that ‘they are the expression of concluded operations of mind, are drawn slowly, and are not so much sketches as maps.’ Now, Vārāṇasī is so beautiful that it appears, according to Dāmodaragupta, as the plan or rather the map of Viśvakarman on which model the construction of the whole of the world was to be carried out when Brahṁā approved of it. It goes without saying that the skill of the constructor is exhibited therein. Just as maps and plans determine and locate things for us we have similarly the Determinant sketches determining, allocating and balancing the whole picture; and the Varṇaka has almost the same function of fixing up how, where and what to arrange and lay out for the final picture.

The sketch finished, we now go to colours. There is difference of opinion in India regarding the number of primary colours. Some give it as five and some others as only four though both are agreed in regarding white as a separate primary colour quite in opposition to the theory of the West that accepts

1 Cf. अदसीयविलासवत्यभूजसमादेव्यभिधानधारिणी ।

विधिना प्रहितेव वर्णिका त्रिदिवस्त्रैणदिदक्षुभूस्पृशाम् ॥

Hirasaubhāgya, VI, 42.

Cf. कान्तिकाण्डपटगुण्ठिता पुरा व्योमभित्तिमनु वर्णकद्युतिम् ।

तन्वतीस्तदनु भाविताकृतीस्तूलिकोल्लिखितचित्रविभ्रमम् ॥

Dharmaśarmābhayudaya, V. 5.

Cf. अनुभाव्य व्याथां भाविनिरयक्लेशवर्णिकाम् ।

गणरात्रेण तं प्राणाः काङ्क्षितापगमा जहुः ॥ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV, 655.

Cf. दो अङ्गुलअकवालअपिणद्धसविसेसणीलकञ्चुइआ ।

दावोइ थणत्थलवणिअं व तरुणी जुअजणणाम् ॥

[द्वयङ्गुलकपाटकपिनद्धसविशेषनीलकञ्चुकिा ।

दर्शयति स्तनस्थलवर्णिकामिव तरुणी युवजनेभ्यः ॥]

Gāthāsaptasatī, VII, 20.

The word is used both as Varṇaka and Varṇikā.

only three as primary tints. Bāṇa talks of five colours while Śrī Harṣa gives only four as primary ones. This acceptance of four is concurrent with the views of the generality of Śilpa-texts on the subject. The verse of Śrī Harṣa—

विरहपाण्डिम, राग, तमोमयीशितिम्, तन्निजपीतिमवर्णकैः ।

दश दिशः खलु तद्दृग्कल्पयल्लिपिकरी नलरूपकचित्रिताः ॥ IV, 15.

exactly gives a picture of a painter 'lipikarī' at work with the four colours—red, yellow, blue and white on the palette. This same idea of four colours is again echoed, though not so effectively, in another verse

पीतावदातारुणीलभासां देहोपदेहाकिरणैर्मणीनाम् ।

गोरोचनाचन्दनकुङ्कुमैणनाभीविलेपान्पुनरुक्तयन्तीम् ॥ X 97.

White sometimes subdues, softens and more often than not contrasts colours in apposition to it. It is this function of the colour that made its importance felt in the colour scheme; and naturally the Indian artists accepted it as a primary one. The variegated hue 'Citravarṇa' is not stated by name but the mosaic floor that Śrī Harṣa mentions in the verse—

न्यस्य मन्त्रिषु स राज्यमादरादाराराध मदनं प्रियासखः ।

नैकवर्णमणिकोटिकुट्टिमे हेमभूमिभृति सौधभूधरे ॥ VIII, 3.

has that effect only when the colours are viewed collectively in that particular scheme. It is something like a Kaleidoscope, or more graphically to state it, like a Cashmere shawl. It is this shawl, in fact, which is but a minor achievement compared to the other advancements of our artists in the field of art, that wrested such a unique praise from the great and perhaps the only genuine art critic of the nineteenth century, Ruskin, who whenever he found an opportunity to emphasise the beauty of colouring took the Indian shawl or the Chinese vase as the typical example of sublime colouring. 'Conditions of mosaic effect, like that of the colours in an Indian design, unaccomplished by any previous master in painting'<sup>1</sup> is a bit of a statement of his in praise of Indian colouring, design and mosaic effect.

Of course Ruskin is not quite impartial in his judgments and baseless statements of his are not wanting. Great masters like Turner and Hunt with their humility expressed by their speaking

1. Modern Painters, Vol. V, p. 35.

of 'trying to do', 'endeavouring to represent' and 'aiming at it' as opposed to the priggishness of dabblers in art 'ready with admirable reasons for everything they had done' can be compared with the great artists and designers of China or India only if those great masters of the west are also of the school of 'they know not what they do'; but that Ruskin is not prepared to grant but says 'and Turner and all the other men I have known who could paint, always spoke and speak in the same way; not in any selfish restraint of their knowledge but in pure simplicity.' Note the word simplicity. They are full of knowledge and do not wish to hide it, but are merely simple. But this simplicity he is not prepared to grant for others than the Europeans the taken-for-granted civilized people of the world and compliments the Indians and the Chinese for their inimitable work by characterising them as of the 'semi-civilized nations' of the world and by explaining that term much more lucidly by the use of the word, 'a nation half savage'. They are not simple in spite of their civilization but savage without it.

'And this is the reason for the somewhat singular but very palpable truth that the Chinese, and Indians, and other semi-civilized nations, can colour better than we do, and that an Indian shawl and China vase are still in invention of colour, inimitable by us.'<sup>1</sup> Even thus far we have had enough of compliment. Not content with this much he goes a step further and startles us by saying that 'It is their glorious ignorance of all rules that does it.' This is a bit of unwarrantable criticism which has no basis. The greatness of the Indian artists does not lie in their supposed ignorance of rules but only in their real and genuine love of the beauty of nature, their inventive capacity born of a fertile imaginative instinct, coupled with a perfect knowledge of elaborate rules of drawing and colouring—the recorded experience of predecessors—not mandatory in their instructions eternally as a rule, though dictatorial they are occasionally when exigencies require such an attitude on their part, giving free scope for the exhibition of the individual gift of the head and hand in the lines शेषं युक्त्या प्रपूरयेत्.

✓ Sri Harṣa also talks of colour to be laid in its proper place in a picture. The first line of the verse

स्थितिशालिसमस्तवर्णतां न कथं चित्रमयी बिभर्तु या ।

स्वरभेदमुपैतु या कथं कलितानल्पमुखावा न वा ॥ II, 98.

which is to our purpose is explained by the commentator as

अथ च या चित्रमयी लेख्यप्रचुरा सा स्थित्वा परस्परानतिक्रमेण  
शालिनः सर्वे नीलपीतादिवर्णा यस्यां तद्भावं कथं न बिभर्तु, अपितु बिभर्त्वेव ।

This working of colours by adding them on the canvas in their proper places is very essential, at least when the picture is being worked in its preliminary stages of colouring when the effect of one colour over the other, the contrast, the balance, the tone and such other details are to be observed. Touching and blending might come later on in their proper time and place. The Venetian, which is considered the right method of painting, is described by Ruskin in the passage to be quoted and it is not essentially different from the method that Śrī Harṣa has described. 'A light ground, white, red, yellow or grey, not brown or black. On that an entirely accurate, and firm black outline of the whole picture, in its principal masses. The outline to be exquisitely correct as far as it reaches, but not to include small details; the use of it being to limit the masses of first colour. The ground-colours then to be laid firmly, each in its own *proper part* (italics mine) of the picture, as inlaid work in a mosaic table meeting each other truly at the edges as much of each being laid as will get itself into the state which the artist requires it to be in for his second painting, by the time he comes to it. On this first colour, the second colours and subordinate masses laid in due order, now, of course, necessarily without previous outline, and all small detail reserved to the last, the bracelet being not touched, nor indicated in the least, till the arm is finished.'<sup>1</sup>

#### ANATOMY :

Of the so many factors that constitute a picture the one thing that is dealt with at great length by Śrī Harṣa is anatomy and that too feminine, *i.e.*, of the woman. It is the description of Damayantī's beauty that lends itself as a proper medium for the artist-poet's detailed delineation of anatomical rules. There is nothing of the brawn and the bone in it. A graceful portrayal in verse of the delicate curvatures and subtle beauty spots that make up the lovely form of the princess is all that we

get from the pen of Śrī Harṣa. This in fact is the true and correct anatomy of the Indian artist.

Let us now examine each limb by itself. The very minute observation and artistic insight of Śrī Harṣa is best brought out in his description of the face. The forehead is conventionally likened to the *aṣṭamīcandra*, of course reversed; then we have the mouth. The drawing of lines on the lips adds grace to a picture of the mouth; and this is a common experience of the draughtsman and the etcher more than the painter. This is the idea sought to be given by Śrī Harṣa in the verse

विद्या विदर्भेन्द्रसुताधरोष्ठे नृत्यन्ति कल्यन्तरभेदभाजः ।

इतीव रेखाभिरपश्रमस्ताः संख्यातवान् कौतुकवान् विधाता ॥ VII, 41.

and the commentary gives that the lines are

‘रामणीयहेतुभूता रेखाः (अधरोष्ठवर्तिन्यः)’

*i.e.*, beautifiers. The etchings of Durer, Holbein and Rembrandt seem to show traces of this feature; but it would be a dangerous

thing to draw final conclusions from fourth rate reproductions in print. The lip is generally compared to the *Bandhūka-puṣpa*<sup>1</sup> only to emphasise its red tint; but Dr. A. N. Tagore has a picture to compare both the forms. Her nose likened to a *Tilapuṣpa*<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, the sesamum flower, the form of which so closely resembles the olfactory limb of the human being, is best brought home to the reader's mind by a sight of the picture (fig. 1) wherein both the front and three quarters view of both are given for a careful examination. A dimple is generally accepted



Fig. 1

given for a careful examination.

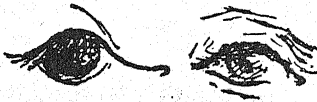
1 बन्धूकबन्धुभवदेतदस्या मुखेन्दुनानेन सहोजिहाना ।

रागाश्रिया शैशवयौवनीयां स्वमाह संध्यामधरोष्ठलेखा ॥ VII, 37.

2 नासादसीया तिलपुष्पतूणं जगत्त्रयव्यस्तशस्त्रयस्य ।

श्वासानिलमोदभरानुमेयां दधाद्विवाणीं कुसुमायुधस्य ॥ VII, 36.

as a beautifying factor whether on the cheek or on the chin. Talking of the beauty of Damayantī and describing her chin Śrī Harṣa mentions it as having a dimple.<sup>1</sup> This necessarily adds to the charm of the face but if overworked it spoils even the little beauty for which its presence can little lay claim. The curvature of the ear proceeding and vanishing in the cavity is specially noted by Harṣa.<sup>2</sup> The ear is a difficult limb for study. The only feature that commonly marks it out is the lobe as also the curvature that loses itself in the earpit. It is by taking there two factors that the ear is taken to resemble a Pāśa. It is, again, a concentration on the form of these two factors that gives the form of the ear-shaped handle of a pitcher. The beautiful eyes of Damayantī are compared to those of a deer<sup>3</sup>. The width and beauty of the eye of the fawn is proverbial. But the one thing to be noted in this comparison is that Śrī Harṣa closely observes and dismisses the long streak proceeding from the root of the eye nearest the nose of the deer as unworthy of the beauty of king Nala<sup>4</sup> and tells by means of a clever pun that this streak distinguishes the eyes of the fawn from his. The reproduction of the eyes of both a human



*Chitramamrita  
30th July '33*

Fig. 2

being and a fawn (fig.2) would make the point clear. Describing the neck, its rotundity and extreme grace enhanced by the three lines—the creases —Śrī Harṣa very rightly remarks that a good deal of the beauty of the upper part of the body depends on

the form of the neck.<sup>5</sup> Her long tresses are given as black and

- 1 विलोकितास्या मुखमुन्नमय्य किं वेधसेयं सुषमासमातौ ।  
धृत्युद्भवा यच्चिबुके चकास्ति तिम्रे मनागङ्गुलियन्त्रणेव ॥ VII, 51.
- 2 इहाविशद्येन पथातिवक्रः शास्त्रौघनिष्यन्दसुधाप्रवाहः ।  
सोऽस्याः श्रवःपत्रयुगे प्रणालीरेखैव धावत्यभिकर्णकूपम् ॥ VII, 62.
- 3 ऋणीकृता किं हरिणीभिरासीदस्याः सकाशान्नयनद्वयश्रीः ।  
भूयोगुणेयं सकला बलाद्यत्ताभ्योऽनयाऽलभ्यत बिभ्यतीभ्यः ॥ VII, 33.
- 4 कृत्वा दृशौ ते बहुवर्णाचित्रे किं कृष्णसारस्य तयोर्मृगस्य ।  
अदूरजाग्रद्विदप्रणालीरेखामयच्छाद्विधिरर्धचन्द्रम् ॥ VIII, 38.
- 5 ग्रीवाद्भुतैवावटुशोभितापि प्रसाधिता माणवकेन सेयम् ।  
आलिङ्गयतामप्यवलम्बमानां सुरुपताभागखिलोर्ध्वकाया ॥ VII, 66.



curly<sup>1</sup> while Nala's locks are extremely fine and of a thick growth.<sup>2</sup> Of the beauty of hair and its importance in a picture sufficient cannot be said. But I just take this opportunity to give out an incident in the life of Bellini that shows the importance attached by artists to a good working of tresses.

"Giovanni Bellini greatly admired Durer's painting, and found his rendering of hair so marvellous that he thought the artist must have a special brush for the purpose. So when Durer visited Venice and in his polite way offered to do anything in his power for Venetian artists, Bellini begged to be given the brush with which he painted hairs. Durer picked up a handful of his brushes and told Bellini to choose any one he wished. "I mean the brush with which you draw several hairs with one stroke" the Venetian explained. Durer smiled and replied: "I use no other than these, and to prove it you may watch me." Then, taking one of the same brushes, he drew "some very long wavy tresses, such as women generally wear." Bellini looked on wonderingly, and afterwards confessed that had he not seen it nothing would have convinced him that such painting was possible."<sup>3</sup>

Thus far about the face. For the rest of the body there are certain important observations of Harṣa worthy of note. The Nitamba *i. e.*, the region of the hips, resembles a wheel *i. e.*, is circular or rather possesses a curvature.<sup>4</sup> But this is conventional and hence a well known comparison as also the nails likened to moons.<sup>5</sup> Of the facts stated that need notice we have it that the Gulpha *i. e.*, ankle, should not

कवित्वगानप्रियवादसत्यान्यस्या विधाता व्यधिताधिकण्ठम् ।

रेखात्रयन्यासमिषादमीषां वासाय सोऽयं विबभाज सीमाः ॥ VII, 67.

1 अस्या यदास्येन पुरस्तिरश्च तिरस्कृतं शीतरूचान्धकारम् ।

स्फुटस्फुरद्भङ्गिकचच्छलेन तदेव पश्चादिदमस्ति बद्धम् ॥ VII, 21.

2 सूक्ष्मे घने नैषधकेशपाशे निपत्य निस्पन्दतरीभवद्भ्रथाम् ।

तस्यानुबन्धं न विमोच्य गन्तुमपारि तल्लोचनखञ्जनाभ्याम् ॥ VIII, 13.

3 Outline of Art by Sir. W. Orpen p. 134.

4 चक्रेण विश्वं युधि मत्स्यकेतुः पितुर्जितं वीक्ष्य सुदर्शनेन ।

जगज्जिगीषत्यमुना नितम्बमयेन किं दुर्लभदर्शनेन ॥ VII, 89.

5 प्रियानखीभूतवतो मुदेदं व्यधाद्विधिः साधुदशत्वमिन्दोः ।

एतत्पदच्छद्मसरागपद्मसौभाग्यभाग्यं कथमन्यथा स्यात् ॥ VII, 106.



be prominent.<sup>1</sup> In the case of some people it can be observed that the heel is not prominent and in such cases the foot is necessarily ugly. The fully developed heel is, according to Śrī Harṣa, a mark of beauty.<sup>2</sup> Fingers he considers lovely when they are long and wiry.<sup>3</sup> Of course no veins should be perceptible since, according to our Śilpa texts, they diminish beauty and ought not to be represented.

#### SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS :

A few more observations and this dissertation is finished. Śrī Harṣa has some artist's notes in his diary so to say and this is best brought home to the reader's mind by a peep into the XVIII canto of the Naiṣadha. Here the palace of Nala is penned in all its glory. The mosaic floor is a noteworthy feature.<sup>4</sup> We have the usual Citraśālā of the royal household.<sup>5</sup> Here we have perhaps the lengthiest description of the Citraśālā in Sanskrit literature. The subjects of frescoes and the pictures in the gallery are all given out in detail.

Inventive skill accounts for originality and variety of design.<sup>6</sup> The Makara design (a figure something like a quaint dragon) is given a prominent place in Patrabhanga.<sup>7</sup> Designs of letters, that

- 1 अरुन्धतीकामपुरन्ध्रिलक्ष्मीजम्भद्विषद्वारनवाम्बिकानाम् ।  
चतुर्दशीयं तदिहोचितैव गुल्फद्वयात्ता यददृश्यसिद्धिः ॥ VII. 98.
- 2 यानेन तन्व्या जितदन्तिनाथौ पादान्जराजौ परिशुद्धपाष्णीं ।  
जाने न शुश्रूषयितुं स्वमिच्छू नतेन मूर्ध्ना कतरस्य राज्ञः ॥ VII, 102.
- 3 एष्यन्ति यावद्गणनाद्दिगन्तान्नुपाः स्मरार्ताः शरणे प्रवेष्टुम् ।  
इमे पदान्जे विधिनापि सृष्टास्तावत्य एवाङ्गुल्योऽत्र लेखाः ॥ VII, 105.  
रज्यन्नखस्याङ्गुलिपञ्चकस्य मिषादसौ हैङ्गुलपञ्चतूणे ।  
हैमैकपुङ्खास्ति विशुद्धपर्वा प्रियाकरे पञ्चशरी स्मरस्य ॥ VII. 70.
- 4 न्यस्य मन्त्रिषु स राज्यमादरादाराराध मदनं प्रियासखः ।  
नैकवर्णमणिकोटिकुट्टिमे हेमभूमिभृति सौधभूधरे ॥ XVIII, 3.
- 5 कुत्रचित् कनकनिर्मिताखिलः कापि यो विमलरत्नजः किल ।  
कुत्रचिद्रचितचित्रशालिकः कापि चास्थिरविधैन्द्रजालिकः ॥  
XVIII, 11.

- 6 स्तनद्वये तन्वि परं तवैव पृथौ यदि प्राप्स्यति नैषधस्य ।  
अनल्पवैदग्ध्यविवर्धिनीनां पत्रावलीनां वलना समाप्तिम् ॥ III., 118
- 7 दलोदरे काञ्चनकेतकस्य क्षणान्मसीभावुकवर्णलेखम् ।  
तस्यैव यत्र स्वमनङ्गलेखं लिखेत् भैमी नखलेखिनीभिः ॥ VI, 63.

form a feature of the two interesting branches of artistic science, Illumination and Calligraphy, is indicated sufficiently as has been noted before. This art of lettering is to-day an important force and the greatest forte of the artistic designer and poster-worker and serves best for advertisements. Old scripts are explored and hunted and new fantastic types created; books are every day coming into the field on the subject and we have such books as "Alphabets", "How to letter", "The Art of Lettering" etc. We have the Black letter and the alphabet of the twelfth century serving very well the purpose of decorative artists. No wonder the Nāgarī script उँ is specially chosen by Śrī Harṣa as a typically artistic letter lending itself to design.

✓ Little need be said of pose. It is an all-accepted important factor in a picture. Śrī Harṣa knows technicalities of various poses as is evidenced by his references to such minor details like the Vṛkṣādhirūḍha and Latāveṣṭitaka—<sup>1</sup> types of embraces described in the Kāmasūtra. The commentary explains these two as two different varieties of graceful embrace.<sup>2</sup> For the fine pose described in the verse ✓

इति स्फुटं तद्वचसस्तयादरात् सुरस्पृहारोपविडम्बनादपि ।

कराङ्गसुतैककपोलकर्णया श्रुतं च तद्भाषितमश्रुतं च तत् ॥ IX, 60.

we have the nearest approach in the figure of Madālasā in Ravi Varma's charming picture of Madālasā-Ṛtudhvaja.

Minor conventions in drapery, colouring, etc., are too numerous to be stated. As a typical instance we have the dress of the

आलिख्य सख्याः कुचपत्रमङ्गीमल्ये सुमध्या मकरिं करेण ।

यत्रालपत्तामिदमालि यानं मन्ये त्वदेकावलिनाकनद्याः ॥ VI, 69.

1 क्रमोद्गता पीवरताधिजङ्घं वृक्षाधिरूढं विदुषी किमस्याः ।

अपि भ्रमीभङ्गिभिरावृताङ्गं वासो लतावेष्टितकप्रवीणम् ॥ VII, 97

2. The Commentary quotes these two slokas to explain them.

‘बाहुभ्यां कण्ठमालिङ्ग्य कामिनी कान्त उत्थिते ।

अङ्गमारोहते यस्य वृक्षारूढः स उच्यते ॥’

and उपविष्टं प्रियं कान्ता मुक्ता वेष्टयते यदि ।

तल्लतावेष्टितं ज्ञेयं कामानुभववेदिभिः ॥’

Abhisārikā stated as dark (blue).<sup>1</sup> This has been echoed in many other places in Sanskrit literature, in the Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa,<sup>2</sup> the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta<sup>3</sup> and the Viddhaśālabhanjikā of Rājaśekhara<sup>4</sup> to name only a few. Though quite by the way it can be noted that the famous picture of the Abhisārikā by Dr. A. N. Tagore reproduced by Mr. P. Brown in his 'Indian Painting' is quite against convention the nāyikā being draped in white when she is going out in a night of the dark fortnight (Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa) when blue is especially worn, the white dress being used on moonlight nights<sup>5</sup>. The spirit of the conception of the Abhisārikā is thus lost in the picture.

A strictly personal experience of a genuine artist, that of nodding one's head in approbation and joy just after a good picture is finished, is mentioned by Śrī Harṣa in his verse

चित्रतत्तदनुकार्यविभ्रमाध्यनेकविधरूपरूपकम् ।

वीक्ष्य यं बहु धुवञ्छिरो जरावातकी विधिरकल्पि शिल्पिराट् ॥

XVIII 12.

The commentary on this verse is so informative that it is worthy of quotation—

1 ध्वान्तैणनाभ्या शितिनाम्बरेण दिशः शरैः सूनशरस्य तारैः ।

मन्दाक्षलक्ष्या निशि मामानिन्दौ सेर्ष्या भवायान्त्यभिसारिकाभाः ॥

XII, 33.

2 उर्वशी—(आत्मानं विलोक्य) सखि, ! रोचते ते मेऽयं मुक्ताभरणभूषितो नीलांशुकपरिग्रहोऽभिसारिकावेषः । Vikramorvaśīya, Act III.

3 तिमिरपटलासिताम्बरमपहरदभिसारिकाजनौषस्य ।

निजतनुकान्तिवितानं वल्लभसंभोगविहितये यत्र ॥ Kuṭṭanīmata, 184.

4 उत्तंसः केकिपिच्छैर्मरकतवलयैः श्यामलैर्दोःप्रकाढे

हारः सान्द्रेन्द्रनीलैर्मृगमदरचिता वक्त्रपत्रप्रपञ्चः ।

नीलान्जैः शेखरश्रीरचितवसनया चेत्यभीकाभिसारे

संप्रत्येनेक्षणानां तिमिरभरसखी वर्तते वेषलीला ॥

Viddhaśālabhanjikā, Act, III, 7.

5 मलयजरसविलिप्ततरतनुनवहारलताविभूषिताः ।

सिततरदन्तपत्रकृतवक्त्ररुचो रुचिरांऽमलांऽशुकाः ॥

शशभृति विततधाम्नि धवलयति धरामविभाव्यतां गताः ।

प्रियवसतिं प्रयन्ति सुखमेव निरस्तभियोऽभिसारिकाः ॥

Kāvya-lamkārasūtravṛtti of Vāmana, IV, iii, 10.

यं सौधं वीक्ष्याश्चर्यातिशयाद्बहु वारं वारं शिरो धुवन् कम्पयञ्जिल्लिपिनामति-  
चमत्कारिनानावस्तुनिर्माणानिपुणानां राट् राजा श्रेष्ठो विधिर्ब्रह्मा विश्वकर्मा वा,  
जरया वृद्धत्वेन वातकी वातरोग्यकल्पि तर्कितो देवादिभिरिति शेषः । किं  
भूतम्—चित्र आलेख्ये चित्राण्याश्चर्यरूपाणि वा तेषां तेषामनुकार्याणामभिनेयानां  
देवर्षिमुन्युष्यादीनां विभ्रमं विलासं विशिष्टां तत्तद्भ्रान्तिं विधायीन्युत्पादयन्त्येवं-  
भूतानि शुक्लीलपीतादिवर्णवशात् काष्ठपाषाणरूप्यस्वर्णादिघटितत्वाद्धानेकविध-  
रूपाणि नानाप्रकारस्वरूपाणि रूपकाणि प्रतिमा यत्र । चित्रमाश्चर्यं तन्वन्ति  
विस्तारयन्ति चित्रयन्ति तादृशानीति पूर्ववत् । अचेतनास्वलीकास्वपि प्रतिमासु  
चेतनत्वादिभ्रमोत्पादिनिर्माणनैपुण्याद्भुतभरकम्पितशिराः शिल्पिराडपि ब्रह्मा  
विश्वकर्मा किमयं जरया निमित्तोद्भूतवाताधिप्रचलितप्रीव इत्युत्प्रोक्षित इत्यर्थः ।  
रमणीयतमोऽयमिति भावः ।

This being a common feature or rather a trait of artists we have similar statements occurring elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. Kṣemendra has a passage in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* that refers to this feature of a pleasant nod

सोऽपि तां चिरमालोक्य लावण्यमणिपुत्रिकाम् ॥

ययौ विलोलयन् मौलिं रूपातिशयविस्मितः ।

प्रविष्टामिव तद्वक्त्रे कर्षन्निव शनैर्दृशम् ॥ IX, 1121, p. 377

Thus in fact there is practically a considerable volume of information about art in the *Naiṣadhiyacarita*. But this in no way can be said to exhaust all that Śrī Harṣa has to say on the subject. We have references to mechanical dolls<sup>1</sup> moving and working as perhaps the newly invented scientist's doll (machine man) of the twentieth century does. It is only to be regretted that more works of his are denied to us. Let us hope that years to come would bring out of unransacked libraries the long-lost works of this able master.

<sup>1</sup> भित्तिगर्भग्रहगोपितैर्जनैर्यः कृताद्भुतकथादिकौतुकः ।

सूत्रयन्त्रजविशिष्टचेष्टयाश्चर्यसज्जिवहुसालभञ्जिकः ॥ XVIII, 13.

# NĀRTTĀMALAI AND ITS TEMPLES

BY

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AND

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*Pudukōṭah*

PART I

## HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Nārttāmalai is now an obscure village in the Pudukōṭah state; it is situated in a valley encircled by eight low hills, about two miles and a half from the Railway Station of the same name on the South Indian Railway and eleven miles and a half-north-west of the town of Pudukōṭah. Today it is famous for the very modern Māriyamman shrine. But the cave-temples, and the group of structural temples in Mēla-Malai, the Kaḍambūr shrine in Kaḍambūr-Malai, and the Jain (Aruhar) temple in a natural cavern on the Āḷurutti-Malai are of great antiquity and importance; and they are discussed in the following pages.

**ORIGIN OF THE PLACE:**—The Pudukōṭah Gazetteer refers to the Sthalapurāṇa of Peruṅgaḷūr, according to which the place-name Nārttāmalai is said to be derived from the sage Nārada; but this is evidently a late fabrication. The present name is perhaps a popular rendering of Nagarattār-Malai,<sup>1</sup>—the name by which it was known in ancient times. Probably, this place was a settlement of a commercial community.

**THE ABODE OF THE JAINS:**—At the dawn of the historical period in Southern India, we find the Jains living in natural caverns and excavated caves on hills, far from busy centres. The Jains, then, were in the habit of living in inaccessible hills, and Nārttāmalai must have been one of the early abodes of the Jain community. One of the two caves (Cave No. 1 in the plan) in

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<sup>1</sup> See 922 of Pudukōṭah list.

the Mēla-Malai is even now called Śamaṇa-Kuḍagu, and the hill itself is called Śamaṇa-Malai. There is another Jain shrine in the Āḷuruṭṭi-Malai in whose natural cavern there is seen today "a Jaina broken figure inside and a couple of Jaina images with triple umbrellas outside, cut in the cleft of an overhanging boulder." In an inscription of the 27th Year of Kulōttuṅga III, there is a reference to the existence of a shrine of Aruha Dēvar on the *Tirumāṇai*-Malai; it mentions a gift of lands to the Śiva temple as *dēvadāna* by the Nagarattār of the place, and the lands (two mā) belonging to the same Jaina temple which were within the specified boundary of the gift, were excluded from the sale, and its rights of ownership were recognised and respected.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that this Jain shrine is the one on the Āḷuruṭṭi-Malai.

The editor of the Pudukōṭah Gazetteer holds that "the Jains fled to this city of refuge in the time—about 800 A. D.—of the Hymnologist Sambanda, and further the hunted race found an asylum and a home, and derived support from the ruling princes. Here, the persecuted men built temples to their Gods, established monasteries, taught (in) Schools and popularised a culture which, though unworldly in the extreme, worked as a leaven of refinement among the people with whom they came in contact. And these statements are made on the authority of the local inscriptions."<sup>2</sup>

We do not agree with the editor about the date of Sambanda whom he post-dates by about two centuries. Further, there is absolutely no warrant, from local inscriptions, for the statement that the Jains came to this place at the time of their persecution by Sambanda. Here, as elsewhere, the Jain community must have been in possession of these natural caverns much earlier than the days of Sambanda. We need not deny the possibility of some Jain immigration into this region during, and subsequent to, the period of the so-called persecution of Sambanda; but there is no evidence of it.

**PALLAVA RULE:**—Pallava rule seems to have been extended at least as far as Nāttāmalai, if not further south. The

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1. "Iyvūr tirumāṇai-malai Aruhar-dēvarkku puṇakkaraiyil nilam iraṇḍu māvam nikki marṇappērpattadam viṇṇukuḍuttu koṇḍa pañcaśalāgai accu 130½." No. 158 of Pudukōṭah list.

2. Pudukōṭah Gazetteer, p. 505.

cave-temples of Kuḍimiyāmalai, Śittanāvāśal, Tirugōkarṇam, and other places in the Kuḷattūr Tāluk of the Pudukōṭah state have traces of Pallava lordship over this region. There is here an inscription of the later Pallava king, Kō-Vijaya Nṛpatuṅga Vikrama, in the 7th year of whose reign a rock-cut cave-temple dedicated to Lord Śiva was scooped out in the Mēla-Malai.

Since the 9th century A. D. the region of the Pudukōṭah state formed the bone of contention between the kingdoms of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. And the local chiefs, like those of Koḍumbālūr, who ruled over this region paid obedience alternately to each of them according to the relative strength of the two parties.

**CŌḶA CONQUEST:**—In the middle of the ninth century A. D., the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya House brought this region under their control. The group of structural shrines on the Mēla-Malai were most probably constructed in the days of Vijayālaya, and the temple of Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram, mentioned in an inscription of the 12th year (11th year *plus* 1) found on the southern face of the rock on the north-eastern side of cave No. 1 must be no other than this group of shrines.<sup>1</sup>

Most probably in the early years of Rājarāja I, another temple called the Tirumalaik-Kaḍambūr—devar temple came into existence at the base of the Kaḍambūr hill.<sup>2</sup>

An inscription of the 28th year of Rājarāja I<sup>3</sup> gives the place the status of a *nagaram*, and it is renamed “Teluṅga-Kulakālapuram;”<sup>4</sup> and is described to be in Anṇal-vāyil-kūrṇam, in Kōṇāḍu

1. See *infra* for the reasons as to the identification of this group of shrines as the Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvaram temple.

2. The earliest inscription found in this temple (No. 86 of the Pudukōṭah list) is one of the 22nd year of Rājarāja I. Hence the temple must have been in existence in 1007 A. D. How long before we cannot say. Any how the architectural features of this temple do not militate against its being assigned to the age of Rājarāja I.

3. No. 91 of the Pudukōṭah List.

4. The title of Teluṅga-Kula-kāla might have been assumed by Rājarāja after his victory and capture of Bhīma Nṛpa, the Teluṅga Cōḷa king who had been in possession of a part of the Eastern Cāḷukya country.

See Conjeevaram Inscription of Rājarāja I.E.I. XXI, part I.



included in Kēraḷāntaka Vaḷanāḍu, so named after another title of Rājarāja I.

In the days of Rājendra II, the Vaḷanāḍu is renamed 'Raṭṭa-pāḍi Koṇḍa Cōḷavaḷanāḍu'<sup>1</sup>, which thereby brings out the achievement of this king, *viz.*, his victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, the Lord of Irattapāḍi 7½ lakhs.

There is a stray reference to the construction of a Viṣṇu shrine in the 45th year of Kulōttuṅga I, the first ruler of the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya line; and in spite of the absence of their records in this locality it seems likely that the successors of Kulōttuṅga I held sway over this much-disturbed region.

In the latter part of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, we find the place described as Teluṅga-Kula-kālapuram *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Cōḷa-paṭṭinam<sup>2</sup> (or puram), evidently after the name of the king, and the name of the Vaḷanāḍu is changed into Kōṇāḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgai-koṇḍa Cōḷa-Vaḷanāḍu, after one of the titles of Kulōttuṅga III<sup>3</sup>.

The frequent wars of Kulōttuṅga III with the Pāṇḍyan king, the great triumph and darbar he held about the 30th year of his reign to celebrate his victory and his assumption of the title of *Tribhuvana-vīra-dēva* must have struck the imagination of the people of this locality; and the local inscriptions bear ample testimony to an exceptional outburst of communal activity unsurpassed in the annals of the place. By the side of the large gifts made by devotees to the Lord of Kaḍambūr-Malai, then probably the only Hindu deity of importance in the place, we learn that there also flourished a Jain shrine on the Tirumāṇa(i)-Malai (Āḷuruttī-Malai) to which a gift of land as *paḷḷiccandam* is said to have been made, as late as the 13th century. This affords strong proof that the persecution of the Jains in the days of Sambanda, if it was a fact, was not so completely successful as is sometimes held, and that Jainism survived and enjoyed public patronage and State support down to the first quarter of the 13th century. It has been pointed out that the austere life of the monks and nuns, the devotion of lay people to the Holy Order, the good organization and the inflexible conservatism of the small Jain commu-

1. No. 113 of Pudukōṭah list—5th year.

2. 37th year of the king; No. 170 of the Pudukōṭah list.

3. 29th year of the king; No. 161 of the Pudukōṭah list.



nity were responsible for the survival of this religion, much to the chagrin of the followers of its rival, the Buddhist religion.<sup>1</sup>

Kings like Kulōttuṅga III and Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1216 A. D.) granted freedom of worship to the followers of other religions, and this forms a highly commendable feature of their rule.

**PĀṇḍYAN CONQUEST:**—After the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, the Cōlas fell; and this region was conquered by the Pāṇḍya ruler Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. We have here his inscriptions from his 9th to his 12th regnal year. It is likely that Rājendra III recovered this region for a time, as attested by an interesting but incomplete inscription in his 7th regnal year. It refers to a gift of tax-free land (*Iraiṇi*) as carpenter's emoluments (wages) (*ācārya dakṣiṇai*) in favour of a certain Pōrēṇu Śemaṇ *alias* Akalaṅka Āśāri and his father, who carried out the repairs and the work of constructing the shrines of Kaṇambūr-Īśvara, Tiruvāṇaikkāvudaiyār and Tirukkōyil of—Nācciyār.<sup>2</sup>

**VIJAYANAGAR RULE:**—After the decline of the Pāṇḍyas, the region passed under the rule of the Vijayanagar emperors. We have in this place only an inscription of Dēvarāya II<sup>3</sup> dated Śaka 1353 (A. D. 1431), though there are clear indications otherwise of the region having been conquered by the earlier rulers of his dynasty.

The latest inscription, dated Śaka 1781 (1857 A. D.), records that the water of the Talavaraśiṅgam<sup>4</sup> in Mēla-Malai was baled out, and that, under the spiritual guidance of their Guru, Śrī Śivarāmasvāmi, Rāmacandra Toṇḍaimāṇ and his queen Jānaki Bāi Śāppu—worshipped the Jvaraharēśvara liṅga consecrated under the water.

**THE NAGARAM:**—We may now examine the working of the Assembly of the Nagarattār of this place since the days of Rājārāja I. The earliest reference to the Nagarattār is found in an incomplete inscription of the 28th year of Rājārāja I. What the exact significance of Nagaram is we cannot say at present.

1. See Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

2. No. 200 of the Pudukōṭah list.

3. No. 702 of the Pudukōṭah list.

4. No. 889 of the Pudukōṭah list.

It is very likely that it represented a settlement of a commercial community<sup>1</sup> and a distinct unit of local administration.

The Nagarattār enjoyed, like other corporate bodies, the right to receive gifts for temples and manage them, to exempt lands from taxes (*Irūyiliccuḱkoḱuttōm*). The deeds of sale, transfer, exemption of dues were done by the Assembly, and the relevant documents were ordered to be engraved on temple-walls under instructions from Nagarattār (*Kalvēttikkōḱuttōm it Teluṅga-Kula-kāla-purattu nagarattōm*) the *Madhyastha* wrote the document, and it was attested by the leading members chosen perhaps in some representative character.

An inscription of the 37th year of Tribhuvana-Vira-dēva (*i. e.* Kulōttuṅga III) records the sale of land as a *dēvadāna* by the Nagarattār in favour of two merchant-residents of the place for 68,000 *kāṣu*.

The record is as follows:—

“We the Nagarattōm of Teluṅga-kula-kāla-puram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōla-paṭṭiṇam in Irattapādikoṇḁa-Cōla-vaḷanāḁu have made a gift of the lands specified below as a “*dēvadāna* whose tenants cannot be evicted”—*Kuḁinṅgā dēvadānamāga*—in favour of Kuḁambaṅ Periyaṅ *alias* Danapālaṅ of Parambur and Oḁaiyāṅ Periyāṅ *alias* Periyadēvar of Paḷuvūr.”

Then the boundaries of the lands are detailed:

“The tanks, (wet) fields, dry lands (*puñja*) etc. included within the said boundaries are hereby sold as ‘*kuḁinṅgā dēvadāna*’ for 68,000 *kāṣu*. As we have received direct, the said amount of 68,000 *kāṣu*, we hereby declare that the lands within the specified boundaries are transferred subject to the rights of gift and sale. The *irai*, *kuḁimai* and other royal dues in respect of these lands shall be borne by the Nagaram itself (*irvayal nōkki vanda ulaguḁaiya nāyaṅār tiruvāśālāl vanda irai kuḁimai marṛum eḱ-ḱērppaṭṭaṇavum nagarattukkē paramāvitāgavum*). The said Paḷuvūruḁaiyāṅ Uḁaiyāṅ Periyāṅ *alias* Periya dēvar who has taken half of these lands shall give 30 *kalams* of paddy for service to the Lord of dance (*Naṭarāja*) in the temple of Tirukkaḁambūr

1. cf. (i) *Nagaram*—Kāñcīpuram in Eyirkōṭṭam in Jayaṅḁa-Cōla-maṇḁalam.

(ii) *Nagaram*—Māmallapuram *alias* Jananāthapuram in Āmūr Nāḁu in Jayaṅḁa-Cōla maṇḁalam.

(iii) No. 285 of Pudukōṭah list, which refers to a general assembly of *nāḁu*, *nagaram*, *grāmam*, *vanniyar*, and *paḁaiḱparṛu*.

Nāyaṇār, and Kaṭamban Periyān *alias* Danapālan, who has received the other half of the said lands, shall pay 30 *kalams* of paddy to Śrī Kayila Uḍaiya-nāyaṇār Tiruvāṇaik-kavuḍaiyār Nāyaṇār.

Thus the quantity of 60 *kalams* had to be paid only in case a full harvest (*nel aruṇpaḍiṇ kalamum puravu aḍaṅga viḷaiyil alaṇṇpārkaḷāgavum*). The said quantity of 60 *kalams* shall be paid according to the standard measure called the *Tiruc-cūlakkāl*. In case of failure of crops, the levy shall be fixed at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *kalams* per *mū*. (*māttāl iru kalanēy tūṇiṇṇpaddakkāl vanda nel alaṇṇpārkaḷāgavum*). As these lands on the outer limits of this *nagaram* are of the lowest grade (*innagarattu ellaippuravāy-kaḍaittaramādalāl*) this rate shall prevail as long as the sun and the moon endure.

In this way have we, the Nagarattār of Teluṅga-kula-kālapuram *alias* Kulōttuṅga Cōla-paṭṭiṇam, agreed to have the deed engraved on stone in favour of the two persons Uḍaiyān Periyān *alias* Periyadēvar and Kaṭamban Periyān *alias* Danapālan.

This is the signature of Marudūr Uḍaiyān Periyān Māṇikka-jōti who is the accountant of this *nagaram* and who wrote this document—in accordance with the command of this Assembly of the *nagaram*. (*innagaram paṇikka ikkal veḷṭuṇṇpamāṇam eluḍiṇēṇ*). The document ends with the signature of three attestors.

The document is a clear proof of the sense of equity and responsibility evinced by local bodies in the management of their affairs.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the 'Nagaram' seems to have been degraded to the rank of 'Ūr'<sup>1</sup> which was a smaller unit of local administration. The 'Ūr' might have functioned alongside the Nagaram. Or it is possible that the prosperity of the place was affected by the migration of the commercial community.

And we learn that in the 6th year of Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya (*ucc.* 1315 or 1357?) the Ūrōm of this place, the Sthānat-

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1. No. 521. The text runs thus: (ll. 4-5) *Nagaram Teluṅga kula-kāla-puramāna Kulottuṅga Cōla paṭṭanattu-ūrāga isaiṇda ūrōmum*; 134. *Nagarattūrāga isaiṇda ūrōmum*. Also No. 702, *iṇvūrāga isaiṇda ūravārōm*.

tār of the 30 *vaṭṭams* of the temple of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr, the temple servants of Ādi-Canḍēśvara, and the accountants of the temple met in full in the *Maṇḍapam* and made grants of land to 10 *dēvaraḍiār* for service in the temple.<sup>1</sup>

In śaka 1353, the middle of the 15th century, in the reign of Dēvarāya of Vijayanagar, we find the Ūrōm and the temple servants of the place meeting in full in the Vīra Pāṇḍyan Tirumaṇḍapam and making a gift of land as *sarvamānyam* (free from royal and local dues) for the performance of certain services to the temple. This is the last mention of the functioning of the local assembly of this place, whose chequered history extending over a period of nearly four centuries and a half, we have sketched above.

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1. No. 621 of the Pudukōṭah list.

## NĀṬYA DHARMĪ AND LOKA DHARMĪ.

(Idealism and Realism of Bharata's Stage.)

BY

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Bharata gives in his brief enumeration of the eleven topics of the Nāṭya Śāstra a topic called Dharmī.

रसा भावा ह्यभिनया धर्मवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ।

सिद्धिः स्वरास्तथातोद्यं गानं रङ्गश्च सङ्ग्रहः ॥ N. S. VI, 10.

This 'Saṁgraha' is elaborated in a Kārikā and Bharata says that this Dharmī is of two kinds, Loka-dharmī and Nāṭya dharmī.

लोकधर्मो नाट्यधर्मो धर्मीति द्विविधः[धा] स्मृतः[ता] । *Ibid.*, VI, 25.

The topic is taken up for further elaborate treatment in Chapter XIV, after the explanation of the two subjects called Kakṣyā-vibhāga and Pravṛtti. Elsewhere also, while dealing with other subjects like Bhāṣā or speech and Nepathya or dress, Bharata speaks of these two Dharmīs, Nāṭya dharmī and Loka-Dharmī.

Though the word is generally given as Dharmī in the feminine gender, we also find in the text of Bharata the masculine form Nāṭyadharmā.

वेषभाषाश्रयोपेताः नाट्यधर्ममवेक्ष्य तु ।

N. S. XXIII, 88;

XXIII, 81; XXIV, 285 etc.

The form in the masculine gender is sufficiently expressive and that in the feminine gender is perhaps a result of the rather careless Naṭaparibhāṣā, the actors' jargon. Rāhula, as found in a verse of his, quoted by Abhinava, uses the masculine form.

परोक्षेऽपि हि वक्तव्यो नार्या प्रत्यक्षवत् प्रियः ।

सखी च नाट्यधर्मोऽयं भरतेनोदितं द्वयम् ॥

p. 172, Gaek. Edn., N. S.,

The word 'Dharma' is used by Abhinava also but the Daśa-rūpaka and the Avaloka upon it use the word in the neuter gender.

“अन्यान्यपि नाट्यधर्माणि etc.” p. 41.

The word Dharma means attribute or characteristic. Loka dharmī and Nāṭya dharmī generally mean qualities pertaining to Nature or world and to the Stage respectively. The two may be rendered as 'World-ways' and 'Stage-ways', which refer respectively to elements of Realism and elements of Idealism. In Tamil Literature we have two words corresponding to Loka dharmī and Nāṭya dharmī *viz.*, Ulaka vaḷakku (உலக வழக்கு) and Nāṭaka vaḷakku (நாடக வழக்கு). The Tolkāppiyam speaks of these two Vaḷakkus or Dharmīs in Sūtra 53, Ahattiṇai-y-iyal, Poruḷatikāram. Nāṭya dharmī can be likened to what is more generally known in the field of poetry as Kavi samaya. There is no harm in taking Nāṭya dharmī as Nāṭya samaya or the Samaya of the dramatist-poet, the producer or Sūtradhāra and the actors; but one has to understand that Nāṭya dharmī or Kavi naṭādi samaya is not mere crude convention but is an imaginative handling and beautification of the things of the world.

Drama is defined as representation of the action and moods of men and other beings, inhabiting the three worlds. When the vast and varied universe is represented, the media through which the representation is achieved impose certain conditions and limitations. These limitations are overcome by imagination which has its own way of achieving the effect of emotional infection of the spectator. The stage which is a small square of some yards of space, language which is a poor vehicle of thought and emotion and human action which alone the actors can do and by which the actor has to represent abstractions and supernatural conditions—these call forth a new kind of art-reality, giving full play to an artist's imagination. The success is not achieved through what strikes the eye, the spectacular, but by suggesting things to the spectator, whose imagination is also afforded ample scope for play. Further, things on the stage are more pointed and poignant. It is only very rarely that we say of incidents in the world that they are dramatic. The long course of an action is briefly and powerfully brought out by a selection of the most emphatic incidents. The scattered rays are gathered into an

intensity which can be shown only by very powerful means of expression and symbolic suggestion to the imagination and not by the weak ways of the world.

Aristotle says that tragedy should be in "language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament", language "into which rhythm, harmony and song enter, some parts being rendered through the medium of verse alone, others again with the aid of songs." Sanskrit drama of the heroic type follows what Aristotle lays down regarding Greek Tragedy. The language of the poet-dramatist is highly rhythmical and musical; the language grows like a creeper, its emotional climaxes breaking into more musical clusters of verses. Whether it is in prose or verse, dramatic language has to be the more keen speech of a poet; and Sanskrit criticism considers drama also as Kāvya or poetry, there being in Sanskrit no word except Kavi, poet, to denote a dramatist. The stale criticism that speech in a drama can never be natural if it is in verse falls flat on the ears of the Sanskrit Sahṛdaya. For him, there has to be a powerful suggestion and a vivid realisation of a Rasa, revealed through a personality and its action. Anything helping that suggestion of Rasa, even a subtle sound effect in the rhythmic speech of the character, is good. Even in the West there are writers who voice forth the plea for the 'poetic drama' and their 'protest against the conventions of the naturalistic theatre, which tend to reduce dramatic dialogue to the level of reporting.' Says Ashley Dukes in his book on Drama: "Of the hundred speeches, long and short, that he must deliver in the course of the evening, how many are rhythmically and dramatically expressive? Of how many do we feel that they could be written and spoken in one way and no other? How many will be accurately remembered by the listener? . . . . . The actor seeks for the pointed word, the crystalline word, the lyrical word, the inevitable word. Can the naturalistic drama offer these? Seldom indeed." These remarks on the power of spoken word in the drama do not mean that drama must become rhetorical and a thing of study, a Śravyakāvya instead of being pre-eminently a Drśyakāvya. Bharata cautions the writer against affected, over-ornamented, and ornate language. He says that words should be sublime and sweet, above all appropriate to and fully expressive of the ideas; they should be soft and graceful, for drama is an artistic production, a thing of beauty; expressions



should be such as are capable of being easily rendered into action.

उदारशब्दैर्मधुरैः कार्यास्तेऽर्थवशानुगाः । N. S. XVII, 120

मृदुललितपदार्थं गूढशब्दार्थहीनं

बुधजनमुखयोग्यं बुद्धिमन्तुत्तयोग्यम् । *Ibid.* 123.

चेक्रीडितावैः शब्दैस्तु काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति ये ।

वेश्या इव न शोभन्ते कमण्डलुधरैर्द्विजैः ॥ *Ibid.* XXI, 130-1.

Ānandavardhana also, more than once, points out in his Dhvanyāloka that too much of Alamkāras and long compounds have to be avoided especially in drama which is intended for action. Thus the poet has to steer clear of the two extremes of ornateness and insipidness. A powerful poetic language is a necessity and it is a Nāṭya dharmī. Loka dharmī in speech is naturalistic prose and prosaic speech. To an extent the Loka dharmī speech has its place in social plays like Prakaraṇa, Prahāsana and Bhāṇa. In the exalted type of Nāṭaka and even in the powerful emotional situations of the purer (Śuddha) variety of Prakaraṇa the language has to be exalted and poetic, when alone it will be powerful.

The next Nāṭya dharmī is music. Sanskrit Drama, as can be seen from the text of Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra and from a fortunate survival of the operatic stage-edition of Act IV of the Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa, was operatic in character. So was all Indian drama, as can be verified by the survivals of the various cognate provincial vernacular theatres of India. Besides the musical Vācika, there was actual singing. In addition to the singing of the actors themselves, there was a kind of external suggestive music. This was Dhruvāgāna. When each character entered, a Prāveśikī dhruvā or an entrance song was sung, in which the character, his mood, the scene of action and other conditions were given to the spectator's mind in symbolical language and in the tune of the song. These Dhruvās were of five kinds, appearing at the entrance of a character, at his exit, and at various points during his stay on the stage. In the beginning of the 29th chapter, Bharata points out the various musical tunes (Jātis) suited to the different Rasas, and while commenting upon it, Abhinava quotes long extracts from Sage Kaśyapa's music treatise on the subject of the various musical tunes suited to the



infinitely varying emotional situations. It is as an ancillary of Nāṭya or dramatic representation that music or Saṁgīta is treated of by Bharata. The most powerful aspect of the Vācīkābhīnaya-portion of a drama is music.

स्वरालङ्कारसंयुक्तं \* \* \* नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता । N. S. XV, 73.

“वाक्याभिनये केवलवाक्योच्चारणं लोकधर्मी; रागयुक्तवाक्योच्चारणं नाट्यधर्मी ।” Kallinātha S. R. Vyā. p. 629.

There is no necessity that the dramatic art must present natural conditions. The following remarks of Goethe on this point of music in drama must be noted.<sup>1</sup> In the Critisms, Maxims, and Reflections of Goethe (Scott Library Edn.) there is a dialogue on the truth and probability of works of art, between a spectator and an artist's advocate. This imaginary dialogue contains some analysis of the nature of stage-reality and spectator's experience, though it is not so much as found in the theories of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Tota, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, and Abhinavagupta. Goethe touches the Nāṭya dharmī of music in drama which the interlocutor criticises as ‘improbable’.

“But if the good folk on the stage meet and salute each other in singing; if they announce the messages they receive and divulge to us their love, their hatred, and all their other passions, and fight and expire, all the while singing to us : how can you maintain that the whole representation or even a portion of it, appears true—nay, I may say, bears even a semblance of truth ?  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And yet you would derive full enjoyment and satisfaction from it.”

Goethe replies : “It is only to the entirely uncultured spectator that a work of art can appear as a work of nature.” He adds that it is the uncultured lover of art who demands that the work should be natural, so that he too may be enabled to enjoy it in a

1. In the September 1933 issue of the *International Review of Educational Cinematography* a writer, by name R. Assagioli, has discussed music in relation to the moving and talking picture. He says that music is a necessity and that without it, “purely visual spectacles cannot yield equally strong psychic vibrations, but leave rather a feeling of incompleteness, almost of emptiness, as if a third dimension were missing, a ‘depth’ not spatial, but ‘vital and psychological’”. (p. 590.)

natural, yet often crude and vulgar way. He divides the spectators into two classes, the cultured and the amateur ; the former enjoys a piece of art on grounds of ' its own laws ' and according to its own properties, while the latter demands things on the stage to be natural.

While Bharata took great care to secure appropriate dressing and make-up to suit the infinitely varying conditions obtaining in the world, he dispensed with scene. No doubt, a little bit of stage-material in the shape of fictitious animals to be introduced, he gave as part of his Āhāryābhinaya. Certain kinds of Pusta and Sañjiva (Chap. XXIII. N. S.) refer to such materials. But of materials for erecting on the stage the scenic situation of an act, Bharata had no need. He resorted to Nāṭya dharmī and sought the imagination of the theatre-artists and the spectators to dispense with these realistic trappings. First, the text of the speech itself was sufficiently informing ; second, the convention called Kakṣyā vibhāga or apportioning of the several parts of the stage for several geographical regions (Chap. XIV. Śls. 1-32.) suggested the scenic situation :

यश्च कक्ष्याविभागोऽयं नानाविधिसमाश्रितः ।

रङ्गपीठगतः प्रोक्तो नाट्यधर्मी तु सा भवेत् ॥ N. S. XIV, 79;

third, the Prāveśikī and other Dhruvās of the Dhruvā gāna above referred to gave the details of the entering and disappearing characters, their moods, the places which they came to and went to. Such dramatic presentation is not defective and from the point of view of the end to be achieved *viz.*, emotional infection and Rasa-realisation preceded by a complete understanding of what is presented, experience of witnessing the surviving traditional dramas of the Indian open-air Theatre proves that the presentation is never less successful than a modern production with elaborate scenic fittings. For, as Ashley Dukes says in an essay on ' Words in the Theatre ' in his book on ' *The World to Play With* (p. 77) " In the very effort of the actor's creation of another world, without external aids, there is a special appeal." He illustrates the point by an instance : " Workers in the theatre know that rehearsals are often more satisfying, in an emotional sense, than full-dress performances. Especially this is true of the rehearsals of verse or imaginative drama." Further Bharata says that it is impossible to reproduce nature completely, detail

by detail. It is positive folly to attempt at such realistic effects. G.B. Shaw has these wise remarks on the subject in his preface to his *St. Joan*: (P. LVIII.)

“The experienced knights of the blue pencil, having saved an hour and a half by disembowelling the play, would at once proceed to two hours in building elaborate scenery, having real water in the River Loire and a real bridge across it and staging an obviously sham fight for possession of it, with the victorious French led by Joan on a real horse. The coronation would eclipse all previous theatrical displays . . . . . The Joan would be burnt on the stage . . . . . The intervals between the acts whilst these splendours were being built and then demolished by the stage carpenters would seem eternal, to the great profit of the refreshment room bars.” Ashley Dukes also expresses himself similarly in his ‘Drama’ (p. 136): “But the symbols of the theatre can never be other than theatrical. Every endeavour to make them ‘real’ reverses the actor’s natural purpose by creating a world of sham reality from the world of appearance. The presence of real donkeys or cascades of real water on the stage gives pleasure to large audiences, but it can scarcely be said to diminish the theatricality of a performance.” Bharata says that drama is different from the world; and such things as palaces, houses and vehicles cannot be had in reality on the stage.

प्रासादगृहयानानि नाट्योपकरणानि च ।

न शक्यानि तथा कर्तुं यथोक्तानीह लक्षणैः ॥

लोकधर्मी भवेत्वन्या नाट्यधर्मी तथापरा । XXIII, 192-3.

The Sanskrit poet revelled in ideas and gave imaginative personifications to abstract concepts and introduced them as part of the *dramatis personæ*. The very imagery and symbology of the purāṇas, which describe superman, demigod, god, demon, and other beings not met with in our world have their *Kālā dharmī*; they are given symbolical and suggestive shapes and when these are portrayed in painting, made in stone, described in poetry or represented on the stage, the artist observes the rules of the texts which describe their shapes and nature. When Hanumān flies over the sea to Laṅkā, mount Maināka appears as a Mahāpuruṣa; in the Uttara-rāmacarita, the rivers appear as divine damsels; when a sculptor has to produce Gaṅgā, he will

not cut a fissure in the rock and leave the rest to the monsoon to give the appearance of a falling river but will carve out the image of goddess Gaṅgā as described in mythological, religious, and art texts ; similarly when Rāma gets angry at the ocean, the poet describes the Samudra rāja running up to Rāma, with the two great rivers as his two consorts on either side ; in the Dūta vākya (T. S. S.), the ' arms ' of God Viṣṇu, the conch, the disc, the mace, and sword are all introduced in animated forms ; the deserted and dilapidated city of Ayodhyā appears as the Devatā of that city in a dejected mood before king Kuśa in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa ; Abhinava points out that in the drama Māyā-  
puspaka, ' a curse ', ' Brahma Śāpa ', enters as a terrible figure. (Abhi. Bhā. Vol. II. p. 358, Mad. Ms.) Such personification, as far as drama is concerned, is called Nāṭya dharmī. Says Bharata:

शैलानविमानानि चर्मवर्मयुधध्वजाः ।

मूर्तिमन्तः प्रयुज्यन्ते नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ XIV, 76.

शैलप्रासादयन्त्राणि चर्मवर्मध्वजास्तथा ।

नानाप्रहरणाद्याश्च ते प्राणिन इति स्मृताः ॥

अथवा कारणोपेता भवन्त्येते शरीरिणः ।

वेषभाषाश्रयोपेताः नाट्यधर्ममवेक्ष्य तु ॥ XXII, 86-8

Such a treatment of objects, superhuman and animal beings gives greater art-reality. There are also certain situations which cannot be reproduced in any manner on the stage. However much critics caught in the theory of naturalism cry down Soliloquy and Aside, we are not able to devise better means of laying bare before the audience all the thoughts passing in the mind of a character by himself, when he is alone, or when he speaks to himself in the midst of others or to one of his companions. A master dramatist can effectively use these devices without becoming artificial and without becoming more and more a narrative and descriptive poet. These stage-devises or conventions of Ātmagata or Svagata, Apavārya and also that of Ākāśa bhāṣita, in which the character acts as if he heard somebody speak and then replies, though there is none else except him on the stage, are some more instances of Nāṭya dharmī. Says Bharata:

आसन्नोक्तं तु यद्वाक्यं न शृण्वन्ति परस्परम् ।

अनुक्तं श्रूयते वाक्यं नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ XIV. 75.

Birds and other beings appearing in a play also speak the human language when the poet wants to portray the effects of these on his characters and the part they play in the development of the action. This 'unnatural' condition also is a Nāṭya dharmī. The drama has to be understood; a night-scene cannot be acted in utter darkness but has to be done with some light; so also human language for non-human beings has to be adopted. Says Bharata in the chapter on Bhāṣāvidhāna:

अथ जाल्यन्तरीभाषा ग्राम्यारण्यपशूद्वया ।

नानाविहगजा चैव नाट्यधर्मी प्रयोगतः ॥ XVIII, 27.

Realism has now made havoc with stage-decency. Not every bit of human activity is fit for presentation on the stage. Bharata has drawn up a list of things which are prohibited on the stage. The sickening osculatory scenes in western dramas and pictures can never be seen on Bharata's stage. Says Bharata: The audience is composed of men and women, husbands and wives with their children. Things which women hate to see or men will loathe to see along with their wives and children are prohibited by Bharata. Bharata stood for decency and abolished all vulgarity. The eating and sleeping of persons on the stage, kissing, embracing of man and woman, and other sights that deserve to be hid are not to be shown. They are natural and as such the modern stage shows all of them but Bharata finds no dramatic interest in or necessity for them.

न कार्यं शयनं रङ्गे नाट्यधर्मं विजानता ।

केनचिद्वचनार्थेन अङ्कच्छेदो विधीयते ॥

यदा स्वपेदर्थवशादेकाकी सहितोऽपि वा ।

चुम्बनालिङ्गनं चैव तथा गुह्यं च यद्ववेत् ॥

दन्तं नखक्षतं छेद्यं नीवीसंसनमेव च ।

स्तनाधरविमर्दं च रङ्गमध्ये न कारयेत् ॥

भोजनं सलिलक्रीडां तथा लज्जाकरं तु यत् ।

एवंविधं भवेद्यद्यत् तत्तद्रङ्गे न कारयेत् ॥

पितृपुत्रस्तुषाश्वशूद्रश्च यस्मात्तु नाटकम् ।

तस्मादेतानि सर्वाणि वर्जनीयानि यत्नतः ॥ XXIV, 285-289.

When a heroine (Vāsaka sajjikā) goes through her toilet she has to do it decently; she cannot bathe on the stage, bare any part of her body or be with insufficient clothing.

न मञ्चग्रहणं रङ्गे न स्नानं नानुलेपनम् ।

नाञ्जनं नाङ्गरागो वा स्तनकेशग्रहौ न च ॥

नापावृता नैकवस्त्रा न रागमधरस्य च । XXIV, 232-3.

A noble or ordinary woman (Uttamā or Madhyamā) can never do these things; and Bharata says, that, for decency's sake, even the worst of women must not be represented as doing these things on the stage. (न is contained in the previous verses).

उत्तमा मध्यमा वापि प्रकुर्यात् प्रमदा क्वचित् ॥

अधमानां भवेदेवं विधिः प्रकृतिसम्भवः ॥

तासामपि ह्यसम्भ्यं यत् तत् (न) तत् कार्यं प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥

XXIV, 233-4.1

Nor is there any meaning in showing all the sundry actions of men and women, like eating, sitting, dressing, etc. The modern English social comedy specialises in such insipid details. We see the extreme manifestation of Loka dharmī in those dramas. Ashley Dukes says that in them, "the spirit of muse is entirely dissipated and there remains little to be admired beyond the playwright's ingenuity and his command of verbal humour." The plays are "lifeless gestures of habit and meaningless march and countermarch of conventional manners", showing "by electric light, in a room with three walls how ordinary people eat, drink, love, walk, and wear their jackets."

Drama is an intense study of selected incidents. Says the Bhāvaaprakāśa, following the Daśarūpaka (I. 56-7) and the basic principles laid down by old Bharata, 'the incidents have to be divided into two sets; certain incidents only can be seen or heard while others can only be suggested; bulky uninteresting part of the story, where there are not intricate emotions playing, ordinary things, etc., must be indicated by brief narration or by suggestion; sweet, sublime aspects of the story, shot through

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1. Dr. Keith, on p. 365 of his *Skr. Drama*, says in his characteristic manner—"In the most gorgeous celebrations there will occur, without exciting surprise or comment strange deviations from western canons of good taste and elegance."

The statement excites no surprise, since we are used to such dogmatic assertions from Dr. Keith; nor can we try to refute it when specific instances of these strange deviations from taste and the nature of those western canons of taste are not supplied.

and through with emotion are to be shown for seeing; upon these the poet must dwell long'.

द्वेधा विभागः कर्तव्यः सर्वस्यापीह वस्तुनः ।

सूच्यमेव भवेत् किञ्चिद् दृश्यं श्रव्यमथापरम् ॥

नीरसोऽनुचितस्तत्र संसूच्यो वस्तुविस्तरः ।

नीरसं लौकिकोपेतमशास्त्रीयं च यद्भवेत् ॥

तद्वस्तु सूचनीयं स्यादित्याहुर्भरतादयः ।

दृश्यस्तु मधुरोदात्तरसभानिरन्तरः ॥ Bhā. Pra. P. 214.

A poor dramatist and a poor producer will present on the stage scenes of burning. Perhaps children will be impressed by the fire on the stage. A greater artist will leave off the incident and will acquaint us with it and what it had done by showing us its influence on the minds and hearts of the characters. The Sanskrit dramatist does not show us the Lāvāṇaka dāha but depicts the sufferings of Udayana who has lost his dear Vāsava-dattā in that fire; the burning of cupid, Kāma dahana, is not shown on the stage; but its consequences, its effect on Indra, Pārvatī and others are vividly portrayed. Tolstoy agrees with Bharata and the Sanskrit dramatists. In Chap. XI of his work, What is Art, Tolstoy describes counterfeit art which is of four kinds, one of which is 'striking' or 'effective'. Tolstoy, accepts that 'transmission of feelings', which is his phrase for our Rāsa pratīti, is the essential object and he opines that in such counterfeit art as the striking or the effective 'there is no transmission of feeling but only an action on the nerves.' Attempts to produce strikingness do not refine art but make it coarse. The following passage from Tolstoy explains very well the technique of the Sanskrit dramatists: "A new piece is brought out and accepted all over Europe, such for instance, as Hanneles Himmelfahrt (by G. Hauptmann) in which play the author wishes to transmit to the spectators pity for a persecuted girl. *To evoke this feeling in the audience by means of art, the author should either make one of the characters express this pity in such a way as to infect everyone* or should describe the girl's feelings correctly. But he cannot and will not do this and chooses another way, *more complicated in stage management but easier for the author. He makes the girl die on the stage; and still further to increase the psychological effect on the spectators, he*



extinguishes the lights in the theatre, leaving the audience in the dark, and to the sound of dismal music shows how the girl is pursued and beaten by her drunken father. The girl shrinks—screams—groans and falls. Angels appear and carry her away. And the audience, experiencing some excitement while this is going on, are fully convinced that this is true aesthetic feeling. *But there is nothing aesthetic in such excitement for there is no infection of man by man*, but only a mingled feeling of pity for another and of self-congratulation that it is not I who am suffering: it is like what we feel at the sight of an execution or what the Romans felt in their circuses."

Tolstoy supports Bharata when he rules that death should not be shown on the stage or that things should not be burnt; for these exciting shows are not productive of aesthetic emotional response. The moon's white disc projected by electric light devices on the curtains is not so important for art as the actual presentation of a character affected by the moon's light, say, a separated lover. All the above noticed principles of higher art and all these higher aesthetic canons are also parts of Nāṭya dharmī.<sup>1</sup>

Even a dual-fight on the stage is not done in any realistic manner; the fights are powerfully suggested by idealised movements and actions, as can be even to-day seen in a traditional Yakṣa gāna play of South Canara.

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1. It was noted above how Aristotle agrees with Bharata in the need for a poetic Vācikābhinaya, and for the Nāṭya dharmī of verse and music. He agrees also in prohibiting deeds of violence on the stage. But the Italian commentator on Aristotle, Lodovico Castelvetro (c. 1570) instead of explaining these on the basis of art, finds for them crude explanations. Of verse he says: "In the first place, since the audience may be great in number, the theatre must be large, and yet the audience must be able to hear the play; hence verse is added, not merely as a delightful accompaniment (उपरङ्गनार्थं नाट्यधर्मो as Abhinava says) but also in order that the actors may raise their voices without inconvenience and without loss of dignity". Regarding the prohibition of deeds of violence he says: "the actors are required to move about on a raised and narrow platform; and this is the reason why deeds of violence and many other things which cannot be acted on such a platform with convenience and dignity, should not be represented in the drama".—J. E. Spingarn: *Essay on Dramatic criticism*,



These, in brief, are the items of Nāṭya dharmī in Bharata's stage. Nāṭya dharmī is Idealism and has its basis on art and imagination; it is not crude convention—समयमात्र. Says Abhinava, in his commentary on the two Dharmīs, at the end of Chapter XIV.—

“न तु समयमात्ररूपा नाट्यधर्मी; समयस्य अकिञ्चित्करस्य कल्पने प्रयोजनाभावात् ।” Vol. II, Mad. Ms. Abhi. Bhā. P. 282.

Drama is based on world of which it is a representation; therefore there cannot be anything utterly fantastic about drama; the action of the drama can be divided into two aspects; the basis is the world and Abhinava compares it to the wall which is further beautified by pictures; he calls the Loka dharmī भित्तिस्थानीय ; the other aspect is the imaginative handling of the plot and play by the poet and the other artists of the theatre. The latter is Nāṭya dharmī. It has an art-reality which is not naturalistic reality. Says Abhinava:

“यद्यपि लौकिकधर्मव्यतिरेकेण नाट्ये न कश्चिद्भर्मोऽस्ति, तथापि स यत्र लोकगतप्रक्रियाक्रमो रञ्जनाधिक्यप्राधान्यमधिरोहयितुं कविनटव्यापारे वैचित्र्यं स्वीकुर्वन् नाट्यधर्मीत्युच्यते । Abhi. Bhā. Chap. XIII. P. 356.

Vol. II.

“लौकिकस्य धर्मस्य मूलभूतत्वान्नाट्यधर्मवैचित्र्योल्लेख्यभित्तिस्थानत्वादिति लोकधर्मीमेव लक्षयति ।” Pp. 356-357.

“काव्यनाट्ययोर्हि लोकानुसारित्वं वा वैचित्र्ययोगित्वं वा धर्मः ।

P. 357.

“नैवेदं (नाट्यधर्मी) समयमात्रनिष्ठमिति वक्तव्यम् । अपि तु सम्भाव्यमानमेव सद् रञ्जनोपयोगि । P. 358.

Nāṭya dharmī is anything peculiar to drama and not found in exactly the same manner in the world. Loka dharmī is the natural condition of things in the world.

स्वभावो लोकधर्मी तु नाट्यधर्मी विकारतः । XXIII, 192. N. S.

Says a very learned treatise called Naṭāṅkuśa in the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library:

“लोके ह्यसिद्धः प्रकारो नाट्यधर्मी । Pp. 28-29.

Mad. MS. R. 3003.

Though based upon nature, the very idea of drama as such is Nāṭya dharmī. Further, it is only the dumb people who act

every bit of their feeling; others in the world speak most and do least action. Speech accompanied by powerful action is therefore only a Nāṭya dharmī. Hence it is that we sometimes have to opine of certain social personalities as 'theatrical'.

लोकप्रसिद्धं द्रव्यं तु यदा नाट्ये प्रयुज्यते ।

वृत्तिमत्सामिलाषं च नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ N. S. XIV, 74.

ललितैरङ्गविन्यासैस्तथोक्लिप्तपदक्रमैः ।

नृत्यते गम्यते यच्च नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥

योऽयं स्वभावो लोकस्य सुखदुःखक्रियात्मकः ।

सोऽङ्गाभिनयसंयुक्तो नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ Ibid. 77-78.

सर्वस्य सहजो भावः सर्वो ह्यभिनयार्थजः ।

अङ्गालङ्कारचेष्टाभिर्नाट्यधर्मी प्रकीर्तिता ॥ Ibid. 81.

If drama is nothing, when it is devoid of minute action, then it is nothing but Nāṭya dharmī.

नाट्यधर्मीप्रवृत्तं हि सदा नाट्यं प्रयोजयेत् ।

न ह्यङ्गाभिनयात् किञ्चिद्वृत्ते नाट्यं प्रवर्तते ॥ Ibid. 80.

The very idea of drama involves a casting off of Svabhāva.

यस्मात् स्वभावं संहृत्य साङ्गोपाङ्गगतिक्रमैः ।

अभिनयते गम्यते च तस्माद्वै नाटकं स्मृतम् ॥ N. S. XXI, 125.

Bharata's definitions of Nāṭya and Nāṭya dharmī are identical. He defines Nāṭya dharmī thus:

योऽयं स्वभावो लोकस्य सुखदुःखक्रियात्मकः ।

सोऽङ्गाभिनयसंयुक्तो नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ XIV, 78.

and he defines drama or Nāṭya itself thus:

यो यः स्वभावो लोकस्य नानावस्थान्तरात्मकः ।

सा (सोऽङ्गाभिनयसंयुक्तो नाट्यमित्यभिधीयते ॥ XXI, 123.

The more imaginative drama is Nāṭyadharmī; the heroic Nāṭaka is a Nāṭya dharmī play; but Prakaraṇa, Prahāsana, and Bhāṇa are Loka dharmī plays. Plays can be written in both ways and produced in both ways. Social plays, with natural conditions, with only as much speech and as much natural action as seen in the world, belong to the class of Loka dharmī plays. When a play is done with music and other ideal artistic and specially beautifying features, it is Nāṭya dharmī. The latter will be more imaginative, more emphatic and more powerful.

स्वभावभावोपगतं शुद्धं त्वविकृतं तथा ।  
 लोकवार्ताक्रियोपेतमङ्गलीलाविवर्जितम् ॥  
 स्वभावाभिनयोपेतं नानास्त्रीपुरुषाश्रयम् ।  
 यदीदृशं भवेन्नाट्यं लोकधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ XIV, 70-71.  
 अतिसस्त्रक्रियोपेतमतिसस्त्रातिभाषितम् ।  
 लीलाङ्गहाराभिनयं नाट्यलक्षणलक्षितम् ॥  
 स्वरालङ्कारसंयुक्तं अस्वर्भू(स्वर्भूस्थ)पुरुषाश्रयम् ।  
 यदीदृशं भवेन्नाट्यं नाट्यधर्मी तु सा स्मृता ॥ *Ibid.* 72-73.

All Sanskrit drama and all traditional Indian vernacular drama belongs to the Nāṭya dharmī stage; and modern and western drama, as a class, can generally be said to belong to the Loka dharmī stage. A production of the former type, Bharata describes as Ābhyanantara and that of the latter type, Bāhya.

लयतालकलापादिप्रमाणनियतात्मजम् ॥  
 सुविभक्तकथालापमनिष्ठुरमनाकुलम् ।  
 यदीदृशं भवेन्नाट्यं ज्ञेयमाभ्यन्तरं तु तत् ॥  
 एतदेव विपर्यस्तं स्वच्छन्दगतिचेष्टितम् ।  
 अनिबद्धं गीतवाद्यैर्नाट्यं बाह्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥

N. S. XXIV, 70-72.

Though we have called drama itself Nāṭya dharmī, it can be seen, as will be explained in the sequel on Loka dharmī also, that, compared to dance, Nṛtya, drama is Loka dharmī. For, in drama, we have as much approach to natural conditions as possible because of the several characters being taken by several actors; but in dance one individual has to render a whole theme. Similarly, a monologue is an example of Nāṭya dharmī; the Bhāṇa, among the Daśarūpakas, is a Nāṭya dharmī play, since, like the Lāsya dance, done by a single dancer, the Bhāṇa also is done by only one actor. On page 172 (Gaek. edn.) Abhinava points out that एकपात्रहार्यत्वं which is a feature of Nautch-like dances and the Bhāṇa, is a Nāṭya dharmī. The MS. called Naṭāṅkuśa, referred to previously, says:

“यदेका भूमिकां कृत्वा कुर्वीतैकान्तरेऽपराम् ।  
 कौशल्यादेककत्वाद्वा नाट्यधर्मीकृतं तु तत् ॥” (Quotation.)

सहप्रवृत्तिमतोऽनेकस्यानुकार्यस्य यथायोगमेकस्य भूमिकया अनुकरणमार-  
च्य तदवान्तरविच्छेदे सपदि तां विसृज्य इतरभूमिकामादाय नाट्यं नाट्यधर्मी ।”

P. 28. Mad. Ms.

In dance done by a single individual, there is no room for Sāttvika Abhinaya; if there is mention of tears, the idea of tears has to be rendered through their appropriate gesture of the hands. In drama also, when one has to narrate to another an incident and has to tell him of another's weeping, the Sāttvika bhāva of tears, which, in other circumstances, is shown by actual weeping and actual tears, is shown by its appropriate Hastābhinaya, as in dance. Thus there are Nāṭya dharmī and Loka dharmī for the same thing.

वाक्याभिनये केवलवाक्योच्चारणं लोकधर्मी ; रागयुक्तवाक्योच्चारणं नाट्यधर्मी । आहार्याभिनयेऽपि हारकेयूरादिभूषणं लोकधर्मी ; फूत्कृतं ध्वज-यानादिभूषणं नाट्यधर्मी । सात्विकाभिनयेऽपि नटेन भावयित्वा स्वरूपतो दर्शिताः स्तम्भादयो लोकधर्मी ; त एव साक्षात्कृताः हस्ताभिनयेन दर्शिताः नाट्यधर्मी ॥ Kallinātha; S. R. Vyā. P. 629. Ānandāśrama edn.

In the field of hand-gesture or Hasta-abhinaya, it will be proved in the sequel on Loka Dharmī that all the Hastas of Nṛtya are based upon Loka or Nature. In the action of the hands there is Loka dharmī as well as Nāṭya dharmī. When the hand moves naturally in a feeling as in the world, the natural hand-movement is a Loka dharmī called cittavṛttyarpikā; for it gives to the audience a mental mood. When the hand moves and imitates the shape of an object in the world like a lotus, it is the Loka dharmī called Bāhyavastu-anukāriṇī. Similarly Nāṭya dharmī also is of two kinds: one comprises all those movements and features which are for sheer beauty's sake. The four Karaṇas of the hand Āveṣṭita, etc., which are employed in Hasta-abhinaya, and the adding of the Kaiśikī Vṛtti of which music in the chief, are Nāṭya dharmī of this class. The other variety of Nāṭya dharmī is completely based upon Loka dharmī but deviates for the sake of beauty or other considerations. The convention of Aside or Janāntika, in which one actor speaks to another, placing a Tripatāka hasta to suggest the prevention of others from hearing the Aside<sup>1</sup>, belongs to this class. Says Abhinava:

<sup>1</sup> Vide Daśarūpaka; I. 65.

अभिनयस्य द्विविधा इतिकर्तव्यता, लोकधर्मी नाट्यधर्मी च ।  
आद्या द्विविधा । चित्तवृत्त्यर्पकत्वेन अनुभावस्य यथा 'गर्वेऽप्यहमिति तज्जैर्ललाट-  
देशोच्छ्रितः' <sup>1</sup> इति । केवलबाह्यावयवरूपा वा यथा पद्मकोशस्य कमपि ?  
निरूपणे ।

नाट्यधर्मी द्विविधा—नाट्योपयोगमूलभूतकैशिकीसम्पादनोचिता  
लौकिकशोभाहेतुः यथा आवेष्टितादिचतुर्विधकरणरूपा । काचित्तु अंशेन  
लोकमुपजीवति \* \* \* एवं जनान्तिकादौ वाच्यम् ।

Vol. II, P. 282, Abhi. Bhā.

Sārṅgadeva puts this passage of Abhinava in verses:

इतिकर्तव्यता तस्य द्विविधा परिकीर्तिता ।  
लोकधर्मी नाट्यधर्मीत्येते च द्विविधे पुनः ॥  
चित्तवृत्त्यर्पिका काचित् बाह्यवस्त्वनुकारिणी ।  
इति भेदद्वयं प्रादुर्लोकधर्म्याः पुरातनाः ॥  
आश्रित्य कैशिकीं वृत्तिमेका नाट्योपयोगिनीम् ।  
तद्योग्यां लौकिकीं शोभां करोत्यावेष्टितादिभिः ॥  
अंशेनैवोपजीवन्ती लोकमन्या प्रवर्तते ।  
नाट्यधर्म्या अपि प्राज्ञा भेदद्वन्द्वमिदं जगुः ॥ S. R. VI, 24-27.

From the Avaloka on the Daśarūpa, we come to know that, besides the various items of Nāṭya-dharmī explained above, other texts not available now, spoke of many more Nāṭya-dharmīs. One of them is called प्रथमकल्प and there is no clue for us to understand its meaning.

अन्यान्यपि नाट्यधर्माणि प्रथमकल्पादीनि कैश्चिदुदाहृतानि ।  
तेषामभारतीयत्वात् नाममालाप्रसिद्धानां केषांचित् देशभाषात्मकत्वात् नाट्यधर्म-  
त्वाभावात् लक्षणं नोक्तम् । D. R. A., P. 33.

(To be continued.)

## HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

BY

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4.22. *ENUMERATION OF COMPOUNDS AND THEIR NATURE.*—Tolkāppiyaṇār classifies compounds under six heads<sup>1</sup>:—*Vērrumai-t-tokai*, *uvamai-t-tokai*, *viṇai-t-tokai*, *paṇṇu-t-tokai*, *ummai-t-tokai* and *aṇmoli-t-tokai*. *Vērrumaittokai*<sup>2</sup> is that in which the members which form the compound stand in case-relation to each other as *por-kuṭam* (gold-pot). It corresponds to *tatpuruṣa* in Sanskrit. *Uvamai-t-tokai*<sup>3</sup> is that in which one member is compared to another as *poṇ-mēṇi* (gold-appearance). It corresponds to *upamāṇa-pūrvapada-karma-dhāraya*. *Viṇai-t-tokai*<sup>4</sup> is that in which the first member is a relative participle denoting time and the second member is the noun which it qualifies as *kol-yāṇai* (elephant that kills, killed or will kill). It corresponds to a part of *viśeṣana-pūrvapada-karma-dhāraya*. *Paṇṇu-t-tokai*<sup>5</sup> is that in which the first member is generally a quality denoting colour, shape, extent, taste etc., and the second a noun which has that quality as *karuṇ-kutirai* (black horse). This also corresponds to a part of *viśeṣana-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya*. *Ummmai-t-tokai*<sup>6</sup> is that in which each has two or

1. *Vērrumai-t tokai-y-ē y-uvama-t tokai-y-ē*  
*Viṇai-y-iṇ rokai-y-ē paṇṇin rokai-y-ē*  
*Ummmai-t tokai-y-ē y-aṇmoli-t tokai-y-enṇū*  
*A-v-v-ā r-enṇa tokai-moli nilai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 412.)
2. *Vērrumai-t tokai-y-ē vērrumai y-iyala.* (ibid. 413.)
3. *Uvama-t tokai-y-ē y-uvama v-iyala.* (ibid. 414.)
4. *Viṇai-y-iṇ rokuti kāla-t t-iyalum.* (ibid. 415.)
5. *Vannattiṇ vaṭivi n-aḷavir cuvai-y-iṇ-enṇū*  
*Aṇṇa pīravu m-ataṇ-kuna nutali*  
*Iṇṇa t-itu-v-eṇa varū m-iyarkai*  
*Enna kilaviyum paṇṇin rokai-y-ē.* (ibid. 416.)
6. *Iru-peyar pala-peya r-aḷavin peyarē*  
*En-n-iyar peyarē nīrai-p-peyar-k kilavi*  
*En-n-iṇ peyarō t-a-v-v-aṇu kilaviyum*  
*Kaṇṇiya nilaitte y-ummai-t tokai-y-ē.* (ibid. 417.)

more members, the members being connected with one another by 'and' and denoting persons, measures, numbers, weights etc., as *puli-vir-keṇṭai* (tiger, bow and *keṇṭai* fish) etc. It corresponds to *dvandva* in Sanskrit. *Anmoli-t-tokai*<sup>1</sup> is the possessive compound, the members of which may stand to each other in any of the three relations—quality-noun relation, conjunctive relation, and case-relation. It corresponds to *bahuvrīhi* in Sanskrit.

It may be noted here that the *number* of compounds in Tamil agrees with that of *primary* compounds in Sanskrit and the names given to them in Tamil are more suggestive of their function than those in Sanskrit. These compounds are treated in syntax as though they are single words.<sup>2</sup>

The above classification of Tolkāppiyaṇār is fairly exhaustive; but such compounds as *karu-nīram*, *cārai-ṭ-ṭāmpū*, where both the members are either qualities or names which denote the genus and species of the same object, are not taken into account; but Cēṇāvaraiyar explains in his commentary on the same sūtra that they too are *paṇṭu-t-tokai*, on the strength of the expression *enna-kilaviyūm*, which means 'similar words', in the sūtra.

All the later grammarians, except the authors of the *Vīracōliyam* and the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, *i. e.*, the authors of the *Nēminātam*, the *Naṇṇūl*, the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and the *Ilakkaṇak-kottū* agree, as regards the classification of compounds, with Tolkāppiyaṇār. And Naṇṇūlār tries to improve upon Tolkāppiyaṇār as regards the definition of *paṇṭu-t-tokai*<sup>3</sup> so that it may apply to compounds like *karu-nīram*, *cārai-ṭ-ṭāmpū* etc.

But the author of the *Vīracōliyam* saw that a large number of Sanskrit compounds like *anīti*, *anītiyam* etc., were freely used in Tamil and they, along with some Tamil compounds like *karu-nīram*, *paṇṇiru-toṭi*, *teṇ-kilakkū*, could not be directly explained with the rules on compounds stated by Tolkāppiyaṇār. Hence he began to classify them exactly in the same way as is

1. *Paṇṭu toka-varūuṇ kilavi y-āṇum*  
*Ummai tokka peyar-vayi n-āṇum*  
*Vēṇṇumai tokka peyar-vayi n-āṇum*  
*Irru-niṇ ṛiyalu m-anmoli-t tokai-y-ē.* (ibid. 418.)
2. *Ellā-t tokai-y-u m-oru-con ṇātaiya.* (ibid. 420.)
3. *Paṇṭai viḷakkum moli-tok kaṇavum*  
*Oru-ṇorutku iru-peyar vantavum kuṇa-t-tokai.* (Na. 365).



done in Sanskrit ; *tarṣpuruṭaṇ* (tatpuruṣa), *pala-nel* (bahuvrīhi), *kaṇmatārayam* (karmadhāraya), *tuṇiku* (dvigu), *tuṇantuvam* (dvandva) and *avviyaṣāva* (avyayībhāva).<sup>1</sup> Some may say that he might have left out *avviyaṣāva* since examples for it are very rare; it is true, but such words as *yatākkiramam*, the tadbhava of Skt. *yathākrama*, are sometimes found and they have to be explained.

The most important point to be noted in the *Vīracōḷiyam*, as also in the *Pirayōkavivēkam* whose author closely follows that of the *Vīracōḷiyam* with some difference here and there, is that most of the stanzas found in the chapter dealing with compounds (*tokai-p-paṭalam*), in both are exactly the translation of the *kārikas* on *samāsa* assigned to the authorship of Vararuci in Sanskrit. They are as follows:—

- (1) *Ṣōḍhā samāsāḥ saṅkṣēpāt ēkatrimśad-vidhāḥ punaḥ |*  
*Tatrāṣṭadhā tatpuruṣaḥ sapṭadhā karma-dhārayaḥ ||*  
*Sapṭadhā ca bahuvrīhiḥ dvigur-ābhāṣitō dvidhā |*  
*Dvandvaś-catur-vidhō jñēyōavyayībhāvas-tridhā mataḥ ||*  
 (Var. Kār.)

*Tarṣpuruṭaṇ-pala neṇ-kaṇma tārayaṇ tāṅkiya-cīr*  
*Nar-ṛuviku-t-tokai nāvār-tuṇantuva nalla-teyva-c*  
*Cor-ṣayaṇ-māntarka l-avviyaṣāva m-itenṛu-toṇmai*  
*Karṣpakam-ā-p-pakarn tār-tokai-y-ārūṇ kaṇaṅkulaiyē.*  
 (V. T. 2.)

*Tarṣpuruṭaṇ-ṛuvi ku-p-pala neṇ-karma tārayaṇōṭi*  
*Urṣpala vāṇēṭuṇ kat-ṣacun tē-moli y-oṇṭōṭiyāy*  
*Cor-ṣayi l-avvi yayiṣāva m-ēnai-t tuṇattaṇ-ēna-k*  
*Karṣavar kūṛuṇ camācaṇ-ka lē-toka-k kaṭṭalai-y-ē.*  
 (P. V. 20.)

- (2) *Tatpuruṣō' ṣṭa-vidhō bhūt prathamādi-vibhakti-nañ-*  
*kr̥tāir-bhēdāiḥ |*  
*Sa caikavadbhāryanēkavadbhāvīti dvidhā dviguḥ |*  
 (Var. Kār.)

*Eluvāy-mutal-eluvēṛṛumaiyōṭi m-eluntatāiyil*  
*Valuvātataṇaṇṇōṭet t-ān-tarṣpuruṭaṇ vaḷar-tuṇiku*  
*Taluvārnta-veṇmoli muṇṇāy-varuṇ talṭita-p-ṣoruṇ-mēl*  
*Kuluvār-orumai y-oṣṣu-p-ṣaṇmai y-oṣṣu-k-kurī-y-iraṇṭē-*  
 (V. T. 3.)



- Tarṣuru ta-t-tokai vērrumai y-eḷṭaṇuṭ cārnta naññu-c*  
*Cor-poru ḷ-aṇmai maṇai-y-iṇmai kāttun tokai-t-tuviku*  
*Murṣata m-eṇ-pir paṭan-tattitārtta muṭi-ittumelūm*  
*Paṇṣala v-ēkavar pāvi-y-a nēkavar pāvi-y-eṇṇē. (P. V. 21.)*
- (3) *Saṭtabhirākhyābhir-vā vikhyātō yas-savai bahuvrīhiḥ |*  
*Dvābhyām padābhyām bahubhiḥ padāir-vā*  
*Saṅkhyābhīdhāyantyapadam dvayam vā |*  
*Yasyābhavat-pūrva-padē sahaśca*  
*Digantarāla-vyatihāralakṣmā|| (Var. Kār.)*  
*Irumoli-ṣaṇmoli piṇmoli y-eṇṇōṭ-irumoli-y-eṇ*  
*Maruvum-vitiyā r-ilakkaṇamaṇṇai-c caka-muṇ-moli*  
*Paravun-tikantarā ḷa-t-tokai-y-aṇṇa-p paṭanerrokai*  
*Viriyum-ōr-ēḷ-avai vērru-moli-p poruṇ-mel-l-iyalē. (V. T. 4.)*
- Irumoli ṣaṇ-moli piṇ-moli y-eṇṇō ṭ-irumoli-y-eṇ*  
*Ṭaru-moli y-orroli tikkan tarāḷaṇ caka-muṇṇikūm*  
*Oru-moli y-ēṇai-viti kāra-lakkaṇattōti varum*  
*Peru-moli y-āki-veku viriyaṇ moli-p-pē-r-aṭaintē. (P. V. 24.)*
- (4) *Kavibhis-saṭta-vidhas-syād-ityēvam karma-dhārayaḥ*  
*kathitaḥ |*  
*Viśeṣaṇam pūrva-padē viśeṣyam tathōbhayaatrāpi*  
*viśeṣaṇam ca*  
*Yasyōṣamānam paratas-tadādāu sambhāvanā cā-*  
*pyavadhāraṇā ca || (Var. Kār.)*  
*Muṇ-moli-p-ṣaṇṣu m-iru-moli-p-ṣaṇṣu m-olintamainta*  
*Piṇ-moli-y-oppoṭu muṇ-moli-y-oppum piṇakkoṇ-ṇilā*  
*Muṇ-moli-naṇ-karut tum-muṇ-moli-narṇuṇivum-eṇa*  
*Naṇ-moli-y-ār-kaṇma tārayam-āṇṇa nāṭṭinaṇē. (V.T. 5.)*  
*Muṇ-moli-p ṣaṇṣiru ṣaṇṣu vicēṭiya muṇ-moli-taṇ*  
*Muṇ-moli-t tulliyam piṇ-moli-t tulliya moy-kulalāy*  
*Muṇ-moli-c campā vaṇai-y-ava tāraṇ amurruṇ-iwai*  
*Naṇ-moli-p ṣaṇṣu-t tokai-k kaṇma tārayaṇṇamillkē. (P. V. 22.)*

Here the author of the Viracōliyam omitted the class where the noun qualified by the adjective stands as the first member of the compound (*viśeṣya-pūrva-padaḥ*) since, perhaps, it was difficult to him to find an example for it in Tamil language; and hence he stated that *kaṇmatārayam* is of 6 kinds, instead of 7 as found in Sanskrit. But the author of the Pīrayōkavivēkam has included it also and gives *teyva-p-pulavan-riruvalluvan* as an example for it.

- (5) *Yatrāvyayam pūrva-padam yathāhvā*  
*Subantam-āhō dvītayam subantam |*  
*Pūrvō pi mukhyō bahuśaḥ padārthaḥ*  
*Tathāvyayībhāvam itirayanti.||*  
*Sahi drandvaś-caturdhā śyāt budhair-iti viniścitaḥ |*  
*Itarētarayōgākhyāḥ samāhārāhvayastathā. (Var. Kār.)*  
<sup>1</sup>*Muṇ-moli-y-avviyañ-cēr tokai pēr-muṇ moli-t-tokaiyē*  
*Coṇ-moli-y-avviya pāvamaruvum tuvantuvamum*  
*Van-moli-y-ām-ita rētarām-vāyuta camā-kāram-ām*  
*Naṇ-moli-y-āṇ-urait tārkaḥ-camāca naṇu-nutalē. (V. T. 6.)*  
*Muṇ-moli-p pēr-c-co l-iṭai-c-co l-iraṇṇu muraṇi-nirṇum*  
*Taṇ moli y-avvi yayīpāva m-ummai-c'cakārattilē*  
*Iṇ-moli-t tonṭaṇ <sup>2</sup> camākārāt tōṭita rētarāmām*  
*An-moli-t tōrramuñ camuccayat-tōṭu-man vācayamē.*  
(P. V. 23.)

- (6) *Tatpuruṣō aṣṭa-vidhō bhūt.....|*  
*Uttara-pada-janītārthaḥ prāyō mukhyaḥ.....||*  
*.....dviguḥ|*  
*Asyāpi paṇḍitair-antar-bhāvāḥ tatpuruṣō mataḥ ||*  
*.....karmadhārayaḥ kathitaḥ |*  
*Tatpuruṣāntarbhāvāt tadvad*  
*Prādhanyam īritam cāsyā ||*  
*Prādhānyam prāyaśōsmīn*  
*Ubhayōś syāt padārthayōḥ |*  
*Sa hi dvandvaḥ.....||*  
*Taṇpuru ṭaṇ-ruvi ku-k-karma tārayaṇ rāmutaṇmai*  
*Pirṇata m-ām-clu vāy-ā m-orūu-t-tokai peṇ-ṇ-aṇaṅkē*  
*Murṇata m-avvi yayīpāva m-oppu-murāi pīraḷum*  
*Coṇ-patan tokkavai y-ellā mutanmai tuvantarukkē.*  
(P. V. 25.)

The statement 'avyayībhāva-moppu-murāi pīraḷum' which means that the relative importance of the first or second member in *avyayībhāva* and *upamītasamāsa* will change, is made on the strength of the words *prāyaḥ* and *bahuśaḥ* in *uttara-pada-janītārthaḥ prāyō mukhyaḥ* and *pūrvōpi mukhyō bahuśaḥ*

1. He has not mentioned that class of *avyayībhāva* where the members are nouns, as *madhyēgāram* since such words have not been taken into Tamil language.

2. cf. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣit's vṛtti on *cārthē dvandvaḥ*—  
 'samuccaya-anvācaya-itarētarayōga-samāhārāḥ cārthāḥ.

*padārthah* respectively. The author of the *Vīracōḷiyam*, having dealt with this classification of compounds in 5 stanzas, mentions also the classification made by Tolkāppiyaṇār as the opinion of a class of Tamilians.

The only point of difference between these two kinds of classification is only with respect to *avyayībhāva* and *nañṭat̤puruṣa*, since other *tat̤puruṣas*, *dvandva* and *bahuvrīhi* are identically the same as *vēṟṟumaittokai*, *ummaittokai* and *aṇmolittokai*, though with different names, and *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu* may somehow or other be brought under *uvamaittokai*, *viṇaittokai* and *paṇṇuttokai*.

4.23. Here I want to deal further with the difference of opinion among the commentators of Tolkāppiyam and Naṇṇūlār regarding *viṇai-t-tokai* and *paṇṇu-t-tokai* and whether the expression *nilaṇ kaṭantāṇ* is a *tokai* or not.

4.231. As regards *viṇaittokai*, Iḷampūraṇar, Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar think, that when a present, past, or future, participle like *kollum* or *koṇṇa* is compounded with a noun like *yāṇai*, the participial suffix is dropped and they become *kol-yāṇai*. Hence the word *kol-yāṇai* means 'elephant that kills, that killed or that will kill'. But Cēṇāvaraiyar is of opinion that *kol-yāṇai* is compounded of the root *kol* with *yāṇai* and it cannot be dissolved into *koṇṇa yāṇai*, *kollukiṇṇa* or *kollum yāṇai*. The interpretation of the latter seems to be unsound, since Tolkāppiyaṇār in his sūtra says that *viṇaittokai* shows time.<sup>1</sup> The reasons adduced by him in support of his statement do not seem to be sound. He has done so, since perhaps he took the expressions like *kol-yāṇai* as a case of *nityasamāsa* like the word *kumbhākāra* mentioned by Dharmakīrti in Vol. I, P. 181 of his *Rūpāvatāra*. But it seems to me that it is against the views of Tolkāppiyaṇār. Naṇṇūlār agrees with Iḷampūraṇar, while the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar and repeats his arguments. (I. V. 338, Comm.)

4.232. As regards *paṇṇu-t-tokai*, Cēṇāvaraiyar thinks that the words like *karuṇkutirai* cannot be dissolved into *kariyatū āḱiya kutirai* in the same way as in *viṇai-t-tokai* perhaps for the same reason. This too is against the views of Tolkāppiyaṇār since, in the sūtra, he says '*iṇṇatū itu eṇa*' (Tol. Col. 416.) Naṇṇūlār seems to think that *karumai + kutirai* becomes *karuṇ-*

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1. *Viṇaiyīṇ rokuti kālat tiyalum*. (Tol. Col. 415.)

*kutirai*,<sup>1</sup> while Tolkāppiyaṇār thinks that *kariyatū + kutirai* becomes so. Nannūlar's view does not seem to be sound since the expression '*karumai ākiya kutirai*' cannot convey any sense since *karumai* and *kutirai* cannot be appositional, *karumai* denoting quality and *kutirai* denoting object. The author of the *Ilakkaṇa-vilakkam* agrees with Cēṇavaraiyar (I. V. 339, Comm.)

4.233. IS '*NILAN KAṬANTĀN*' WHICH MEANS 'HE CROSSED THE GROUND', A COMPOUND OR NOT? All commentators of Tolkāppiyam, except Cēṇavaraiyar and his followers think that *nilan kaṭantān*, when it means "he crossed the ground," is not a compound, but a sentence consisting of two words *nilam* and *kaṭantān* where *nilam* is the object of the verb *kaṭantān* and it has its suffix dropped according to Tol. Col. 103. When it means "one who has crossed the ground," evidently it is a compound. But Cēṇavaraiyar is very obstinate in considering it a compound.<sup>2</sup> The reason he adduces in support of his opinion is that in Tol. E. 133, Tolkāppiyaṇār has stated that a noun which has its case suffix dropped is combined with the following verb so as to form a compound. *Ḵampūraṇar* gives a different interpretation to the same. The lines under consideration are

*Peyarum tolilum pirintoruṅku icaip̄pa*  
*Vērrumai y-urup̄u nilaipeṛu valiyun*  
*Tōrram vēṇṭā-t tokuti-k kaṇṇum...*

The literal translation of these is as follows :—Noun and verb used separately or together, either with the case suffix of the noun expressed or dropped. *Ḵampūraṇar* interprets these lines thus :—*Peyarum tolilum vērrumai yurup̄u nilaipeṛu valiyum, tōrram vēṇṭāt tokutik kaṇṇum pirinticaip̄pa*, and *peyarum tolilum vērrumai yurup̄u nilai peṛu valiyum tōrram vēṇṭāt tokutik kaṇṇum oruṅkicaip̄pa*, which may be translated thus :—When a noun with, or without, a case suffix is followed by a verb and is treated as a separate word and when a noun with, or without, a case

1. *Paṇpai vilakkum moli-tok kaṇṇum.*

*Oru-ṇoruṅku irupeyar vantavum kuṇa-t-tokai.* (Na. 365.)

2. *Nilan-kaṭantān, kuṇṇattiruntān ena-p-peyarum vinaiyun tokkaṇa oru-conṇirmai-y-ila-v-ākalin tokai-y-enappatā v-en-pārum-ular... vērrumai-y-urup̄ir roka-p-peyarun tolilum oruṅkicaittal āciriyaṇ nērntār-ākalin, avai tokai-y-ēṇavē paṭum.* (Tol. Col. 420, Cēṇā.)

suffix is followed by a verbal noun and is treated as a part of a compound of which the verbal noun forms the second part—According to his interpretation, *nilattai-k kaṭantāṇ* and *nilaṇ kaṭantāṇ* are each *two separate words* when *kaṭantāṇ* is a *finite verb*, and *nilattai-k-kaṭantāṇ* and *nilaṇ-kaṭantāṇ* are COMPOUND WORDS when *kaṭantāṇ* is a *participial noun*.

Cēṇāvaraiyar interprets the same sūtra thus:—*peyarum tolilum vērrumai y-uruṇṇu nilai peru valiyum pirinticaippa*, *peyarum tolilum tōrram vēṇṭā-t tokuti-k kaṇṇum oruṇkicaippa*, which may be translated thus:—when a noun with a case suffix is separate from the verb which it follows, and when without case suffix, it is treated as a part of the compound—(i.e.) He takes ‘*pirintū*’ with the second line of the sūtra and ‘*oruṇkū*’ with the third line unlike Ḹampūraṇar who takes both the second and third lines with both *pirintū* and *oruṇkū*. Besides, Cēṇāvaraiyar seems to think that the word *tokuti* in the third line means compound, since the same word in the sūtra ‘*Viṇai-y-iṇ rokuti kālattiyaḷum*’ (Tol. Col. 415) has that meaning. But the author has not used that word in that sense alone in the whole of his work. For he has used also in the sense of number according to Cēṇāvaraiyar and collection according to Ḹampūraṇar in the sūtra,

*Ṽṇaitteṇa aṛinta ciṇai-mutaṛ kiḷavikkū*

*Viṇai-p-paṭu tokuti-y-iṇ-ummai vēṇṭum* (Tol. Col. 33).

It is a wonder to me why Cēṇāvaraiyar says so in spite of the fact that he is a sound Sanskrit scholar. What is the use of taking *nilaṇ kaṭantāṇ*, *yāru kaṭantāṇ*, *ūr-kaṭantāṇ*, etc., to be compounds when one can very easily take them as separate words?

From the points mentioned above, it may be clear that the interpretation of *tokai* as ellipsis mentioned by Dr. Pope in page xvii of the Introduction in Pope’s edition of Tirukkuraḷ is not sound.

## 5. SYNTAX.

5. 1. INTRODUCTION: From the arrangement of the sections in Collatikāram, Tolkāppiaṇār seems to have recognised that the unit of speech is a sentence. In the first section, *kiḷaviyākkam*, he says in the first eleven sūtras that the ending of the predicate must agree in gender, number and person with that indicated by the subject, and in the succeeding sūtras, he deals with the order of words in a sentence, the use of particular words in a context, etc. In the second section, the case suffixes and their function are dealt with, since the former are necessarily

found after nouns in a sentence. In the third section is mentioned the overlapping of case-functions and in the fourth, the vocative case. It is only at the beginning of the fifth section, *peyariyal*, Tolkāppiyaṇār defines *col* or word which forms a part of a sentence and classifies it primarily into two, noun and verb, and secondarily into four, noun, verb, *iṭaiacol* and *uricol*. In the remaining portion of the fifth section, he deals with nouns; the sixth, seventh and eighth sections respectively deal with verbs, *iṭaiacol* and *uricol* and the ninth and last, with miscellaneous topics like compounds, etc.

5. 2. ORDER OF WORDS: The normal order of words in a Tamil sentence is this:—The subject begins the sentence and the predicate ends it. (e.g.) *vāl valantara maruppaṭṭana* (The sword was stained after giving victory) (P. N. 4. 1.); the predicate may be used at the beginning of the sentence when it is emphasised. (e.g.) *kaṇṭanen karpinukkaniyai-k-kaṇkalāl* (saw I with eyes the ornament of chastity) (Kampar. C. Tiruvaṭi. 58.) As regards the cases, the sixth case must invariably precede the noun which it qualifies. (e.g.) *ālai-vāy-k-karumṭin tēṇum* (the sweet boiled juice of the sugarcane at the mill), (Kampar. B. 469,) the second case generally precedes the verb, but the third and the fourth cases also intervene between them. (e.g.) *talaiyai vaṇaṅki* (bowing the head) (Cilap. 490, 33); *iṭamulai kaiyāl tiruki* (twirling the left breast with hand) (Cilap. 421. 43.); *vanta namṭiyai muntai . . . nāṇmarai munikkukkāṭṭi* (having shown his brother to the sage learned in the four vedas) (Kampar. B. 233, 17.) When certain things are enumerated first and their total number is indicated by an enumerative word, such a word should be followed by *um*. (e.g.) *muracumuḷaṅku tāṇai mūvaruṅ kūṭi*. (all the three having assembled with their armies beating drums) (Pattu. 61.54). The past present, and future, participle invariably precede the noun which they qualify. (e.g.) *nutimaḷuṅkiya veṅkōṭṭāṇ* (with the white tusk whose end was blunted) (P. N. 4. 11). The nouns in apposition which denote the titles of persons generally precede the name of the person. (e.g.) *Teyvappulavaṇ Tiruvalluvaṇ*.<sup>1</sup> If nouns and pronouns are used in the same sentence denoting the same person, the pronoun is generally used after the noun.

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1. *Cirappi n-ākiya peyar-nilai-k kilavikkum*  
*Iyar-peyar-k kilavi murpaṭa-k kilavār.* (Tol. Col. 41.)

(e.g.) *Cāttan avan vantān*, but the order may be inverted in poetry. (e.g.) *avan . . . cēntan pēr vāliti* (having blessed Cēntan) (Tol. Col. 32, Cēṇā.).

5. 3. **NUMBER**: Singular nouns with a collective sense take the singular verb.—(e.g.) *vaiyātu ulakam* (the world will not despise) (K. 117); plural forms are sometimes used as honorific singulars.—(e.g.) *yām ēttukam palavē* (I praise in many ways) (P. N. 10. 13.); plural forms of verbs are sometimes used along with the singular nouns and *vice versa*.—(e.g.) *aṟaṇ ceytimō aruḷveyyōy* (P. N. 145, 7.), *yāvō yām kāṅkū* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 497. 22.) Sometimes the plural forms of verbs are mixed with the singular forms. (e.g.) *uṅkum entai niṇ kāṅku vanticiṇ* (P. N. 125.4.) Sometimes two or more singular nouns connected by the particle *um* take a singular verb after them. (e.g.) *mātavār nōṇpum maṭavār kaṇpum kāvalaṇ kāvaliṇṇu* (the celibacy and the chastity of holy women is not under guard) (E. M. 252, 208 and 209). *Oruvar* is the common form to denote either one man or one woman. (e.g.) *oruvarai-y-oruvar toṭantār* (one followed another) (Kampar C. Kiṅkarar, 25.) In case when one is not able to ascertain whether the person standing before him is a male or a female, the plural verb should be used. (e.g.) *āṇmakāṇ kollō peṇṭāṭṭi kollō iṣṭō tōṇṇuvār* (is it man or woman that appears there).<sup>1</sup> The plural interrogative pronoun *yār* is used after singular nouns if the former is used as a logical predicate. (e.g.) *ivaṇ yār eṇkuvaiyāyiṇ* (if you ask who this man is) (P. N. 13.1).<sup>2</sup> Sometimes plural nouns are in apposition with singular nouns. (e.g.) *ēval ilaiyar tāy vayiru kariṇṇa* (Tol. Col. 461, Cēṇā.).

5. 4. **TINAI**: Sometimes *aṣṭiṇai* nouns are used as *uyartiṇai* nouns and *vice versa* out of affection (e.g.) *eṇ-lantai vantān* (with reference to a calf), *eṇ āṇai vantatū* (with reference to a son). Similarly *aṣṭiṇai* nouns are used as *uyartiṇai* and *vice versa* to denote superiority. (e.g.) *centār-p-pacuṇkiliyār* (C. C. 1036.), *maṇṇaṇ uyirttē malar talai-y-ulakam* (P. N. 186. 2.).

5. 5. **CONCORD**: The finite verb agrees with its subject in gender, number and person as is generally found in Sanskrit. If

1. *Pāṇ-mayak kurra v-aiya-k kilavi*

*Tāṇ-ari poruḷ-vayir paṇmai kūral.* (ibid. 23.)

2. If *yāvan* is abbreviated into *yāṇ* as *yāvar* into *yār*, its form would have been the same as the singular of the first personal pronoun *yāṇ* and hence *yār* may have been used in all genders and numbers to avoid confusion.



two or more subjects of different persons are used, the plural verb of the first person is used if the subjects are of the first person, and either of the second or third persons or both, as *yāṇum nīyum pōṇḍom*, *yāṇum avaṇum pōṇḍom* or *yāṇum, nīyum avaṇum pōṇḍom*, and the plural verb of the second person is used if the subjects are of the second and third persons, as *nīyum avaṇum pōṇḍiṇ*. In respect of these two points there is similarity between Sanskrit and Tamil.<sup>1</sup> If the subject is made up of a *uyartiṇai* noun and an *aṣṟiṇai* noun, the verb that follows is in *uyartiṇai*. (e.g.) *Pōṇṇaṇum kutiraiyum vantārkaḷ* (Pōṇṇaṇ and his horse came) (Colloq.).

5. 6. **PRONOUNS:** Sometimes the word *ivaṇ* is used to denote the first person singular. (e.g.) *kāṇkivaṇ kaṭumpiṇa-titumpai* (P. N. 173.2). This is probably due to the desire of the speaker to address himself in the third person. The form *ivaṇ* is used, but not *avan*, since he is the nearest third person to himself. This is perhaps the reason why *inḱu* is used in the sense of *enṇiṭattil* in Jaffna. Similar usage is found in the Cilappatikāram. (e.g.) *Parakati-y-ilakkum paṇḍu inḱu illai* (Cilap. 395, 85).

The reflexive pronouns *tāṇ*, *tām* and *tāṇkaḷ* are used in place of second person singular, *taṇkaḷ* when the person spoken to is a very great man, *tām* when he is great, and *tāṇ* when he is almost equal to the speaker in status. It is a peculiarity in colloquial speech that they are followed by a verb in the neuter singular. (e.g.) *tāṇkaḷ eppōtu vantatū*; *tām eppōtu vantatū*; *tāṇ eppōtu vantatū*. *Tām* and *tāṇkaḷ* are also followed by second person plurals of the form *vantīr* and *vantīrkaḷ* respectively. Sometimes *nām* is used instead of the second person honorific singular. (e.g.) *nammai orukāl kāṭṭivantāl* (P. T. 92. 1), *neru nal naṭantavarō nām* (Kampar. Āra. 238. 119). Such a usage is found in colloquial speech also. Similarly *atu* is also used in colloquial speech. (e.g.) *atu enṇa collukirātū*. Besides it may be interesting to note that the word *ivviṭattil* which is the seventh case of *ivviṭam* is used in the same sense. (e.g.) *ivviṭattil evvāru niṇaiḱkiṇṇatū* (How do you think?). The form *evaṇ* is used as a logical predicate after a neuter singular subject. (e.g.) *iccoṟku-p-poruḷ evaṇ<sup>2</sup>* (what is the meaning of this word?)

1. Cf. M. V. G. p. 290, S. 3.

2. *Yāteva n-enṇu m-āyiru kiḷavi-y-um*

*Ariyā-p poruḷ-vayir ceriya-t tōṇrum*. (Tol. Col. 31.)



5. 7. *CASES AND CASE SUFFIXES*: The cases from the first to the eighth are generally used in Tamil as in Sanskrit conveying the same sense, *i.e.*, the first case denoting the subject, the second the object,<sup>1</sup> the third the instrument, object in association or the doer, the fourth the recipient, the fifth the limit, comparison and cause, the sixth the ownership, and the seventh the time and the place of action. But we have many cases where one case form is used for another, *i. e.*, where functional syncretism plays its part.

The *third*, the *fourth*, the *fifth*, and the *seventh*, case are some times used in place of the *second*. (e.g.) *vāṇāl nōkki vāḷum*<sup>2</sup>; *ivaṭku-k-kollum irvani*<sup>3</sup>; *paḷiyiṇ aṇcum*<sup>4</sup>; *aracarkaṭ cārntāṇ*, *kōṭṭinkaṭ kuraittāṇ*, etc. <sup>5</sup>

1. Following point may be noted here. Tolkāppiyāṇār does not state in Tol. Col. 71 that the second case denotes the object, but says that it is used with verbs. Since he says in Tol. Col. 112 that the subject, object, instrument, etc., are necessary for an action to be produced and he directly mentions the meanings of all the cases other than the second in the sūtras dealing with the other cases and the object is left out, we are made to infer that the second case denotes the object. The authors of the Nēminātam and the Naṇṇūl also have not definitely stated it. (N. N. Col. 17 and Na. 296.) It is the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* who has mentioned it. (I. V. 199.)

2. *Iraṇṭaṇ maruṅki nōkka nōkkam-a-v*  
*V-iraṇṭaṇ maruṅki n-ētu-v-u m-ākum.* (Tol. Col. 93.)
3. *Itaṇa titu-v-ir renṇuṇ kilaviyum*  
*Ataṇai-k kollum poruḷ-vayi n-āṇum.* (ibid. 110.)
4. *Acca-k kilavik k-aintu m-iraṇṭum*  
*Ecca m-ilavē poruḷ-vayi n-āṇa.* (ibid. 100.)
5. *Karuma m-allā-c cārpeṇ kilavikkū*  
*Urimaiyu m-utaittē kaṇṇeṇ vērrūmai.* (ibid. 84.)  
*Ciṇai-nilai-k kilavik k-aiyuṇ kaṇ-n-um*  
*Viṇai-nilai y-okku m-enmaṇār pulavar.* (ibid. 85.)  
*Kaṇṇal celavu m-onṇumār viṇaiyē.* (ibid. 86.)  
*Mutaṇ-ciṇai-k kilavi-k k-atu-v-en vērrumai*  
*Mutaṇ-kaṇ varinē ciṇai-k-k-ai varumē.* (ibid. 87.)  
*Mutaṇ-mu n-ai-varir kaṇ-n-en vērrumai*  
*Ciṇai-muṇ varuta relli tenpa.* (ibid. 88.)  
*Mutaluṇ ciṇaiyum poruḷ-vēru paṭāa*  
*Nuvoluṇ kālai-c cor-kuriṇ piṇavē.* (ibid. 89.)

The *fourth* and *fifth* cases are sometimes used in place of the *third*. (e.g.) *avaraku-c-ceyya-t-takum ikkāriyam*<sup>1</sup>; *vanikattiñ āyinañ*<sup>2</sup>; *ampiñ āttutum* (Kampar. B. 28, 3.) The *sixth* case is sometimes used for the *fourth*. (e.g.) *nākaratu paḷi*.<sup>3</sup>

The *fourth* case and the *second* case are sometimes used for the *fifth*. (e.g.) *cāttarku neṭiyaṇ*<sup>4</sup>; *niṇai-p-pāṇai nīṇkum tiru*. (K. 519). The *seventh* case is sometimes used for the *sixth*. (e.g.) *kāṭṭiṇkaṇ yānai*.<sup>5</sup>

The *third* and *fourth* cases are sometimes used for the *seventh* (e.g.) *iṇmarō ivvulakattāṇē* (P. N. 74. 3.); *nālvarkku maruvil aṇṇiṇil vērrumai mārrināl* (Kampar. A. 216. 5.)

Another point to be noted is that *all nouns without any case suffix* may be used if they *precede* the verbs that they qualify; but *only the suffix* of the *second* case and the *seventh* case may be dropped if the noun follows the verb. (e.g.) *uṇkuvam peruma nī nalkiya vaḷaṇē* (P.N. 136. 27.); *kaṇṇaṇ varuval ... kāṭṭē* (P. N. 23. 22.)

The order of cases and their meanings are quite similar to what is found in Pāṇini's grammar. The parallelism between 'mūṇṇākuvatī ... viṇaimutal karuvi y-aṇai mutarratuṇvē' (Tol. Col. 73.) 'and' *karṭṭkaraṇayōs tṭṭiyā* (P. 2. 3. 18.)' is quite striking.

5. 71. As regards the *third* case and its suffixes there are a few points to be considered:—(1) The suffix that is mentioned by Tolkāppiaṇar for the *third* case is *oṭu*; but he mentions *āṇ* in the sūtra *ku-ai āṇ-ēṇa varū m-iṇuti . . .* (Tol. Col. 108) but does not state there that 'āṇ' is the suffix of the *third* case. From the literature of the Sangam period it is determined as the *third* case

1. *Itaṇa titu-v-iṇ r-enṇuñ kiḷaviyūm*  
*Ataṇār ceyar-paṭar k-otta kiḷaviyūm*. (ibid. 110.)
2. *Mūṇṇaṇu m-aintaṇun tōṇra-k kūriya*  
*Akkam-oṭu pūnarnta v-ētu-k kiḷavi*  
*Nōkkō r-aṇaiya v-enṇaṇār pulavar*. (ibid. 92.)
3. *Ku-t-toka varūṇ koṭai-y-etir kiḷavi*  
*A-p-poru ḷ-āraṇ kurittu m-ākum*. (ibid. 99.)
4. *Itaṇa titu-v-iṇ renṇuñ kiḷaviyūm*  
*Pāl-varai kiḷaviyūm paṇṇi n-ākkamum*. (ibid. 110.)
5. *Araṇ maruṇkiṇ vālcci-k kiḷamai-k-kū*  
*Elu m-āku m-urāi-nilat tāṇa*. (ibid. 98.)
6. *Mūṇṇā kuvatē*  
*Oṭu-v-ēṇa-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷavi*  
*Viṇai-mutal karuvi y-aṇai-mutar ratuṇvē*. (ibid. 73.)

suffix, since it is used instead of *oṭu*. (e. g.) *tūṅku kaiyā n-ōṅku naṭaiya* (P N. 22. 1.) The later grammarians have taken it and its modified form *āl* as third case suffixes.

(2) The suffix *oṭu* in Tamil, when it denoted association, was used after the word denoting the *more important object*.<sup>1</sup> (e. g.) *tūṁpuṭai-l-taṭakkai vāyoṭu tumintū* (P.N. 19. 10.); *māṇṭa-v-enmaṇaiviyotū makkalū nirampīṇar* (P. N. 191. 3.). Here it differs from Sanskrit where the third case suffix is used after the word denoting the *less important*. Cf. *sahayuklē apradhānē* (Pa. 2. 3. 19.) Besides, the suffix *āṇ* is also used in Sangam works to denote *association*. But later on, i.e., before or after the time Nāṇṇulār, the suffix *oṭu* alone came to be restricted to denote *association*.<sup>2</sup> and also it seems to have been used *after the noun denoting the less important*. (e.g.) *vanta nampiyail-tampi taṇṇoṭu . . . kāṭṭi* (Kampar. B. 233. 17.); *kulaṇoṭu natikal taṇ kuraikal tiravē* (Kampar. B. 164. 46.)

5. 72. In this context the following statement of Dr. Caldwell deserves to be considered. "Dravidian Grammarians have arranged the case system of their nouns in the Sanskrit order, and in doing so have done violence to the genius of their own grammar. The Dravidian ablative of motion and the locative are evidently one and the same case, though represented as different by grammarians, in deference to Sanskrit precedents; and the Dravidian social ablative, as some have called it or rather as it should be termed, the conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian Languages has been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases, or added on to the instrumental case, simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from instrumental. The conjunctive or social stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none."<sup>3</sup>

This statement of Dr. Caldwell, so far as *Tamil* is concerned, is based on two points :—(1) Mention of *il* as the suffix both of the fifth and the seventh cases by the author of the Nāṇṇul and the modern usage of *iṇ* before *kaṇ* of the seventh case as in *ūriṇkaṇ* and (2) Dr. Caldwell's mistaking the third case suffix

1. *Oru-viṇai y-oṭu-c-co l-uyar-piṇ vaṭittē*. (ibid. 91.)

2. *Mūṇrā vataṇ-uru pāl-ā n-ōṭoṭū*

*Karuvi karuttā utaṇikal vataṇ-ṭoruḷ*. (Na. 297.)

3. C. D. G. 277 and 278,

*oṭu* to denote only association. His statement would have been correct if the author of Naṇṇūl or more correctly his commentators had arranged the cases.

But the arrangement of the cases was done not by Naṇṇūlār or his commentators, but by Tolkāppiyaṇār and his predecessors. Tolkāppiyaṇār does not at all give 'il' as any case suffix. He has stated that *iṇ* is the fifth case suffix and that it denotes the limit or comparison and *kaṇ* is the seventh case suffix denoting time and place of action. Besides, in his time and even in later times, *oṭu* was used not only to denote *association*, but also to denote *instrument* in the same way as the suffix *āl* or *āṇ*. For instance, the sentence *koṭiyōṭu tuvaṅkuṇṭāṇ* means 'he was punished with a creeper and not 'he was punished along with a creeper'. Tolkāppiyaṇār has first stated that the suffix *oṭu* denotes the doer of the action, the instrument and then only that it denotes the association also. Besides *āṇ* also was used to denote association, e.g., *tūṅku-kaiyāṇ ṍṅku naṭaiya*. (P. N. 22-1). Hence at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār both *oṭu* and *āṇ* were used to denote instrument and association. The point why *oṭu* and *āṇ* were not treated as the suffixes of separate cases is fully discussed in Cēṇāvaraiyam, a commentary on Collatikāram of Tolkāppiyam under sūtra 74 of Collatikāram. Hence Dr. Caldwell's criticism on the arrangement of cases by Tamil grammarians cannot at all stand.

5. 7.3. The following parallelism may be seen in the use of cases between Tamil and Sanskrit:—

*The third case is used to denote cause:*

Tamil:	Sanskrit:
<i>nalviṇaiyāl avanai-p-pārtlen:</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>puṇyena tam apaśyam</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>The fourth case is used instead of gerund in Tamil and instead of the infinitive of purpose in Sanskrit.</i>	

Tamil:	Sanskrit:
<i>unavukku-c-ceṇṇāṇ</i> for <i>uṇṇa-c-ceṇṇāṇ</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>bhōjanāya yāti</i> for <i>bhōktum yāti</i> . <sup>4</sup>
<i>tōṭṭukku-p-poṇ</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>kuṇḍalāya svarṇam</i> <sup>6</sup>

1. *Innān ētu*. (Tol. Col. 74.)
2. *Hētāu*. (P. A. 2.3.23.)
3. *Atarku uṭampatutal*. (Tol. Col. 76.)
4. *Tumarthācca bhāva vacanāt*. (P. A. 2.3.15.)
5. *Atuvāku kilavi*. (Tol. Col. 76.)
6. *Tadarthyē caturthi vācyā*. (Vārtika.)

The fifth case is used to denote contrast:

Tamil:

Sanskrit:

*ivaṇ avanin celvamutaṭaiyōṇ*

*eṣaḥ tasmāt ādhyatarah<sup>1</sup>*

There is a case of nominative absolute in Tamil with a noun in the nominative case followed by a gerund, e.g., *mukantaṇar koṭuppa . . . uluvai porikkum ārralai* (P. N. 33. 6 to 9.) Here *koṭuttal* is the effect of his having been powerful. *maḷai peyya, kuḷam niṟaintati*. Here *peytal* is the cause of *niṟaital*. Similarly, the form *ceyteṇa* is used instead of *ceya* in the above cases.

Such nominative absolutes are absent in Sanskrit; and the genitive and locative absolutes found in Sanskrit are absent in Tamil.

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam mentions that ‘*pulli viṭṭaṭ pulaviyul*’ in ‘*pulliviṭṭa-pulaviyul tōṇrumennuḷlam uṭaik-kum paṭai*’ is a case of locative absolute in P. V. p. 26. Since the form in Tamil has no similarity to that in Sanskrit, I do not agree with him. It may be taken only as a case of nominative absolute.

Cēṇāvaraiyar in his commentary under Tol. Col. 71 divides *ceyaṭṭaṭuporuḷ* or object into three classes. viz., *iyarraṭṭaṭuvatu* or that which is newly made, *veṇuṭaṭukkaṭ-ṭaṭuvatu* or that which is transformed and *eytaṭṭaṭuvatu* or that which is obtained or reached. This is possibly the translation of the following Kārikā in Bhartṛhari’s Vākyapadīya:

*nivartyam ca vikāryam ca prāpyam ca trividham matam,  
tatreṣitatamam karma . . .*

(Vākyapadīya, 3rd Kāṇḍa, 45th Kārikā.)

5.8. TENSES: The past tense in Tamil is used for the present or the future to denote haste<sup>2</sup> or speed e.g., *itō vanteṇ* meaning ‘I am coming’ or ‘I shall come soon’. Sometimes the past is used for the present to denote certainty. e.g. *arīnteṇ* for *arīkireṇ* (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 583. 7). Sometimes the present is used for the future as in Sanskrit<sup>3</sup> e.g., *Parataṇē tūṅka māmuṭi cūṭukinrāṇ*

1. *Pañcamīvibhaktē*. (P. A. 2.3.42.) ;
2. *Vārā-k kālattu nikalun kālattum  
Orāṅku varūm viṇai-c-cor kilavi  
Iranta kālattu-k kurippoṭu kilattal  
Virainta poruḷa v-en-maṇār pulavar*. (Tol. Col. 241.)
3. *Vārā-k kālattu viṇai-c-cor kilavi  
Irappinu nikalvūṇ ciraṭṭa-t tōṇrum  
Iyarkaiyun telivūṇ kilakkuṇ kālai*. (Tol. Col. 245.)

(Kampar, A. 216, 4.) and *āgacchāmi* for *āgamiṣyāmi*.<sup>1</sup> The future is used for the past and vice versa<sup>2</sup>. (e. g.) *malar micai-y-ēkiṇāṇ* (K. 3. Comm.)—here *ēkiṇāṇ* is used for *ēkuvāṇ*; *nilaiyaḷ cēvvitenṇa* (Tol. Col. 68)—here *enṇa* is used for *enṇaṇar*; *cetṇ* for *cāvēṇ* (T. V. 3. 165).

5. 9. *PARTICIPLES*: 'Participles are of a two-fold nature in as much as they share the characteristics of both noun and verb.' In form they are adjectives in concord. They not only govern cases like the verb, but also indicate time and differences of voice. The purpose that is served by relative pronouns in Sanskrit is served by the participles in Tamil.—(e.g.) '*kuṭattai-c-ceyta kuyavan vantāṇ*' corresponds to the Sanskrit sentence '*yaḥ ghaṭam akarōt saḥ āgataḥ*,' which means the potter who made the pot came. The use of participles past, present and future is generally similar to that of participles in Sanskrit, though, in form, they are declined in the latter and they are not declined in the former. The use of participles denoting cause as *Harim paśyan mucyatē* (cf. *lakṣaṇahētvōḥ* (P. A. 3.1.126.) is not found in Tamil. The indeclinable past participle is used instead. (e.g.) *ariyai-p-pārttu vīṭu peṇṇāṇ*.

The Indeclinable past participles of the forms *ceytū*, *ceyyū* and *ceypū* are generally used to denote an action done by an agent previous to another action done by the same. Their use in Tamil is generally similar to the indeclinable participles in Sanskrit. The sūtras '*avarṇuḥ mutanilai mūnrum vinaimutaṇ muṭipīṇa*' (Tol. Col. 230) and '*ceyṇ eccat tīṇanta kālam eytiṭa ṇuṭaittē vārāk kālam*' (Tol. Col. 239) convey almost the same idea as '*samānakartṛkayōḥ pūrvakāle*' (P. A. 3.4.21.) But sometimes these indeclinable participles in Tamil are used as absolutes, when their subject denotes a part of the person denoted by the subject of the finite verb. (e.g.) *kai irru avan vīlntāṇ*. Very rarely are they used as gerunds. (e.g.) *nāvēy oṭṭi vaṭitōlil āṇṭa-v-uravōṇ maruka* (P. N. 66.1.) Here *oṭṭi* is used in the sense of 'for steering'.

The gerunds of the form *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyarkū*, *ceyṇa* and *ceya* convey the same sense as the infinitive of purpose in Sanskrit. But there is difference in their use. In Sanskrit the

1. *Vartamāna sāmīpyē vartamānavadvā* (P. A. 3.3.131.)

2. *Irappē y-etirvē y-āyiru kalamuṇ*

*Ciraṇṇa-t tōṇru mayāṅku-mōḷi-k kīḷavi*. (Tol. Col. 247.)

*infinitive of purpose always takes for its subject the subject, of the finite verb which follows.*<sup>1</sup> But in Tamil they may take the same subject or not.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case we have the absolute construction. (e.g.) *maḷai peyya, kuḷam niraṇṇatū*.

The form *ceyiṇ* is used to denote condition. Such an infinitive form is not found in Sanskrit. In the place of *ceyiṇ* Sanskrit has to use 'karōti cet.'

Similarly, the form *ceyiṇum* is used in literature to denote contrast. It means 'though one does'. In its place Sanskrit generally uses an indeclinable participle followed by *api* as *kṛtvā api*.

In Tamil a number of finite verbs are used without the connecting particle. (e.g.) *vāḷttiṇen paṇavutū* (Pari. 70.83.); *nīr kaṇṇanen varuval* (P.N. 23.17.); *nī nalkiṇai viṭumati* (P. N. 136.24.) In such cases, all the finite verbs except the last are taken to be indeclinable participles by the author of the Naṇṇūl and the later grammarians.<sup>3</sup>

5.10. PECULIAR INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN CONSTRUCTIONS BY TAMIL GRAMMARIANS: 5.10.1. In the sentence '*nampi poṇ periyaṇ*' which means *nampi* is great on account of wealth, Caṅkaranamacciṇṇappulavar, a commentator on the Naṇṇūl says under the sūtra '*uyartiṇai totarnta . . .*' (Na. 377) that the word *nampi* is *uyartiṇai eluvāy* or subject and the word *poṇ* is *aṇṇiṇai eluvāy* and the latter is peculiarly followed by the *uyartiṇai* predicate *periyaṇ*.<sup>4</sup> When one reads the sentence, it may clearly appear that something is predicated of *nampi* and not *poṇ*; besides the predicative element is not confined to the word *periyaṇ* alone. Hence under the general rules of grammar it must be taken that *nampi* is the subject and the compound word *poṇ periyaṇ* corresponding to Sanskrit *dhanamahitaḥ* is the predicate or *periyaṇ* is the predicate and *poṇ* is the enlargement of the predicate in the sense of *poṇṇāl*. If *poṇ* and *periyaṇ* are taken to be two separate words, it may be easily said that *poṇ* is third

1. *Samāna-kartṛkēṣu tumun.* (P. A. 3.3.158.)

2. *Enai y-eccam viṇai-mutal-āṇum*

*Aṇ-van tiyaiyum viṇai-nilai y-āṇum*

*Tām-iyāṇ maruṇṇiṇ mutiyu m-enpa.* (Tol. Col. 232.)

3. *Viṇai-murrē viṇai y-ecca m-ākalam*

*Kurippu-mur rir-ecca m-ākalam m-uḷavē.* (Na. 351.)

4. Na. C., p. 206.



case, with its third case suffix dropped according to the sūtra *Irutiṇ m-iṭaiṇ m-ellā-v-rupum—Neri-paṭu poruḷ-vayi ṇilavutal varaiyār*. (Tol. Col. 103) and the third case denotes cause as is sanctioned by the word *ēṭu* in Tol. Col. 74; or *poṇ periyān* may be taken to be a verb formed from a compound *poṇperumai*. The objection that is raised by Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar against the latter interpretation is that, in that case, it must have been *poṇperiyān* according to the rules of sandhi. Either this form may be brought under an exception, or the former interpretation may be accepted. It has a parallel in the sentence *avaḷ kaṇṇāl kottai* where the third case is used. Similarly *naṃpi poṇṇāl periyāṇ* has assumed the form of *naṃpi poṇ periyāṇ*.

If we carefully read through the sūtra '*uyartinai toṭarnta poruḷ mutalārūm ataṇoṭu cārttin attinai mutipina*' (Na. 377) Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar seems to voice forth the opinion of Naṇṇūlār. One is at a loss to know why Naṇṇūlār should have chosen to suggest that explanation. *There is, in my opinion, no sūtra in Tolkāppiyam conveying the same idea*; but I have come into contact with Tamil Pandits who think that this sūtra is based on Tol. Col. 61. It may be considered here whether it is or not.

5.101. The sūtra referred to is this:—

*Kaṇṇum tōḷum mulaiyum pīravum*

*Paṇmai cuṭṭiya ciṇainilaik kiḷavi*

*Paṇmai kūruṇ kaṭaṭṭā ṭilave*

*Tamviṇaik kiyaḷu meḷuttalaṇ kaṭaiyē* (Tol. Col. 61.)

This may be translated thus:—The words denoting the limbs as *kaṇ, tōḷ, mulai*, etc., which generally denote more than one (*i. e.*) two, need not denote two except when they are followed by verbs suited to them, *i. e.*, neuter plural verbs. The examples which are given by Ḹampūraṇar under this sūtra are *kan, nallaḷ, tōḷ nallaḷ*, and *mulai nallaḷ*. He has not stated that the subject, in such cases, is *kaṇ, tōḷ* or *mulai*. But the later grammarians and the author of Naṇṇūl seem to have mistaken *kaṇ*, etc., to be in the nominative case and hence the subject of *nallaḷ*, etc.

I would prefer to interpret the sūtra as follows :—The words *kaṇ, tōḷ, mulai*, etc., which refer to objects forming natural pairs do not invariably denote the pair unless they are followed by a plural verb. Hence it is not absolutely necessary that a woman



should have both her eyes beautiful to be described as *avaḷ kaṇ nallaḷ*. Such a sentence would be appropriate even when one of the eyes was beautiful. To be more clear, I may take the example 'Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-ilāl', which I have often heard used by recognised Pandits. It is known to every Tamil scholar that *Kaṇṇaki*, the heroine of the Cilappatikāram cut off one of her breasts and threw it away at Madura. Hence 'Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-ilāl' does not mean that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of her breasts, but it means that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of one breast. Hence this sūtra does not deal with the form of words, but their meaning.

If such an interpretation is not given, I think that this sūtra is not necessary here and hence it may be omitted; for, it is certain that Tolkāppiyāṇār would have taken only *avaḷ* as the subject of *nallaḷ* and hence the predicate *nallaḷ* agrees with the subject in gender and number.

One may question what the construction of *kaṇ* is, in 'avaḷ kaṇ nallaḷ' according to this interpretation. As I said in the case of the form *poṇ periyaṇ*, one may take *kaṇ* as a separate word in third case with the case suffix dropped, or may take *kaṇṇallaḷ* as a compound acting the part of the predicate to *avaḷ*.

5.102. There are two more types of sentences where my explanation of the construction happens to differ from that ordinarily found in commentaries.

5.1021. 'Cākātum accu irum' (K. 475) represents one of these types. On this Kuraḷ, Parimēlaḷakar writes that the verb *irum* which is suited to the word *accu* which denotes a part of the cart is used here as the predicate of the word *cākāṭu* (which denotes the whole). The sentence means 'the cart will have its axle broken.' Though it is the axle that breaks, the cart also may be said to break in its axle. Hence it seems to me that it is not absolutely necessary to take *irum* to be a *ciṇai-viṇai* or the verb suited to the *ciṇai* or part. Parimēlaḷakar has said so perhaps with the idea that *accu* is also a subject, as interpreted by Naṇṇūlār. (Cf. *poṇ periyaṇ* supra.) It has already been said that it is against the ordinary ways of expressing one's idea. Hence, in this sentence, *accirum* may be taken as the predicate of *cākātum* or *irum* may be taken as the predicate and *accu* as the seventh case singular with the case suffix dropped.

6.22. 'Alattarkariyai arivum iramum' (P. N. 20. 516.) represents another type. The commentator on Puraṇāṇūṟu says

that the *cinai arivum* and *iramum* have taken for their predicate *aḷattarkariyai*, the verb suited to the *mutal* or the person having *arivu*, *iram*, etc. It is evident that the word *aḷattarkariyai* is second person singular and means 'you cannot be measured', and the words *arivu* and *iram* are each neuter singular meaning knowledge and compassion respectively. Hence the sentence may be taken to mean 'you cannot be measured in your knowledge and compassion'. Since *aḷattarkariyai* is second person singular, the word *nī* may be taken as the subject that is understood and *arivum* and *iramum* may be taken as nouns in the seventh case with the case suffixes dropped, since the dropping of the seventh case suffix in nouns which follow the predicates is allowed by the sūtra

*Ai-y-uñ kaṇ-ṇ-u m-allā-p poruḷ-vayin*  
*Mey-y-urupū tokāa v-iṛuti y-āṇa.* (Tol. Col. 105).

and such examples are found in plenty in literature.—(e. g.) *kaṇṇaṇ varuval...kāṭē* (P. N. 23.22.)—Here *kāṭē* means *kāṭṭ-inṇaṇṇē*; *tikaṭṭaṇai pōluñ ceykai* (Kampar. K. 247.78.)—here *ceykai* means *ceykaiy-inṇaṇ*.

Hence I think that it is not necessary to formulate, as is done by the later grammarians, that the words which denote parts of a whole may take predicates after them which are suited to the whole, and *vice versa*.

## CONCLUSION.

It may be evident from what has been said that Tolkāppiyaṇār clearly realised that Tamil was not related to Sanskrit either morphologically or genealogically and deftly exploited the ideas contained in the earlier grammatical literature in Sanskrit, particularly in those works which dealt with Vēdic etymology, without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil language. On the other hand, the large influx of Sanskritic elements in Tamil since the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār appears to have so far clouded the linguistic vision of the author of *Viracōḷiyam* that he was led to assume close family relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit. Further the author of *Viracōḷiyam* does not appear to have realised that Tolkāppiyaṇār's model was not Pāṇini so much as the *Prāṭiśākhya*s and the *Nirukta*. As a result of this important divergence in view-point, the *Viracōḷiyam* proceeded to violently drag Tamil language and grammar into the

groove of Sanskrit—a feature which, in no sense, is traceable in Tolkāppiyam. It must, however, be conceded, in fairness to Viracōḷiyam, that its author has brought within the scope of his grammar such changes in the Tamil language as had come about since the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār.

Naṇṇūlār was not a victim to the linguistic deflection which marred the value of the Viracōḷiyam. While he adhered to the method of Tolkāppiyaṇār in respect of his fidelity to the genius of the Tamil language, he proceeded to complete the supplementing process initiated in the Viracōḷiyam. A fateful periodicity appears to have characterised the line of Tamil Grammarians; for, the author of the Pirayōkavivēkam who came after Naṇṇūlār has lapsed with redoubled vigour into the Sanskritising groove of the Viracōḷiyam.

But, luckily, the vitality of Tamil outlived all these grammatical vicissitudes. It is indeed gratifying that some of the latest grammarians—Vaittiyaṇātatēcikar, the Rev. C.J. Beschi and Civañānamuṇivar—have happily switched back to the healthy out-look and ideal of Tolkāppiyam.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

RGVEDA-SAMHITA—PT. I. INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
CALCUTTA—Price Rs. 1-8-0, foreign 2s. 6d.

This is a new undertaking of the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta, a newly started organisation. It is promised that every month, a new Part will appear. In the first part that is now out (this is the August issue), there is the Upodghāta of Sāyaṇa to his Ṛgvedabhāṣya, and the first two Sūktas of the Ṛgveda with the Bhāṣyas of Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin and Mādhava, (son of Veṅkaṭārya). From the latter two, only extracts are given. At this rate, it must take about six years to complete the whole book. It will not be proper at this stage to undertake a review of the publication, so far as the details are concerned. But there is nothing against propriety if I offer a few comments as a preliminary review, confining my remarks to general questions.

This is found to be the method followed in publishing the book. First there is the Saṃhitāpāṭha, then the Padapāṭha (both with accents marked); then follow the Bhāṣya of Sāyaṇa and then extracts from the commentary of Skandasvāmin and that of Mādhava (son of Veṅkaṭārya). From the latter two, only such portions are given as would elucidate the meaning of the Mantras; explanations of grammar and other details are omitted. After thus giving the ancient commentaries, there is given a detailed interpretation of the Mantras in modern lines in English. This portion contains the Mantra in Roman transliteration then the meaning according to Sāyaṇa's commentary, detailed examination of the interpretation of the words, and then another translation in the light of this detailed examination. This last is the accepted translation of the publishers. The whole is again reproduced in Bengali and Hindi. Thus practically, there are two parts being published simultaneously, one being the ancient commentaries and the second being interpretation on modern lines. This last appears in three languages. This amounts to four books being issued together.

The portion containing the ancient commentaries is preceded by a long Introduction written in Sanskrit, sorry to say, neither elegant in style nor lucid in expression nor correct in grammar. Various topics are discussed here—the meaning of the word “Veda”, the date of the Vedas, earlier and later Devalās, the division of the Vedas and so on. Here follows a specimen to show the nature of the content of this Introduction. “And thus, since there is no decision arrived at in regard to the age of the Vedas, what is proper to assume is its beginninglessness, in so far as its beginning has not been known, following the Mīmāṃsakas”. I am not sure if this position will be acceptable either to a modern scholar or to the ancient Mīmāṃsakas.

When one looks at the first part now out, many doubts arise in one's mind. What is the object of this publication? What is the exact procedure? Why is this Sāyaṇa's Bhāṣya reprinted? Have the publishers consulted any new manuscripts of this Bhāṣya not used for the original publication? Is there any real improvement of the text of the Bhāṣya over the original edition? What manuscripts of the Bhāṣyas of Skandasvāmin and Mādhava (son of Veṅkaṭārya) have been collated? What portions of these commentaries are available in the possession of the editors? Why do they think of publishing the commentary of Ānanda-tīrtha and why then ignore the comment on this commentary? What information have they regarding the manuscript of the commentary of Guṇaviṣṇu? Why did they not think of including some other ancient commentaries on the Ṛgveda, for which manuscripts are available? Why are they not mentioned even by name in the publisher's note? A reviewer, and the readers too, have a legitimate claim on the publishers for some information on these points; and no information is available on them.

Sāyaṇa's Bhāṣya was published in England long ago, and a second edition also appeared. It was once published in Bombay. Now, I understand that a publication of this has been undertaken at Poona and portions have already appeared. Why this new venture from Calcutta? I know that the Poona edition has been undertaken with the aid of many new manuscripts, and in many places they have been able to give improved readings. Further, for this new edition of Calcutta, how many people will be rich enough to purchase the book? The cost must come to at least one hundred and fifty rupees for the whole set. It is not clear whether the price of Rs. 1-8-0 is for the part con-

taining the ancient commentaries or for the entire part including the modern interpretation in three languages.

The fact that there have been three previous editions of the Sāyaṇabhāṣya and that there is one now appearing from Poona is no reason why another edition shall not appear from Calcutta. True. The point is that a new edition as an addition appears to serve no useful purpose unless it can be an improvement on others. What makes a reviewer a little unhappy is the fact that in the first issue, some pieces of information, both important and interesting to other students of the Vedas, have not been supplied to them. The mention of Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary causes both temptation and suspicion. The inclusion of Ānandatīrtha and the omission of other, now well-known, commentaries on the Ṛgveda, make a reader's enthusiasm subside. It is hoped that in some immediate future issue of the publication, some information on the scope and method of the publication will be forthcoming.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.

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THE SPHOTA-SIDDHI OF ACARYA MANDANAMISRA WITH THE GOPALIKA OF RSIPUTRA PARAMESVARA. EDITED BY VEDA-VISARADA S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI. (Madras University Sanskrit Series : No. 3). 1931. Price Rs. 3. Foreign 6s.

The author of this work was a brilliant thinker of ancient India whose brilliance, however, was somewhat dimmed by the still greater brilliance of some among his contemporaries. It was hitherto well known that Maṇḍana was eminent both as a Mīmāṃsaka and as a Vedāntin. The present work shows that he was equally eminent as a grammarian. Its object, as its name signifies, is the establishment of what is known as the doctrine of *sphoṭa*. The doctrine is very old, for it is found in a well-developed form already in the time of Patañjali (150 B.C.) It should also have once been in great vogue; but it has now for long ceased to find favour with thinkers and is explicitly condemned as being unsound by the exponents of almost all the philosophical systems. The point of the controversy is how words, when uttered, come to convey their respective meanings to the hearers. A word is made up of letters; but, as none of them individually bears any

significance, they must be regarded as functioning together or in the aggregate in conveying its sense. But there can be no such aggregate in the case of an uttered word which is a fleeting series of sounds. No two of them exist together or are apprehended together. Those that believe that the word directly denotes the object to which it refers maintain that the apprehension of the last letter of a word, helped by the mental impressions left behind by the apprehension of the preceding letters, is quite adequate to be the means of conveying its meaning. Thinkers like Maṇḍana, who do not find this view satisfactory, postulate an eternal and indivisible entity as a connecting link between the uttered letters or, more strictly, tones (*dhvani*) and the meaning signified. The theory is that the several *dhvanis* in the case of any particular word reveal such an ever-existing entity; and that, in its turn, makes known the sense. It is this intermediate agent in the act of signifying, which, like the *dhvanis* manifesting it, is believed to be the object of auditory perception, that is termed *sphoṭa*—literally 'what bursts forth'. It is so called because it is supposed to come to consciousness suddenly in its unity on hearing the letters of the corresponding word. The doctrine which in its origin seems to have been concerned only with the relation between language and thought was, in course of time, transformed into a philosophic theory, with *sphoṭa* conceived as one and identical with the Upaniṣadic Brahman, the fountain of all existence. It is in such a form, for example, that it is expounded by Bhartṛhari in his masterly manner in the *Vākya-pāṭīya*. In its double form the conception of *sphoṭa*, we may state by the way, bears a resemblance—albeit a somewhat remote one—to the Western conception of Logos as 'reason' (*ratio*) and as 'word' (*oratio*). The Vedāntic concept of *sphoṭa*, like its grammatical prototype, has for long been superseded; and it is very interesting to find a great thinker like Maṇḍana championing its cause here against the views of so many critics. The book makes a valuable addition to our stock of information about a rather neglected point in ancient Indian speculation; and the learning and critical care shown in its editing are quite worthy of the importance of the book. There is printed here along with the text a full and lucid commentary; and there is also prefixed to it an introduction in Sanskrit in which the Editor ably discusses more than one question of historical and doctrinal importance. The world of oriental scholars owes a debt of gratitude to Paṇḍit Ramanatha Sastri for bringing to light



so noteworthy a work, and to the University of Madras for helping its publication.

M. HIRIYANNA.

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STUDIES IN COLA-HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION—BY K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, Published by the University of Madras, 1932.

The work of reconstructing the history of South India from many sources and having regard to the co-ordination of many points of view has been going on for some decades past. The late Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya and Rao Bahadur, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. K.V. Subramania Iyer have already done noteworthy and admirable work in this field. Professor K.A. Nilakantha Sastri has carried on his own independent and original investigations in the same field and has now produced a work of rare merit displaying a fine historic temper and power of research. *Tamil aham* which is the same as the Saṁskṛt Draviḍa and is the tract of territory between Tirupati and Cape Comorin—apart from the question as to how much of the land south of the Cape was eroded by the sea—consisted of three great kingdoms *viz.*, Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Cera. Toṇḍamaṇḍalam also has to be added to them.

The most valuable portion of Mr. Nilakantha Sastri's work is its exposition of Coḷa administration. It shows how Tamil Nad was far advanced in its conception and realisation of constitutional sovereignty. We should not forget that there is no cleavage between the Sanskrit Arthaśāstra and the Tamil works on polity like the Kuraḷ or between the so-called Āryan political institutions and the so-called Dravidian political institutions, despite differences of name and divergences of details. Unlike the Sanskrit works, the Tamil works do not deal with the theories about the state or about sovereignty. Indian political thought as well as Indian political institutions were contributory towards a synthetic vision of life as expressed in the four aims of life (called in Sanskrit Dharmārthakāma Mokṣa and in Tamil Aramporuḷinpaṁ viḍu). The state and sovereignty should bring about the attainment of the first three aims (called compendiously *trivarga* in Sanskrit and *mupṇāl* in Tamil). Even here *artha* and *kāma* must bow to the discipline of Dharma.



Though these reflections are not directly germane to the work under review, they have been made to show that we must regard the evolution of Hindu polity as a grand and connected unity and should not regard Sanskrit polity as divorced from Tamil polity or Pallava polity as disconnected with Coḷa polity. Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar says well: "Enough of it is available in the last period of Pallava rule to indicate that the system which is found in full working order under the Coḷas was not altogether the invention of the Coḷas and perhaps was a system that had gradually developed and reached its full development under the Coḷas".

Professor Nilakantha Sastri has in his lucid and learned work, shown the evolution of the village institutions in the Tamil country with special reference to the period of Coḷa supremacy (10th century to 13th century). He refutes Mr. Venkayya's view that the typical South Indian village assembly had probably a northern origin and was adopted from the system of Government by committees described by Megasthenes as obtaining in Pāṭaliputra. It is true that the references to *monram* and *podiyil* in the Sangam literature show that South India, like North India, had some form of a primitive village assembly. But it seems to me that despite differences in language, North India and South India had no ethnic or cultural separateness. Hence there is nothing surprising in the similarity of social and political institutions in North India and South India. In course of time the South Indian culture was largely leavened by North Indian culture not only in religion and philosophy and literature and art but also in social and political life. This explains the fact pointed out by Professor Nilakantha Sastri *viz.*, that the Kural refers only to the *Sabhā* (called *Avai* in Tamil). He rightly says: "It would thus appear that the village assembly of later historical times in the South was, far from being the result of a single line of development, northern or southern, the complex product of the interaction of both southern and northern, Tamil and Sanskrit influences".

The learned author refers to the different kinds of village assemblies in the South Indian villages. The village assembly in Brahmin villages was called *sabhā* whereas it used to be called *ur* in the case of other villages. In some big villages there were both *sabhā* and *ur*. We hear also about other assemblies called *Nagarathār* and *Nāṭṭār*. The famous Uttaramallūr inscriptions show how the Indian people were familiar with the work-

ing of democratic institutions. The village administration was carried on by a number of committees which attended not only to the major items but also to the minutest details. The electorate for the village administration was clearly defined and there were equally clear election rules. The exercise of the franchise depended then, as now in progressive modern times, so proud of their electoral progress, upon two principles *viz.*, property qualification and educational qualification. Professor Nilakantha Sastri says: "It may also be inferred that under the Coḷas the village assemblies were brought under a closer supervision by the Central Government than at any other time". The Cōḷas were experts in making grand trunk roads and carrying out stupendous irrigation works and building schools and choultries and temples.

The other cognate matters dealt with in this learned work are those relating to Karikāla and Naralokavīra who was a Coḷa feudatory and the description of the Sabhā of Nātur and the discussion of the Uttaramerūr inscriptions. The volume deals also with the Puranānūru as a source of history.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

